November 3, 1959

Dr. Joshua Fishman
Albert M. Greenfield Center
of Human Relations
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Dr. Fishman:

We have heard from Mrs. Jane Reif, of Norfolk, that you have recently completed a report on Mobile, Alabama and that you are engaged in studies of other southern localities. We would consider it a great privilege if we could receive copies of your reports.

If we may be of any assistance to you in your research, I hope you will call upon us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 1, 1959

Professor Joshua A. Fishman
Associate Professor of Human Relations
and Psychology
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Dear Professor Fishman:

I want to thank you for your letter of November 6, and for your preliminary report on Montgomery, which arrived some days later. We shall certainly respect your request that the report and its contents be kept confidential.

I have read it with a great deal of interest, and with admiration for your many perceptive insights and remarks. From a number of talks with ADL and AJC staff people, as well as with Jewish friends, I believe that you have correctly described the frequently precarious and always difficult position of the Southern Jew. I get the impression that Jews in small towns of the South face a somewhat different, and in a way more delicate, problem; it might be interesting for someone to do an inquiry similar to yours in the small towns.

You may or may not know that the Fellowship of the Concerned is sponsored by the Southern Regional Council, and that the Alabama Council on Human Relations is one of the state groups which we orgnaized several years back and with which we continue to maintain close association, although there is no longer any formal affiliation.

Please let us know if we can assist you in your research. I don't know that we are in a position to be of any financial aid to you. We are, however, in touch with foundations interested in this general field and do occasionally hear about the availability of research funds. If you would like to let us know more of your specific plans for this study and publication, there is at least the chance that we might be able to put them before some foundation.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 29, 1960

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Institute of Human Relations
National Labor Service
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

Harold returned from New York and promptly went to bed with the flu. He asked me to drop you a note regarding Nicholls' Southern Traditions and Regional Progress. Publication date is April 3, although review copies are already out. The book is 202 pages, priced at $5.00, published by the University of North Carolina Press. Some months ago Nicholls have me to read a 100 page first draft, and I thought it was quite good; perhaps a book of first importance.

A copy of Vandiver's statement on "An Appeal For Human Rights" is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: thermafax copy
Vandiver's statement

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

October 11, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John:

Margaret Price's Report "Toward a Solution of the Sit-In Controversy," put out by the Southern Regional Council on May 31, 1960, noted that "at least 30 Southern cities, 12 of them in Florida, have set up some kind of community organization to seek a solution offering justice to Negroes." Could you let me know how many Mayor's Human Relations or Interracial Commissions are now in existence in the South, and how many unofficial interracial commissions have been set up since the sit-ins started in February?

1-Ark
13-Fla
1-Ga
11-NC
1-SC
4-Tenn
4-Tex
4-Va ✓

I need this material for an executive board meeting of the American Jewish Committee later this month.

Many thanks for any help you may be able to offer on this.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Director

HF:rd

October 13, 1960

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
National Labor Service
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

John Constable passed your letter of October 11 to me. The fact is that you caught us currently at work drafting a brief report on exactly the question you raise: the spread of mediating committees in the South since the sit-ins. I am confident that the report, which is pretty well finished, should be in your hands before the end of the month. But here are some advance and tentative figures. Our final presentation may differ, because the problem not only is one of ascertaining where there are committees but of making some sort of determination as to whether committees appointed prior to the sit-in controversy have been active in the mediations. At any rate, this is, subject to revision, our count: Arkansas, one city with a committee; Florida, 13; Georgia, one; North Carolina, 11; South Carolina, one; Tennessee, four; Texas, four (almost certainly an under-estimate); Virginia, four.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Harry Fleischman, Director

October 17, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for your letter of October 13. It was just what I needed. I'll be looking forward to seeing the full report on the spread of mediating committees in the South since the sit-ins, as soon as it is ready.

I do have one additional question, however. How many of these committees are official mayors' committees, and how many unofficial citizens groups?

Thanks for all your help.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Director

HF:rd

October 20, 1960

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

You seem always to be anticipating our problems. I have inquiries out now trying to pin down a couple instances in Florida and North Carolina as to whether the committees are official or non-official. Our report will be out the first of next week and I'll airmail a copy to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 7, 1961

Mr. Harry Fleischman:

Leslie Dunbar asked that a copy of the speech by General Lucius D. Clay be sent to you.

June 12, 1961

Mr. Harry Fleischman
Director
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Mr. Dunbar telephoned me (he is taking a two-day vacation after his trip) and asked that write you concerning his proposed trip to New York in September to attend a meeting of the Mass Media group. Mr. Dunbar will have to be in New York on September 21 and 22; it would be most convenient if the Mass Media meeting could be set for one of these days--IF the dates are also convenient for you and the others.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

November 1, 1951

Col. David A. McCandless, Director
Southern Police Institute
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Colonel McCandless:

Enclosed is a copy of a recent story from the Atlanta Journal which I thought might be of interest to you.

As you will see, Attorney General Cook, in his rather grandiose suggestion, does not seem to be aware of the practical approach already being made by the Institute. It occurred to me that you might want to acquaint him with your program, either directly, through Chief Jenkins, or in some other way. We could supply him with appropriate information, of course, but I thought it might be preferable for any approach to come purely through police channels.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.

Clearcopy Onion Skin

November 1, 1951

Mr. Bill Hinely:
Box 998
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hinely:

I am sending you separately some material on the Council's aims and program.

It occurred to us that it would be most helpful for your group to acquaint itself with the self-survey method which is described in the pamphlet "Your Community Looks At Itself" and in "Greenville's Big Idea". That is the best device we have found for building good human relations in the community, and it is one in which the church can play a leading part.

As to immediate activities in the Atlanta area, it would be best if you or other members of your group could visit our office. We would want to put you in touch with Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who is acting director of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation.

We are grateful for your interest in the work of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Clearcopy Onion Skin

November 1, 1951

Dr. C. McLeod Bryan
Roberts School of Christianity
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Bryan:

Thank you for your kind letter and your order for materials, which was sent on October 26. We are gratified to know that the Council's publications are finding such useful application.

We would be delighted to have an article from you for New South. It occurred to us that you might be willing to give it a slightly more general emphasis than that of an analysis of Irwin's pamphlet. Many people over the South are unfamiliar with that particular piece of hate literature. But almost everyone is familiar with the stock justifications for white supremacy, pseudo-religious or pseudo-biological, which have survived from the days of slavery. Doubtless Irwin's pamphlet provides some good examples.

Although we suppose that most readers of New South put no credence in such myths, an article examining them in the light of reason would be interesting and helpful.

We would be most grateful if you found it possible to do such a piece for us.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

Esleeck

November 9, 1951

Miss Glenn Harden, Editor
The Tarheel
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Miss Harden:

George Stoney has suggested that you might be willing to do an article for our publication New South on the integration of Negro students at UNC, with particular reference to the football-seating affair.

SRC is non-profit and, unhappily, too poor to offer compensation for New South contributions. The best we can offer is a supply of the issue in which the article appears, a wide readership, a good chance of newspaper notice, and sincere appreciation.

In case you are not familiar with us, I enclose several pieces of material. As you will see, we have strong Chapel Hill links, with Howard Odum and Guy Johnson as board members.

If you decide to do the piece for us, 1500 to 2000 words is about the right length. As to content, your judgment would govern. It has struck us that the moral of those events is that, when new racial adjustments are called for, those in authority should make them fully and ungrudgingly. As the Chapel Hill experience well shows, timidity and reservation are as unnecessary as they are ignoble.

Please let me know whether you will undertake the article for us, and, if so, about when we can expect the manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

encs.

November 12, 1951

Mr. T. Wilson Longmore, Social Scientist
Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, BAE
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Longmore:

We are glad to cooperate in every way we can with the Study of Adult Education in Rural Areas.

Unfortunately our present organizational structure is not too well adapted to your study. The Council has state divisions or affiliated committees in most of the thirteen Southern states. These, in turn, are composed of individual members from all parts of the respective states. With one or two exceptions, all urban, the Council itself does not have local chapters.

Enclosed is a list of the heads of our state divisions and affiliated committees. They will be glad to advise you of activities of their state groups which fall within the scope of your study, and perhaps will be able to direct you to suitable correspondents in the counties under consideration.

This office carries on an information program through publications and the press, much of which might be classified as adult education and some of which reaches into rural areas. Our present hope is to strengthen our program at the state and local levels—an aim which limited resources have hampered.

As your study progresses, we will gladly furnish you, by mail or in person, such details about our information program as you may wish.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec
Encl.

November 15, 1951

Mr. J. S. Reily, Owner
J. S. Reily Company
517 Ricou-Brewster Building
Shreveport, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Reily:

I am happy to send you a copy of the last "New South," on which the A. P. story was based, though I fear it deals only briefly with the subject you mention.

The statement which you quote grew out of our observations, in Atlanta and elsewhere, that the Negro market responds readily to moderate-pticed housing built on a community plan. Aside from financing, the chief problem has been finding sufficiently large tracts which are convenient to transportation, utilities, and commercial services. As you know, this problem is made even more intense by the resistance of white property owners and realtors.

One of the best techniques werhave heard of is that of forming non-profit corporations to purchase suitable tracts for development according to long-range plans. That does not bring quick returns, of course, but it has many advantages over the short-run, piecemeal approach. It can be tied in with expansion trends and municipal planning and can operate in outlying areas which are not yet so bitterly competed for. There are difficulties, too, of course, not the least of which is securing enough capital for such long-range investment.

I am sorry to say that we have no prepared material on this subject and can hardly qualify as experts on it. But if we can be of any service -- by putting you in touch with appropriate people in Atlanta, or otherwise -- we will be glad to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

July 26, 1961

Mr. M. Mindlin
Managing Editor
Forum Service
1/2 Langham Place
London W. 1., England

Dear Mr. Mindlin:

Sorry to have missed my deadline.

I am, nevertheless, bold enough to ask a favor. As you may know, we print a small magazine called *New South*, and I wonder if you would object if we used this article in it. We would, of course, indicate that it had been written originally for you. *New South* has 4,000 plus subscribers, mostly in the South and mostly people affiliated with our organization. We print each month 6,200 copies. If you could respond to this request as quickly as convenient, I should be grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm
Enclosure

FORUM SERVICE

Background Features, Information and Analysis

SUMMIT HOUSE, 1-2 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

Editorial Director:
Melvin J. Lasky

Managing Editor:
M. Mindlin

Cables: FORMSERV
Tel.: LANgham 6807

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forwyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 27, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Thank you for your letter of June 22.

Yes indeed, you may have until July 15th to write the article. I look forward to receiving it.

Yours sincerely,

M. Mindlin

M. Mindlin
Managing Editor

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER

AEROGRAMME

LONDON W.1.
4.45 PM
27 JNE
1961
F

6D
SIXPENCE POSTAGE

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia
U. S. A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address: FORUM SERVICE
1/2 Langham Place, London W.1.,
England

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here

June 22, 1961

Mr. M. Mindlin
Managing Editor
Forum Service
Summit House
1-2 Langham Place
London, W.1
England

Dear Mr. Mindlin:

May I have until July 15th? If so, I will get an article off to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Airmail

FORUM SERVICE

Background Features, Information and Analysis

SUMMIT HOUSE, 1-2 LANGHAM PLACE, LONDON, W.1

Editorial Director:
Melvin J. Lasky

Managing Editor:
M. Mindlin

Cables: FORMSERV
Tel.: LANgham 6807

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

June 19, 1961

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I am writing you at the suggestion of Mr. Harold Fleming, who has written for us in the past. I wonder if you would be prepared to write an article of 1,500 words about the Freedom Riders and the progress of the desegregation campaign in the South.

Since the article would be chiefly intended for Africa and Asia, I would appreciate your stressing the positive aspects and achievements of the campaign and would be grateful if you would let us have the article as soon as possible.

Forum Service is a project of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. For an article of this length (1,000 to 1,500 words) we pay 10 guineas, which is the standard British rate, though probably below the American norm. On the other hand, your article would be reaching millions of Africans and Asians.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

M. Mindlin

M. Mindlin
Managing Editor

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON W.1
19 JNE

6D
SIXPENCE·POSTAGE

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Ince.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia,
U. S. A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address: FORUM SERVICE
1/2 Langham Place, London W.1.,
England

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here →

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

90 Park Avenue · New York, New York 10016

September 29, 1966

Dear Mr. Watters:

The attached papers concern an applicant for a Guggenheim Fellowship who has referred us to you. May we have your candid judgment of the applicant's ability as a scholar?

Enclosed herewith is a list of Fellows on this Foundation for the current year, together with a copy of the memorandum governing the award and tenure of our Fellowships. Our intent is to award Fellowships to persons who have demonstrated unusual capacity for productive research or unusual creative ability in the arts. Your judgment concerning the quality of the applicant's previous accomplishments is consequently very pertinent. Anything that you have to tell us about the applicant's promise for the future, staying power, energy, or other qualities that go into a life of fine scholarship or creative achievement, will be welcome. Another, but subsidiary, matter concerning which we should like to be advised is the merit of the project presented in relation to the applicant's abilities and training.

You may be sure that anything you write will be held in the strictest confidence.

Please accept our thanks for your help.

Stephen L. Schlesinger
STEPHEN L. SCHLESINGER
Administrative Assistant

S

Paul Good

PLEASE RETURN TO
JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Plans for Fellowship Period

1- I will complete the novel tentatively entitled The Tourist. The book basically concerns the estrangement of a father and son. It has occurred for reasons growing out of the father's failure as a man and it culminates over the race question. They are Northerners but the novel covers a week in a Southern town in upheaval over the civil rights movement. The father, fleeing his own personal demons, is visiting the town; the boy has come to work in the movement. The book will explore the tensions between the generations, the gaps in two lives that love can't bridge, and the failure of the American white to grasp the moment of national salvation offered by black. The emphasis will not be on the physical happenings of the movement but on the interplay between father and son--and other characters--as they react to it. One of the principal characters is a newsman and the behavior of news people in the crisis is a theme. There will be two important Negro characters, one a militant girl worker, the other a ministerial leader (not patterned on Dr. King or any other notable). I am not trying to write from far inside the black psyche because this is impossible for any white man. I am trying to let relationships tell a story I think is universal in this country today.

2- As time permits and significant developments occur, I want to continue writing articles on the civil rights movement and contiguous areas. I think my background gives me a perspective that much of today's reporting lacks. Along that line, American journalism is doing a dangerously bad job of coming to grips with Negro realities today. Even when guided by the best of intentions, it is too often oriented toward paternalistic, traditional views of mass Negroes and the black leadership. That journalism cannot see its own bias is an impediment to reform. The advent of Black Power prompts the majority of "moderate" journalists to adopt impatient and even fearful attitudes when Negroes don't behave according to white-knows-best criteria. The decrease in the number of newspapers that reflect a truly liberal viewpoint and the burgeoning influence of frequently ambiguous network TV news compound the problem. Since I've worked in both fields, I have knowledge of what happens from the inside to obscure or distort issues reaching the public. I'd like to make use of this knowledge to comment in print and gather material for a later book on the performance of American journalism, electronic or ink-stained.

#

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation

90 PARK AVENUE · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

I beg to acknowledge, with the thanks of the Foundation, the receipt of your confidential statement concerning

Mr. Paul Joseph Good, Jr.

Thank you.

Stephen L. Schlesinger

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

Confidential Report on Candidate for Fellowship

Requested of:	Name of Candidate:
Mr. Pat Watters 5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia	Mr. Paul Joseph Good, Jr. (5)

92

REPORT: I know Mr. Good through some professional association covering the same stories, and through his short articles about southern racial news. I have not seen his more serious work. On the basis of the acquaintanceship, I do have, I would say that Mr. Good has a rare knowledge and understanding of the Negro movement generally, and of the special subjects he proposes to treat in his novel. His insights into performance of the press--which he mentions as the possible subject of a future book--should be valuable.

The theme of his novel as set out in the outline--"the failure of the American white to grasp the moment of national salvation offered by black"--seems to me the essential one of the past several years of racial struggle in the South. Judging only on the basis of what I have seen of Mr. Good's ability to handle language, and of his sensitive and generally true reactions to rather powerful events, I believe that he is capable of handling his book's mighty theme.

The South and the nation are served by his reporting. We have used some of it in our own publications, and hope to be able to continue doing so.

Signed J. P. (Pat) Watters, Jr. Date Oct. 2, 1966

Position or Title Director of Information, Southern Regional Council

Address 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia

(Please return to John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 90 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016, at your earliest convenience. Addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed.)

(U)

File

[illegible]

The Upland Institute
of
The Crozer Foundation
Upland Avenue, Chester, Pa. 19013

~~AU~~
~~VJ~~
~~PA~~
MW

Ret PW

December, 1966

Dear friend,

We need your help in bringing the Institute to the attention of students who are interested in training to be agents of social change. We are looking for students who have had some experience in social movements, who have demonstrated promise, and who feel a sense of commitment in working for social change.

Will you please post the enclosed announcement? Do not hesitate to ask for additional copies. We welcome names of students you would suggest.

A copy of our new Bulletin will be sent to you early in 1967.

We do appreciate your help and interest.

Sincerely yours,

George Willoughby

George Willoughby
Director of Field Training

enclosure

GW/tt

THE UPLAND INSTITUTE

TRAINING FOR LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL CHANGE

BASIC CURRICULUM — One year graduate study leading to certification through seminars, reading programs, field work, individual projects, lectures by authorities in the field of social action.

FOR WHOM? — Students with a BA degree or equivalent training and experience who are preparing for full-time or volunteer work with agencies involved in social change.

WHAT ARE THE AREAS OF CONCENTRATION? — The major conflict areas in American society today. Such as: the freedom movement, full employment, urban development, problems in inter-group relations, community education, and action for peace and international order.

WHAT DOES FIELD TRAINING INVOLVE? — Work with agencies involved in social change provide a background of practical experience, develop usable techniques, and tests aptitudes for such work.

LOCATED WHERE THE PROBLEMS ARE, in Chester, Pennsylvania, the heart of Delaware Valley, an industrial urban area extending from Philadelphia to Wilmington, Delaware and beyond. The Institute is housed on the campus of the Crozer-Chester Medical Center and the Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa.

COST — Tuition, fees, board and room in dormitory — maximum of $1100. Limited scholarships are available on the basis of need.

A FACULTY academically qualified and experienced in areas of social change, augmented by visiting lecturers who in 1965-67 included:

Mr. Saul Alinsky
Dr. Kenneth Boulding
Dr. Staughton Lynd
Dr. Arthur Waskow
Mr. Norman Hill
Mr. Norman Thomas
Mr. A. J. Muste
Dr. Harold Lewis
Mr. Bayard Rustin
Dr. Robert Gilmore

The Upland Institute is based on the concept that change is inherent in human institutions and attitudes, and that the growing complexity of contemporary society necessitates rapid and often drastic change if pressing human problems are to be met in a constructive manner. At a time of increasing reliance upon violence to achieve social change, we believe that man's intellectual abilities, his accumulated knowledge, and resources which spring from religious and secular insights and social heritage can be used to train men and women to engage in the processes of social change through non-violent, democratic methods.

To: John W. Thomas, The Upland Institute, Upland Ave., Chester, Pa. 19013

Please send me further information about the program of the Institute.

☐ Check here if interested in attending the Institute.

NAME ____________________

STREET ____________________

CITY ____________ STATE ____________ ZIP ________

File

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PLEASE POST

THE TRANS-ACTION FELLOWSHIPS FOR 1968

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis, Missouri

The Russell Sage Foundation has established TRANS-ACTION Fellowships at Washington University for two practicing journalists.

Purpose: To enable young journalists to pursue graduate studies in the social sciences and concurrently continue their editorial practices on the staff of TRANS-ACTION, the National Magazine of Social Science and Modern Society, published at Washington University.

The second year of one-year Fellowships will begin in February, 1968. Fellowship winners may study in any of the social sciences--political science, sociology, psychology, economics, and anthropology. Course work (two per semester) may be taken for credit towards an advanced degree. Summer courses are also available.

Stipend is $8,000 per year. In addition, travel expenses to and from origination point, tuition, and textbooks are covered by the Fellowships which are open to men and women.

For further information and application forms write to:

Trans-action Fellowships
Box 1043
Washington University
St. Louis, Missouri 63130

Applications, with accompanying college transcripts, must be received by October 15, 1967, to be considered for the 1968 Fellowships.

####

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63130

Application for Admission to the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

To be filled in by the student and returned to the Office of the Dean.

Mr.
Miss ....
Mrs.
LAST FIRST MIDDLE

Address .... *Phone No.* ....
STREET AND NUMBER CITY ZONE NUMBER STATE

Place of birth .... *Date of birth* ....

Country of citizenship .... *Social Security number* ....

When do you expect to enter? ....

For what degree do you propose to study? ....

When do you expect to take this degree? ....

Proposed major subject .... *Proposed minor subject* ....
(if desired)

Names of Colleges Attended	*Dates of Attendance*	*Degrees Received and Dates*

NOTE: *Official transcripts of all previous college work must be filed with this application or sent to the office of the Dean by the Registrars of the Colleges attended. No action can be taken on this application until transcripts are received.*

....
DATE OF APPLICATION SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT

THE SPACES BELOW ARE NOT TO BE FILLED IN BY THE STUDENT

Admission

1. *Full admission* ....
2. *Student not candidate for a degree* ....
3. *Qualified admission: Grade point average* ....;

grade points deficient ....; *deficient in prerequisites as follows:* ....

....

....

....

Admitted .... *By* ....
DEAN

[illegible] File

All → A group of interested students, faculty and staff members met to draw up plans for a Samuel Younge Memorial Foundation. Before any proposals were discussed, it was the general concensus of the group that this Foundation will not be controlled through Tuskegee Institute.

The Samuel Younge Memorial Foundation

Bernice Quinn The purpose of this Memorial Foundation shall be to assist students (mainly black students), who are financially unable to obtain a college education. It is our sincere hope that these black students, through this foundation, will obtain a college education and assist others in raising the educational and economical levels of fellow black citizens.

PROPOSALS

(1) Liz Betty + Lou

1. The membership of this ~~membership of this~~ Foundation shall consist of Tuskegee Institute students, faculty and staff members, and any interested Tuskegee Institute resident.

2. This foundation shall provide funds for activist students to attend college.

(2) Scott B

3. Provide the following job training:
   (a) On jobs set up by students.
   (b) Within student government activities
   (c) Within existing Businesses
   (d) In businesses in larger cities such as Birmingham, Atlanta, etc.

Sam, Phill (3) + Hosea McJunkins + Higgins (4)

4. This foundation shall provide funds for the purpose of rehabilitation.

all (5)

5. This Foundation shall be governed by a Board of Trustees.
   a. This Board shall be self-perpetuating and shall govern the issuing of scholarships.
   b. There shall be no preset qualifications for Board Members.
   c. The Board shall appoint Committees as the need for them arises.

Leon (6) → 6. Establish businesses for students and community, such businesses as theaters, Coffee shops, etc.

Bennie James, Monroe, Puryear, Robinson, Schmidt, + McDade (7)

7. An Advisory Board shall be established, whose sole purpose will be to advise. This Advisory Board shall consist of Faculty members and several lawyers.

Harvey (8+9)

8. All contributions should be made to The Samuel Younge Memorial Foundation. ~~No~~ Contributions will be accept only in the form of a check or money order.

9. All contributions or funds will be kept in The Citizens Trust in Atlanta.

July 12, 1965

Mr. David M. Church
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Church:

Here is the draft of our press release. It is subject to possible minor revision by John Wheeler to whom I am sending a copy. The photograph of Mr. Dunbar is also enclosed.

We will wait word from you on a release date. The thinking here is that Sunday would probably be the best day. Can we plan for July 25?

It was good to talk with you and Mr. Hahn this morning.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosures - 2.

July 14, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

I received the copy of your announcement, and hope by now you have the copy of ours and the photograph which were mailed Monday to Mr. Church.

Les Dunbar suggested one change in your announcement. It is to substitute the following for the last sentence of the second paragraph:

> The Council, under Dr. Dunbar's direction, has, through field program as well as research and information service, been a leading force in the southern reform movement. It is also affiliated with Councils on Human Relations in each southern state.

We will wait word from you on whether July 25 is a satisfactory release date.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

July 15, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice President
The Field Foundation Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

My letter of yesterday went out before we had heard the tragic news about Governor Stevenson's death. We were greatly saddened by it.

We will wait now on whatever you want to do about releasing the announcement.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

October 8, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Already we miss you. It occurred to me that you are preparing lectures for which you might find the enclosed material useful. Moreover, I would be anxious to have Peggy's reactions to our attempt to explain the California rioting and lawlessness to liberal whites, especially women.

You will note that I have expanded this beyond what you originally suggested. It cites the lawlessness and the refusal of courts to punish in cases related civil rights to the lawlessness of Los Angeles rioters. To the list of civil rights deaths we've added something about the incidents and the disposition of the cases.

If you can use any of this, feel free to do so. Also note that we are still buttering you up so that you will be nice to SRC while dispensing all of the Field Foundation's millions.

Eleanor, and others here, send their warmest regards to both you and Peggy.

Sincerely,

Samuel Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

October 15, 1965

File

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Don't tell anybody where you got it, but you might find the enclosure interesting.

How is the book? How is Coles? How is Green et al? How is Reed-Roberts?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.

Department of Sociology THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

Social Science Building Madison, Wisconsin 53706 Telephone (608) 262-2921

October 6, 1965

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

Dear Mr. Eagle:

This is meant to honor your request for a quick statement of research design and broader objectives in our study of summer civil rights volunteers, 1965. We are confident that the study is both meaningful and constructive. It has been exciting for us, and I hope to communicate that enthusiasm to you. Before sketching the saga of the research chronology and itemizing our financial needs, let me specify exactly what we are doing and what its benefits should be.

The study comprises a two-wave questionnaire survey administered to a cross-section of civil rights volunteers, working on different projects, with different organizations, and in different areas. The first wave has already been administered to volunteers with SCLC-SCOPE. The questionnaire is enclosed. Here we sought information of four general types: a) background materials on the volunteer's family, his position in his college or university, his personality characteristics, his prior experience with social action etc. b) the volunteer's judgments on a number of value and attitudinal issues ranging from religious belief and general ethical questions to his perceptions concerning Vietnam, nuclear war, and the allegedly "sick society;" c) the volunteer's perceptions of the South generally and his expectations for his particular experiences during the summer; d) various factors associated with the decision to go South in the first place.

At the moment we are preparing a second wave of follow-up questionnaires to be administered to our earlier respondents along with several other groups that we hope to include at this point. We are presently initiating contact with the Law Students Civil Rights Council (some of whom I spent time with in Durham, N.C. in June) and with the Southern Teaching Program. We have also secured the cooperation of CORE and Operation Catch-Up in Prince Edward County, Virginia so that we can include their volunteers in the follow-up stage and gain further comparisons. CORE is a more militant group in areas that are more consistently "hard-core" such as Louisiana and Southern Arkansas. Operation Catch-Up is a remedial schooling program for Negro children who have been without any schooling for some time. This project is much less militant, operates in a less threatening community, and recruits still another type of volunteer.

The follow-up questionnaire itself is designed to assess the actual experiences of these various types of volunteers and evaluate the changes that have occured over the summer in the volunteers' own values and attitudes. It will provide some important variables in predicting the effectiveness of civil rights workers. Finally, it should be provocative for the new perspectives it will uncover on the church, the university, and society in general. Will the students become more or less "religious" or "Academic" or "radical" -- whatever those terms may mean? What kind of students undergo which kinds of change? We already have evidence of a more or less impressionistic nature on these topics. The literature concerning the 1964 COFO project supplies some hints, though most of this writing is rhapsodic and impassioned with little critical analysis and no empirical material. In addition, I have spent time with the volunteers this summer trying to get impressions first-hand in places like Farmville, Virginia and Greensboro, Alabama. The follow-up is planned for mailing to the students on October 15. This is a time calculated to catch the volunteers when their recollections of the South are still fresh but after they have had a chance to re-experience their customary haunts in the North.

In all of this, our goals are both scholarly and practical. We plan a number of publications that will provide systematic checks on the almost exclusively impressionistic accounts that the movement has generated thus far. Hopefully, this will provide a sober corrective to both the allegations of the incensed and the panagyrics of the hyper-committed.

But apart from publications, we plan more immediate benefits. The civil rights movement has at best a jaundiced view of the campus. While it depends heavily on an alliance with the academy, it is ignorant of the university itself and the ways and whims of students generally. Here we are already providing aid. By acting as informal consultants with the data at our command, we are able to help in recruiting volunteers, in allocating them to various areas and projects, and in setting goals and communication patterns that best utilize the talent available. Moreover, the data are relevant to agencies that have invested in the movement but have little feedback in determining not only the consequences of past actions but also the nature of future operations. In all of this, we want to make it very clear that civil rights is our primary objective. Social scientific scholarship is obviously important, but here it is a secondary aim and by-product.

So much for a brief introduction to the project. What follows is an account of its progress so far and the difficulties that have been encountered and resolved. Actually, this summer was our second attempt to launch a panel study of student volunteers for civil rights. We had originally planned to conduct it in the summer of 1964 on the celebrated COFO volunteers in Mississippi. Unhappily this proved abortive as our original permission was retracted at the last moment. The Mississippi staff felt that the results would be too politically explosive should they fall into the hands of a Southern Congressman or perchance the police. In addition, there was a residue of suspicion concerning three white social scientists from Wisconsin who had yet to prove their mettle on the Southern firing-lines. All of this occured in Oxford, Ohio only hours before the first wave of the questionnaires was to be administered. We sadly limped back to Madison, dragging our tails and a thousand empty forms behind us.

This year we resolved to try again. It is true that the summer of 1965 had some disadvantages over 1964. The mass invasion was no longer such an unpredictable adventure. The volunteers themselves were probably somewhat different; certainly the sponsoring agencies were. At the same time, however, there were also advantages. The new sponsoring agencies, especially Martin Luther King, Jr.'s SCLC, were more secure and hence more open to research. With the added year, we were able to design a more sensitive set of questions that would benefit from hindsight over the previous summer. Moreover, many questions could now be taken from a second and wider study of college students and campus religion to yield a comparison between those who volunteered and those who did not.

This past Spring we began negotiations anew. We decided to concentrate on SCLC and their SCOPE project for three reasons. First, SCOPE had the largest number of volunteers. COFO, SNCC, and CORE had all cut-back and many were joining with SCOPE who would have otherwise preferred a different organization, operating in a different area. Second, as mentioned above, we judged that SCLC would be more receptive to research than any other Southern civil rights organization. But third, it was clear that there would be difficulties nevertheless and we temporarily by-passed other civil rights groups since trying to juggle too many balls could clearly lead to fumbling them all.

Our negotiations began in April and were not concluded until June. In fact, we had no definite word until the night before the first-wave of questionnaires was actually administered at the SCOPE orientation conference in Atlanta during the week of June 13-21. We quickly learned the problems of "action research" within an organization that is on the front lines of social change and is under the gun from both its segregationist opponents and those in the Northern rearguard who are suspicious of alleged radicals in any form. While it is true that SCLC was more hospitable than SNCC, it was even so a complex and fatiguing political struggle to win support for the project. Our sociological knowledge of organizational dynamics helped us to determine whom to contact and not to contact at various points. After what can only be termed a grandstand play, we were able to win the valuable support of Mr. Bayard Rustin who was conducting the orientation. Rustin's ability to gain cooperation was enhanced by the support of a committee of distinguished American historians who were there to aid in the orientation. The research was finally approved by Martin Luther King after a long and frequently bitter behind-the-scenes struggle. There is understandable caution within the movement and even a bit of anti-intellectualism. Fortunately, however, we can now report that the SCLC leadership is giving us every cooperation and that the initial obstacles have dissipated. It is true that SCLC has the right to clear all publications, but we expect no difficulties and since our first commitment is to civil rights, we did not want to shoulder the entire burden of deciding between the harmful and the enlightening. Moreover, SCLC now sees more clearly the utility of the research for future programs. It should provide greater understanding of the people they must "reach" and even specific recruitment criteria.

The students themselves were most helpful. They quickly saw the importance of the study and perceived that we were earnestly concerned about civil rights and not simply there to exploit the situation for purposes of a sterile scientific report. We achieved a 90% response rate among the volunteers, which is remarkable since the questionnaires were distributed one day and collected in succeeding days with the students having to fill them out on their own time. In fact, we got a better response rate on our questionnaires than SCOPE had for the required physical examination. Some students even volunteered to keep diaries for us in order to suppliment quantitative materials with qualitative reports and case histories.

This first-wave of questionnaires with the SCOPE volunteers has been converted to IBM cards and we are beginning the long process of analysis. While this is still classified information and includes only rudimentary descriptive percentages, the SCOPE volunteers are generally upper-middle class, with high educational aspiration, cohesive families, strong religious proclivities, and yet very liberal political persuasions when they are compared to college students generally. No beatniks these! But who knows what the summer's experience will do to change them? We hope to know with your help.

At this point, then, the research is proceding smoothly with but one hitch, money. So far we have scraped by with less than $2000.00, combining funds from the Christian Faith and Higher Education Institute and the Danforth Study of the Campus Ministry. These funds are very nearly depleted, however, and more are needed to finance the second stage of data collection and analysis. It would be nice to be able to turn to the large funding agencies such as the National Science Foundation, The National Institute of Mental Health, or the Social Science Research Council. Unhappily, these are disqualified for two reasons. For one, they simply do not act quickly enough and we need the funds as soon as possible; at least part of them must be available to finance the October follow-up. But for another, race relations is an area which is sensitive to funding agencies, particularly to the government. Race, sex, politics, and religion are all anathema to the staid foundations. Somehow this study touches on all four issues. Sex, for example, poses a major problem of adjustment for the volunteers, especially as sex becomes intermingled with racial interaction within the project. I might add that the problems with the established foundations are doubly unfortunate. Not only do they call you into the fray by default, but they also force us to scale down our budget considerably. Were we applying to, say, NSF, the budget would be more like $30,000 since we would then feel free to include a longer period of analysis, a larger staff, computer and secretarial expenses that the University is now absorbing as its part, and a 20% overhead fee for the University's kitty. As it is, the following budget is minimal. It may seem high to the uninitiated, but our feeling is that research of this sort would be a bargain at twice the price, if our immodesty may be pardoned.

I have projected the budget over two years, the remainder of 1965 and 1966. While the estimates are for $2400 for 1965 and $7900 over-all, note that we have a balance of$1400 on hand and this scales down the two previous figures to $1000 and $6500. Most of the items are self-explanatory. The research assistant is necessary both to keep track of the mailed questionnaires and to handle the computer phase of the analysis, once all of the data are in. The printing and mailing costs for the follow-up wave of questionnaires require no elucidation. Typing and clerical help is needed both in drafting the follow-up and in handling reminder notices to recalcitrant respondents as well as in conventional correspondence and paper-writing. The coding and punching costs are minimal and refer, of course, to transferring the data from questionnaires to IBM cards. Note that there is no fee for computer time since the University has given us a grant for that expense. The travel funds are needed to finance several trips South so that we may stay in close touch with the civil rights organizations themselves and make dure that no misunderstandings develop over the data and their rights of clearance on any publications. Finally, the summer salary is to allow me to devote the entire summer of 1966 to the analysis and writing. This is the only instance in which Profs. Aiken, Marwell and myself are asking for any time off for the study. And yet it is necessary to free one of us for a sizeable chunk of time at this phase of the research.

Projected Budget

	1965	1966
Research Assistant	$690.00	$2226.00
Printing follow-up questionnaire	350.00	-------
Mailing follow-up reminders	400.00	-------
Typing and Misc.	150.00	100.00
Coding and punching data	100.00	700.00
Travel	710.00	474.00
Summer Salary (Demerath; 2/9 academic salary)	-----	2000.00
TOTALS	2400.00	5500.00
BALANCE ON HAND	1400.00	-------
TOTAL NEED/Year	$1000.00	$5500.00

TOTAL REQUEST: $ 6500.00

But thus far I have neglected to comment on the three principle investigators much less give an exhaustive listing of our vitae and bibliographies. Prof. Aiken is a native Mississippian with a B.A. from the University of Mississippi and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan. His special area is community analysis, both Northern and Southern, and I think you can understand how germane this is to a study of people trying to effect community change. Prof. Marwell is an M.I.T. undergraduate and a Ph.D. from N.Y.U. He is a methodologist and social psychologist whose interests in personality dynamics and small group interaction bring two other highly relevant specialities to bear on the study. Finally, I have an A.B. from Harvard and a Ph.D. from the University of California at Berkeley with interests in the sociology of religion, precarious organizations, social change and the sociology of education. Anyone who is anxious to explore some of my own work in the religious area might consult my book Social Class in American Protestantism (Rand McNally) and the long introduction to the new edition of Liston Pope's Millhands and Preachers (Yale Press). I might add that while we are assistant professors at the moment, promotions are just around the corner for each of us. In a further burst of bad taste, it might be noted that Wisconsin has recently been considered among the top six departments in American sociology.

Needless to say, we appreciate your effort on behalf of the study. If there is anything we can do to facilitate an early decision, don't hesitate to let me know. I stand ready, willing, and able to come to New York any time to go over the research in more detail. We think it is a crucial study that should not be neglected or done sloppily. We are going out of our way to maximize its success and are willing to continue doing so to almost any lengths. Thank you again, for your help and encouragement.

Sincerely,

N. J. Demerath III
Asst. Professor

Name ____________________

Home Address ____________________
(NUMBER) (STREET)

____
(TOWN) (STATE)

Student Address ____________________
(RESIDENCE) (COLLEGE)

____
(TOWN AND STATE)

Address at which you can be contacted as of October 15, 1965:

____

00656

QUESTIONNAIRE

As volunteers for Southern civil rights, you are among the most prominent and talked about members of this or any other generation. Over the summer you will damned as well as praised. Your views and characteristics will be discussed widely but often inaccurately. As sociologists, we are anxious to maximize accuracy in learning about why you chose to go, what you expect to occur, your background, and your views on a range of social and philosophical issues.

In this questionnaire you will find a series of questions on each of these topics. While some of the answers could be pondered for years, work as rapidly as possible and answer according to your actual feelings and not according to what you think you should feel. There are no "right answers" here. Even the members of your distinctive group will vary widely in most of the opinions expressed.

Your individual answers will be confidential not only to the world but also to your project leaders. It is true that we ask for your name in the upper right hand corner on this cover sheet. But this is not for purposes of divulgence since we will immediately detach the sheet from the completed questionnaire. Instead we need your name only for the possibility that we will want to contact you later for some afterthoughts on your summer's activities.

Finally, one of the costs of studying large groups is that is is impossible to capture the particular nuance of the particular individual. In some cases, you will feel hopelessly "approximated." In other cases, you may be struck by the ambiguity of a question. Nevertheless, we ask you to persevere and answer every item as accurately as possible. If you have comments or reactions, either scribble them on the questionnaire itself or write them to us at any time at the address below.

Thank you for your cooperation. We hope that the study is as interesting to you as it will be to others. Good luck in the next hour and in the next months ahead.

Professor Michael Aiken
Professor N. J. Demerath
Professor Gerald Marwell

Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

VOLUNTEERS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

I. First we would like to learn something about your decision to join the summer project. For each question simply circle the number beside the appropriate response category.

1. How long did it take you to decide to apply after you heard about the project? 2
   1) several months 3) several weeks 5) several days 7) immediately
   2) about a month 4) about a week 6) one day
2. How difficult was the decision for you, judging by the amount of concern it caused you and the number of pros and cons you considered? 3
   1) very difficult 3) somewhat difficult
   2) moderately difficult 4) not difficult at all
3. If you had complete freedom of choice, in what part of the summer program would you choose to specialize? 4
   1) voter registration 4) tutoring and remedial education
   2) political education 5) no preference at all
   3) community organization
4. How many of your fellow participants in this project have you known prior to the project itself? 5
   1) ____________ (number)
   2) How many people do you know in similar past or present projects in the South? ____________ (number)
5. What are the three most important reasons for your personal participation in the Project: x
   1) most important: ____________
   2) second most important: ____________
   3) third most important: ____________
6. Now what are the three most important worries that you have about the summer: x
   1) most important: ____________
   2) second most important: ____________
   3) third most important: ____________
7. We are interested in how your participation in the summer project will be financed. What percentage comes from each of the following sources? x
   1) own money ____%
   2) parents ____%
   3) other relatives ____%
   4) religious groups ____%
   5) friends ____%
   6) civic organizations ____%
   (name) ____________
   7) civil-rights groups ____%
   (name of specific group) ____________
   8) other (specify) ____________%

People have sacrificed different things to participate in the summer project. For each series of statements, circle the one that is most appropriate to you.

8. What would you be doing this summer if you were not going to the South? Circle the category that is most accurate, where full-time means all but two weeks. 9
   1) working full-time in my career job
   2) working full-time in a summer job
   3) going to school full-time
   4) vacationing full-time
   5) working part-time; going to school part-time
   6) working part-time; vacationing part-time
   7) going to school part-time; vacationing part-time
   8) other (please specify) ____________
9. Which statement best describes the summer's effect on your financial situation? (Remember, circle only one) 10
   1) The loss of savings and/or earnings will mean that I will have to change my plans drastically for next year.
   2) The loss will mean that I will have to work especially hard next year to pay for what I had planned to do.
   3) The loss is not a severe handicap, though it will mean less money than I had counted on.
   4) The summer is not a financial hardship to me at all.
   5) Other (please specify) ____________
10. Which statement best describes the effect on your academic plans? 11
    1) I am not in school.
    2) Participation will mean that I won't be able to attend school next year until I make up the loss of funds.
    3) Participation will mean that I will be less effective in school next year since I will have to make up the money with added part-time work.
    4) Participation means sacrificing the summer school that I had originally planned.
    5) Participation will keep me from studying on my own this summer for academic purposes.
    6) Participation does not affect my school schedule at all.
    7) Other (please specify) ____________
11. Which statement best describes the summer's effect on your future career? 12
    1) The summer will not only take crucial time away from my career, but it will also hurt my chances because of the reputation it will give me.
    2) Although the summer will not effect my career time-table, it may seriously jeopardize the career I had hoped for because of the reputation it will earn me.
    3) I expect no repercussions from the summer because of what people will think, but the summer will take valuable time away from my career.
    4) Neither the time nor the reputation will be important factors in my career.
    5) The summer should actually enhance my career opportunities.
    6) Other (please specify) ____________
12. Is there any other way in which the summer will require you to sacrifice? If so, would you please indicate what it is and describe it briefly. x
    ____
    ____
    ____

II. Now we are interested in finding out something about your family, your friends, and other close personal relationships. Remember that all your answers are confidential.

A. First, there are several questions that apply separately to your father and your mother. For each question circle the category that is most appropriate for each person.

	Father	Mother	
1. How would you rank this person's views on the racial situation	1) strong integrationist	1) str. integrationist	13
	2) moderate integrationist	2) mod. integrationist	
	3) mixed feelings	3) mixed feelings	
	4) moderate segregationist	4) mod. segregationist	
	5) strong segregationist	5) str. segregationist	
2. How do these people feel about your personal participation in the summer project?	1) strong support	1) str. support	15
	2) cautious support	2) cautious support	
	3) no opinion expressed	3) no opinion expressed	
	4) mild disapproval	4) mild disapproval	
	5) strong disapproval	5) str. disapproval	
3. Which of the following best represents the way in which your participation in the project will affect this relationship	1) str. positive effect	1) str. positive effect	17
	2) mild positive effect	2) mild positive effect	
	3) no effect	3) no effect	
	4) mild negative effect	4) mild negative effect	
	5) str. negative effect	5) str. negative effect	
4. Which category best describes this person's political preference?	1) Socialist	1) Socialist	19
	2) Liberal Democrat	2) Liberal Democrat	
	3) Conservative Democrat	3) Con. Democrat	
	4) Independent-leaning toward Democrat	4) Independent-leaning toward Democrat	
	5) Independent-leaning toward Republican	5) Independent-leaning toward Republican	
	6) Liberal Republican	6) Liberal Republican	
	7) Con. Republican	7) Con. Republican	
	8) John Birch Society supporter	8) John Birch Society supporter	

5. Have any of your relatives ever been active in the civil rights movement, including relatives not mentioned above? 21
   1) Yes 2) No

IF YES, briefly identify their relationship to you and note the nature of the activity. ____________ x
____

B. Next, consider the three persons closest to you, other than your parents. These may include your spouse, your fiancee, your girl (or boy) friend, friends of the same sex, or your brother or sister. Answer each of the following questions for each of these persons, again circling the appropriate categories. You may want to write their first names in the spaces provided simply as a reminder of which column applies to whom.

	1 ______ (First Name)	2 ______ (First Name)	3 ______ (First Name)	
1. What is this person's relationship to you?	1) spouse 2) fiancee 3) potential fiancee 4) brother or sister 5) other relative 6) friend 7) teacher 8) religious figure 9) other (specify) ______	1) spouse 2) fiancee 3) potential fiancee 4) brother or sister 5) other relative 6) friend 7) teacher 8) religious figure 9) other(specify) ______	1) spouse 2) fiancee 3) potential fiancee 4) brother or sister 5) other relative 6) friend 7) teacher 8) religious figure 9) other(specify) ______	22
2. What is this person's sex?	1) male 2) female	1) male 2) female	1) male 2) female	25
3. How old is this person?	______years	______years	______years	28
4. What is this person's race?	1) Negro 2) white 3) other	1) Negro 2) white 3) other	1) Negro 2) white 3) other	31
5. How would you rank this person's views on the racial situation?	1) strong integrationist 2) moderate integrationist 3) mixed feelings 4) moderate segregationist 5) strong segregationist	1) strong integrationist 2) moderate integrationist 3) mixed feelings 4) moderate segregationist 5) strong segregationist	1) strong integrationist 2) moderate integrationist 3) mixed feelings 4) moderate segregationist 5) strong segregationist	34
6. How does this person feel about your personal participation in the project?	1) strong support 2) cautious support 3) no opinion expressed 4) mild disapproval 5) strong disapproval	1) strong support 2) cautious support 3) no opinion expressed 4) mild disapproval 5) strong disapproval	1) strong support 2) cautious support 3) no opinion expressed 4) mild disapproval 5) strong disapproval	37
7. How often has this person been involved in civil rights demonstrations?	1) frequently 2) several times 3) once 4) never	1) frequently 2) several times 3) once 4) never	1) frequently 2) several times 3) once 4) never	40
8. Has this person actively participated in any civil rights projects in the South?	1) yes, both now and in the past 2) yes, in the past 3) yes, now 4) no	1) yes, both now and in the past 2) yes, in the past 3) yes, now 4) no	1) yes, both now and in the past 2) yes, in the past 3) yes, now 4) no	43
9. Has your decision to join the project affected your relationship?	1) strongly positive 2) mild positive 3) no effect 4) mild negative 5) strongly negative	1) strongly positive 2) mild positive 3) no effect 4) mild negative 5) strongly negative	1) strongly positive 2) mild positive 3) no effect 4) mild negative 5) strongly negative	46
10. Which category best describes this person's political preferences?	1) Socialist 2) Liberal Democrat 3) Conservative Democrat 4) Independent-leaning toward Democrat 5) Independent-leaning toward Republican 6) Liberal Republican 7) Conservative Republican 8) John Birch supporter	1) Socialist 2) Liberal Democrat 3) Conservative Democrat 4) Independent-leaning toward Democrat 5) Independent-leaning toward Republican 6) Liberal Republican 7) Conservative Republican 8) John Birch supporter	1) Socialist 2) Liberal Democrat 3) Conservative Democrat 4) Independent-leaning toward Democrat 5) Independent-leaning toward Republican 6) Liberal Republican 7) Conservative Republican 8) John Birch supporter	49

(SEE TOP OF NEXT COLUMN)

III. Participants in the summer project will vary in their prior contact with southern whites and southern Negroes. They will also differ in their prior experience with the civil rights movement. The following questions try to obtain information on these items.

1. How much time have you spent living or visiting in the South (i.e., Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia)? 52
   1) none
   2) less than 1 month
   3) 1 to 3 months
   4) 4 to 6 months
   5) 7 months to 1 year
   6) 1 to 2 years
   7) 3 to 5 years
   8) 6 to 10 years
   9) more than 10 years

2. Of the personal friends you have had, how many have expressed support for segregation? 53
   1) none
   2) a few
   3) about half
   4) most
   5) all

3. Have you ever discussed civil rights with a southern white segregationist? 54
   1) yes, many times
   2) yes, several times
   3) yes, once or twice
   4) never

Segregating these next items runs counter to our social consciences. Nevertheless, the first set is to be answered only by Negroes; "separate but equal" items follow for whites.

4. (IF NEGRO) We are interested in the amount of contact you have had with whites generally. For each category below, indicate how much you have experienced it. Circle the appropriate number.
   a) have dated a White 55
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   b) have had whites in my home as guests or have been guests in white homes
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   c) have attended small social gatherings with whites
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   d) have lived with whites in close quarters in dormitories, etc.
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   e) have worked with whites in situations requiring sustained cooperation as equals
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times

5. (IF WHITE) We are interested in the amount of contact you have had with Negroes generally. For each category below, indicate how much you have experienced it. Circle the appropriate number.
   a) have dated a Negro 60
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   b) have had Negroes in my home as guests or have been guests in Negro homes
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   c) have attended small social gatherings with Negroes
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   d) have lived with Negroes in close quarters in dormitories, etc.
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times
   e) have worked with Negroes in situations requiring sustained cooperation as equals
   1) never 2) once or twice 3) several times

6. Was there ever any period in your life when you were opposed to integration? 65
   1) yes 2) no
   (IF YES) how long ago did this period end? ______years ______mos. x

7. How many times, if any, have you engaged in each of the following civil rights activities in the North and in the South? x

1) picketing	North_____	South_____
2) fund raising	North_____	South_____
3) circulating petitions	North_____	South_____
4) organizing boycotts	North_____	South_____
5) freedom rides	North_____	South_____
6) sit-ins, pray-ins, wade-ins	North_____	South_____
7) working in a civil-rights organization office	North_____	South_____
8) other (specify) ______________	North_____	South_____

8. Were you a member of the 1964 COFO project in Mississippi? 66
   1) yes 2) no

9. There are a number of civil rights organizations which differ in approach, tactics, and membership. We are interested in your evaluation of the effectiveness of each of these organizations in reducing discrimination against Negroes and eliminating segregation. For each organization listed, indicate the effectiveness of the organization by circling the appropriate number after the name of each organization.

Very Effective		Slightly Effective	Slightly Ineffective		Very Ineffective	
1	2	3	4	5	6	2-7

	VE		SE	SI		VI
a) Black Muslims (Elijah Muhammad)	1	2	3	4	5	6
b) Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (James Farmer)	1	2	3	4	5	6
c) National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Roy Wilkins)	1	2	3	4	5	6
d) Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (Martin Luther King)	1	2	3	4	5	6
e) Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (John Lewis, James Foreman)	1	2	3	4	5	6
f) Urban League (Whitney Young)	1	2	3	4	5	6

10. Below is a list of agencies and organizations. Evaluate each according to the scale below, indicating how effective it is in supporting either integration or segregation. Circle one number for each.

For Integration Strongly Effective		For Integration Relatively Ineffective	For Segregation Relatively Ineffective		For Segregation Strongly Effective
1	2	3	4	5	6

	For Integration			For Segregation			
	SE		RI	RI		SE	
a) Southern business organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	8
b) U.S. Supreme Court	1	2	3	4	5	6	
c) Southern courts	1	2	3	4	5	6	
d) U.S. Presidency	1	2	3	4	5	6	
e) Southern state legislatures	1	2	3	4	5	6	12
f) Northern churches	1	2	3	4	5	6	
g) Ku Klux Klan	1	2	3	4	5	6	
h) Socialist Parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	
i) U.S. Congress	1	2	3	4	5	6	
j) Southern Negro churches	1	2	3	4	5	6	17
k) Civil rights organizations	1	2	3	4	5	6	
l) F.B.I.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
m) Southern white churches	1	2	3	4	5	6	
n) National Democratic Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	21
o) Southern local and state police	1	2	3	4	5	6	
p) Northern businesses operating in the South	1	2	3	4	5	6	
q) White Citizens Councils	1	2	3	4	5	6	
r) National Republican Party	1	2	3	4	5	6	
s) U.S. Justice Department	1	2	3	4	5	6	26

IV. Next there are a number of statements to which we would like your reaction. There will probably be a great many differences among you, and there are no correct answers. For each statement please circle the single category on the right which most nearly corresponds to your opinion. Here are what the categories mean, ranging from 1 to 6.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD	
1. The U.S. Justice Department does as much as it possibly can, given the laws on civil rights within which it must work..........	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
2. Most northern state and local judges are usually willing to go along with a "frame" of anyone they consider to have "dangerous ideas."................................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3. In order to be non-violent, you must love the person who violently attacks you.........	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. The problem of the Negro in America is basically economic	1	2	3	4	5	6	
5. I expect that there will be a tendency for most experienced Negro civil rights workers not to have strong trust in white middle-class summer participants	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
6. Most whites in the Deep South feel a good deal of shame about segregation and would like an easy way to end it without a loss of pride..	1	2	3	4	5	6	
7. The continuing plight of American Negroes has caused me to have grave doubts about the superiority of democracy as a political system	1	2	3	4	5	6	
8. I would be greatly disturbed if some of my fellow project participants are self-declared Communists...	1	2	3	4	5	6	
9. In general, the national mass media do an excellent job of reporting the civil rights struggle in the South	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
10. Most state and local courts in the Deep South tolerate illegal police methods	1	2	3	4	5	6	
11. Since civil rights workers are in the public eye, they must abstain from all non-marital sexual activities in order to maintain high standards of personal decorum...	1	2	3	4	5	6	
12. The same high standards of personal decorum should apply to drinking; alcohol should be avoided in any form	1	2	3	4	5	6	
13. I expect most Negroes in the Deep South to be afraid to be associated with the summer project..................................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
14. It is morally correct to use the threat of violence as a strategy to avoid violent attacks from others.........................	1	2	3	4	5	6	15
15. Even if things are not changed much in the South this summer, what happens there will speed up integration in the North..	1	2	3	4	5	6	
16. When the case does not concern Negro civil rights, the Negro usually receives a fair trial in a state or local court in the Deep South.......................................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
17. Most whites in the Deep South are so hostile to integration that they are actually anxious to use violence as an expression of their feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	
18. The only progress that can be expected in the Deep South within the next ten years is token integration	1	2	3	4	5	6	
19. No matter how slow the progress, the civil rights campaign should continue to work within the existing southern laws, although the movement should seek changes in them	1	2	3	4	5	6	20
20. It is said that American business organizations are unrivaled in their efficiency. The civil rights movement would do well to model itself along such lines..........	1	2	3	4	5	6	
21. Most whites in the Deep South are willing to integrate in many areas but they are prevented from doing so by the white power structure	1	2	3	4	5	6	
22. It is important for northern businesses to continue to locate in the South despite continued segregation	1	2	3	4	5	6	
23. Under no circumstances whatsoever should a participant place his judgment above the policy of the project leaders in determining how to act this summer	1	2	3	4	5	6	
24. Any lasting changes in civil rights in the South will have to come from the Southerners themselves rather than from outside pressures	1	2	3	4	5	6	25
25. The summer's voter registration campaign will produce a politically momentous increase in registered voters in the Deep South.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
26. Police in the Deep South are generally recruited from among the least qualified segments of the population	1	2	3	4	5	6	
27. Federal troops should be stationed in hard-core segregationist areas on a semi-permanent basis to guarantee civil rights..	1	2	3	4	5	6	

	SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD	
28. As a result of the summer, a very large number of whites in the Deep South will move to more moderate positions on civil rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	
29. Violence is proper when it is the only way of defending yourself or others	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
30. This summer's program will lead to a dramatic increase in militancy among Southern Negroes by the end of the summer	1	2	3	4	5	6	
31. The American political system has proven itself incapable of coping with the problem of discrimination against Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	6	
32. Despite my commitment to civil rights, I expect to have some difficulty relating to fellow workers not of my race	1	2	3	4	5	6	
33. The summer's program will not be a success unless several dramatic incidents focus the attention of the nation on the intolerable conditions of the southern Negro	1	2	3	4	5	6	
34. The southern segregationist is to be pitied rather than scorned because he is a victim of his circumstances	1	2	3	4	5	6	35
35. Any volunteer who does not believe in God or practice some religion will be at a great disadvantage trying to communicate with southern Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	6	
36. All federal funds for public projects should be withdrawn from segregationist areas in the South	1	2	3	4	5	6	
37. Most of the permanent field workers in the South have probably developed extraordinary sensitivity to the needs and wants of other people	1	2	3	4	5	6	
38. The civil rights movement may have to abandon the policy of non-violence if long-established southern customs are to be changed	1	2	3	4	5	6	
39. Almost nothing that can happen in the South this summer would make me feel my summer's work was not a success	1	2	3	4	5	6	40
40. In a democracy it is proper for a citizen to disobey any laws he thinks prejudicial or unjust	1	2	3	4	5	6	
41. Most whites in the Deep South know that society is changing and that they will have to go along with integration in the end	1	2	3	4	5	6	
42. It would be better for the Negro to remain in his current position if violence were the only way to change that position	1	2	3	4	5	6	
43. A major obstacle to the summer project will be a lack of cooperation from local Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	6	
44. I expect to find the summer project a highly efficient and well-coordinated organization	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
45. The southern Negro is the real current leader in the civil rights struggle	1	2	3	4	5	6	
46. If the civil rights movement does not continue to be non-violent, the mass of white Americans outside of the south will become much more antagonistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	
47. Most agents of the FBI are personally antagonistic toward the movement for Negro civil rights	1	2	3	4	5	6	
48. The selection process for this summer's program means that those of us who are here are the best possible people for this particular job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	
49. In view of past discrimination, Negroes should now be given jobs ahead of whites	1	2	3	4	5	6	50
50. The racial crisis in the U.S. should be resolved on a local level without the intervention of the Federal government	1	2	3	4	5	6	
51. If a summer project participant witnessed a Negro violating a federal law that had nothing to do with segregation, he should testify even before a southern local court	1	2	3	4	5	6	
52. The racial problem will only be solved when all lower class groups, white and Negro, combine in common struggle	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	

V. Now there are several other questions that have a different format. Below are two sets of experiences that are possible during your stay in the South. Answer both sets, regardless of your race. For each item, circle the appropriate numbers.

Very Likely 1	Somewhat Likely 2	50 - 50 Chance 3	Somewhat Unlikely 4	Very Unlikely 5

1. How probable is it that you will do each of the following this summer? Rate each category according to the scale above.	VL	SL	50	SU	VU	
a) date a local white Southerner	1	2	3	4	5	2
b) live in a local white home for at least several days	1	2	3	4	5	
c) visit a local white home	1	2	3	4	5	
d) attend church with local whites	1	2	3	4	5	5
e) develop a few lasting friendships with local whites	1	2	3	4	5	
f) have several rational discussions with local whites	1	2	3	4	5	
g) have several honest discussions with local whites about the issues of civil rights	1	2	3	4	5	
h) have friendly casual conversations with local whites along the streets	1	2	3	4	5	
i) The differences between us will preclude any pleasant or constructive contact with local white Southerners	1	2	3	4	5	10
2. How probable is it that you will do each of the following this summer?						
a) date a local Negro	1	2	3	4	5	
b) live in the home of a local Negro for at least several days	1	2	3	4	5	
c) visit the home of a local Negro	1	2	3	4	5	
d) attend church with local Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	
e) develop a few lasting friendships with local Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	15
f) have several rational discussions with local Negroes about non-civil rights issues	1	2	3	4	5	
g) have several honest discussions with local Negroes about the issues of civil rights	1	2	3	4	5	
h) have friendly casual conversations with local Negroes along the streets	1	2	3	4	5	
i) The differences between us will preclude any pleasant or constructive contact with local Negroes	1	2	3	4	5	

3. This summer should include a range of experiences which are unusual and trying. How confident are you of your ability to cope with the following situations?

a) Averting violence when faced alone by a small group of drunken, hostile Southern white youths 20
  1) very confident
  2) somewhat confident
  3) unsure
  4) somewhat unconfident
  5) very unconfident

b) Teaching an unmotivated Southern Negro youth 21
  1) very confident
  2) somewhat confident
  3) unsure
  4) somewhat unconfident
  5) very unconfident

c) Communicating with an older Southern Negro woman who is afraid to register to vote 22
  1) very confident
  2) somewhat confident
  3) unsure
  4) somewhat unconfident
  5) very unconfident

d) Adjusting to extremely poor physical living conditions 23
  1) very confident
  2) somewhat confident
  3) unsure
  4) somewhat unconfident
  5) very unconfident

e) Working with a moderate white minister in a small Southern town to avoid violence and improve communication 24
1) very confident
2) somewhat confident
3) unsure
4) somewhat unconfident
5) very unconfident

f) Remaining non-violent in the face of police brutality against a Negro woman whom you have personally persuaded to register for voting 25
1) very confident
2) somewhat confident
3) unsure
4) somewhat unconfident
5) very unconfident

4. Let's assume that this summer's project is only one of many projects, all devoted to quite different problems but with the same odds against success and the same personal risks. How would you evaluate projects for each of the following goals in comparison with this summer's campaign. Use the numbered scale below in your answers:

Much More Important Than the Summer Project	Somewhat More Important Than the Summer Project	About the Same Importance As the Summer Project	Somewhat Less Important Than the Summer Project	Much Less Important Than the Summer Project
1	2	3	4	5

	MMI	SMI	AS	SLI	MLI	
a) World nuclear disarmament	1	2	3	4	5	26
b) End capitol punishment in U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	
c) Halt the House Un-American Activities Committee	1	2	3	4	5	
d) Reduction of poverty through political action	1	2	3	4	5	
e) Negro and Puerto Rican civil rights in Harlem	1	2	3	4	5	30
f) End the war in Viet Nam	1	2	3	4	5	
g) Increase student rights in American colleges and universities	1	2	3	4	5	
h) Aid to foreign countries through the Peace Corps	1	2	3	4	5	
i) Reduction of juvenile delinquency	1	2	3	4	5	34

5. What are your expectations for the summer on the following questions?

a) How likely is it that you will be arrested at any time during the summer? 35
1) very likely
2) somewhat likely
e) 50-50 chance
4) somewhat unlikely
5) very unlikely

b) How likely is it that you will spend some time in jail or some other form of confinement? 36
1) very likely
2) somewhat likely
3) 50-50 chance
4) somewhat unlikely
5) very unlikely

c) About how much total time do you expect to spend in jail? 37
1) a month or more
2) two weeks to a month
3) one to two weeks
4) three days to a week
5) one or two days
6) less than 24 hours
7) none

d) How likely is it that you personally will become involved in violence during the summer? 38
1) very likely
2) somewhat likely
3) 50-50 chance
4) somewhat unlikely
5) very unlikely

e) Regardless of your own involvement, how much violence do you think there will be concerning the volunteers? 39
1) a great deal
2) a moderate amount
3) a little
4) none at all

(IF ANY):

f) How will this violence compare with that of the last year in the South over civil rights? 40
1) violence much greater this summer
2) violence somewhat greater this summer
3) about the same
4) violence somewhat less this summer
5) violence much less this summer

g) How severe do you think the violence will get? Pick the first category that is appropriate, moving from top to bottom. 41
1) purposeful killings
2) accidental deaths during an incident
3) serious bodily injuries
4) painful but temporary injuries
5) only very minor injuries from scuffles

VI. Now we would like your reaction to a few political, social and religious issues. For each item circle the number on the right that most nearly reflects your opinion.

Strongly Agree		Agree	Disagree		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	SA		A	D		SD	
1. People should do what is morally right regardless of the consequences	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
2. I believe there is at least a 50-50 chance of a nuclear war in the next ten years	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3. I believe that a larger proportion of the Federal Government's budget should be allocated to poverty, medical care, education, etc	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. There is no power in the universe which man, theoretically, cannot someday control	1	2	3	4	5	6	
5. American culture is sick and moving along the road to destruction	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6. Faith is a poor substitute for assurance and knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
7. It's who you know rather than what you know that's important in getting ahead	1	2	3	4	5	6	
8. The thought of being at the mercy of forces beyond my control is intolerable to me	1	2	3	4	5	6	
9. The businessman and the manufacturer are more important to society than the artist and the scholar	1	2	3	4	5	6	
10. The United States should try to initiate negotiations in an area like Viet Nam and should avoid further military participation	1	2	3	4	5	6	
11. Organized religion is irrelevant today when it tries to deal with political and economic problems in religious terms	1	2	3	4	5	6	52
12. I believe in a divine judgment after death where some shall be rewarded and others punished	1	2	3	4	5	6	
13. You can't blame people for taking all they can get	1	2	3	4	5	6	
14. I favor having our government continue to give economic aid to other countries such as India	1	2	3	4	5	6	
15. Religion provides important criteria for helping us decide how we should act	1	2	3	4	5	6	
16. The church is holy and not to be equated with other human institutions	1	2	3	4	5	6	57
17. Men cannot fulfill themselves in the world without believing in God	1	2	3	4	5	6	
18. Christian theology has over-emphasized the evil of man and has neglected the goodness of the world – including man	1	2	3	4	5	6	
19. I often find myself in agreement with religious doctrine but opposed to the policies of churches and ministers	1	2	3	4	5	6	
20. Jesus was God's only Son, sent into the world by God to redeem me and all mankind	1	2	3	4	5	6	
21. Religion hampers man's development by making him dependent on a higher power	1	2	3	4	5	6	62
22. I would expect a thinking religious person to have doubts about the existence of God	1	2	3	4	5	6	
23. Private prayer or meditation is an important activity in my daily life	1	2	3	4	5	6	
24. For me salvation refers more to the possibility of living a fully human life than to a life after death	1	2	3	4	5	6	65

25. Which one of the following statements comes closest to expressing what you now believe about God or ultimate reality? (Circle the appropriate number.)
    1) I have faith in God as a person who is concerned about me and all mankind and to Whom I am accountable. 66
    2) I don't believe in God as a person, but I do believe in a higher power or being of some kind.
    3) Ultimate reality for me is love for other human beings but I do not believe in God or a higher power or being.
    4) Ultimate reality is represented for me in the natural and physical laws which man is able to discover.
    5) I have many values and trust many beings, but no one is superior to or prevades all others.
    6) I don't know whether there is a God or ultimate reality, and I don't believe there is anyway to find out.
    7) I don't believe there is a God or any ultimate reality.
    8) Other (please specify) ______________________

VII. (IF YOU HAVE NEVER BEEN A COLLEGE STUDENT, SKIP TO SECTION VIII). The following questions are concerned with your college activities and experience. Since you are among the most prominent college students of this generation, we are especially interested in your comments and opinions regarding your college life. Again, for each item, circle the number which most nearly reflects your opinion.

Strongly Agree		Agree	Disagree		Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	SA		A	D		SD	
1. College education does more to break down values than to build up ideals...............	1	2	3	4	5	6	2
2. Research is just as important as teaching in the life of the university...............	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3. My college courses provided almost no discussion or controversy over basic values or commitments in life............	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. My professors seemed very concerned about political issues and social problems.......	1	2	3	4	5	6	
5. The kind of knowledge acquired in most college classes is of doubtful value outside the college doors........................	1	2	3	4	5	6	6
6. Significant learning may take place even if the professor does not know or relate to the student as an individual..............	1	2	3	4	5	6	
7. I think of myself as an "intellectual".	1	2	3	4	5	6	
8. It is proper to seek knowledge for knowledge's sake and not merely for the improvement of human and public affairs..........	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

9. Students sometimes state that education at their schools has become "depersonalized." How depersonalized would you say education at your school is (was)? (Circle one)
    1) very 2) fairly 3) not too 4) not at all 10

10. How much have your earlier political beliefs changed since you entered college or in the last few years? (Circle one)
    1) My views have changed a great deal in more liberal direction. 11
    2) My views have changed somewhat in a more liberal direction.
    3) My views have remained about the same.
    4) My views have changed somewhat in a more conservative direction.
    5) My views have changed a great deal in a more conservative direction.

11. Have you had a professor who made a particularly strong impression upon you and who earned your respect? (Circle one.)
    1) Yes, several. 12
    2) Yes, one.
    3) No, none in particular.
    4) No, I don't really respect any of my professors.

12. About what proportion of the professors from whom you have taken courses are (were) really interested in students and their problems?
    1) all 5) less than half 13
    2) a very high proportion 6) very few
    3) more than half 7) none
    4) about half

13. What is (was) your major field of study (or anticipated major)? (Circle one) 14
    11) English
    12) Language Area (e.g. French, Russian, Chinese)
    13) Philosophy and Ethics
    14) History
    32) Geology
    33) Chemistry
    34) Physics
    35) Mathematics
    41) Engineering

(SEE TOP OF NEXT COLUMN)

    15) Classics
    16) Religion, Theology
    21) Sociology
    22) Psychology
    23) Geography
    24) Political Science
    25) Economics
    26) Anthropology
    31) Biology, Zoology
    42) Commerce or Business
    43) Education
    44) Journalism
    45) Nursing
    46) Social Work
    51) Agriculture Economics
    53) Home Economics
    54) Agriculture
    60) Other (specify) ______________

14. College students have different ideas about the main purpose of a college education. As you read the list below, rank the two goals most important to you by putting a "1" next to the most important and a "2" next to the second most important.
    ___a) Develop skills and techniques which are directly applicable to my intended career. x
    ___b) Advance learning and stimulate the discovery of new knowledge through research.
    ___c) Develop my ability to get along with different kinds of people.
    ___d) Obtain a degree so that I may qualify for the kinds of jobs I am considering.
    ___e) Provide a basic general education and appreciation of ideas.
    ___f) Help develop meanings and values for my life.
    ___g) Prepare myself to serve others and remedy major social problems.
    ___h) Prepare me to act responsibly in family, business and political relations.
    ___i) Other (specify) ______________________

15. What was your approximate cumulative grade-point average at the end of your last complete semester? (Circle one) 16
    1) A 4) B 7) C
    2) A- 5) B- 8) C-
    3) B+ 6) C+ 9) D+or below

16. Which one of the following best describes your own contact with campus religious groups or campus clergymen? (Circle one) 17
    1) I had no contact at all with any religious group while on campus.
    2) I received notification of meetings and activities but never attended.
    3) I did not participate in any campus activity, but I did participate in a non-campus community church.
    4) I did not participate in any campus activity, but I did have personal contact with a campus clergyman.
    5) I attended one or more meetings or activities but never actually joined a campus religious group.
    6) I was a member of a group but not really involved in it.
    7) I was a member of a group and moderately involved in it.
    8) I was a member of a group and highly involved in it.
    9) I was a member of a group at one time, but I stopped participating after a while.

17. (IF YOU ANSWERED 4-9 ABOVE), how influential was your campus clergyman or religious group in your decision to participate in the summer project?
    1) strong negative influence 4) slight positive influence 18
    2) slight negative influence 5) strong positive influence
    3) no influence at all

VIII. What follows is an unadorned personality battery about which you may have misgivings. The items may seem trivial after the foregoing. But we would nevertheless like to get your frank evaluations. We have no personality "ideal." Circle the single number most appropriate for you on each item.

Strongly Agree	Moderately Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Moderately Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	2	3	4	5	6

	SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD	
1. I make friends easily....................	1	2	3	4	5	6	19
2. I usually act on the spur of the moment	1	2	3	4	5	6	
3. My moods seem to go up and down.........	1	2	3	4	5	6	
4. I take the lead in a group when it is necessary to get something done..........	1	2	3	4	5	6	
5. I often think of myself as a failure	1	2	3	4	5	6	
6. I enjoy intellectual pursuits..............	1	2	3	4	5	6	24
7. I often feel that I have more problems than other people.......................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
8. I am not nice to people I don't like........	1	2	3	4	5	6	
9. I don't get upset easily...................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
10. I enjoy reading books....................	1	2	3	4	5	6	
11. Sometimes I feel I am just no good	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
12. When I am in a group that is discussing a problem, I do not do much of the talking....	1	2	3	4	5	6	
13. I am often tense, even when there is no reason to be...........................	1	2	3	4	5	6	

	SA	MA	AS	DS	MD	SD	
14. My interest shifts quickly from one thing to another	1	2	3	4	5	6	
15. People must often get the feeling that I am not well-adjusted	1	2	3	4	5	6	
16. Most people bore me	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
17. I often feel blue or sad	1	2	3	4	5	6	
18. I find it difficult to concentrate on reading anything longer than a newspaper article	1	2	3	4	5	6	
19. I rarely get nervous	1	2	3	4	5	6	
20. I rarely think things out in detail before I act	1	2	3	4	5	6	
21. I am easy going, even under pressure	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
22. I don't like discussions about serious problems or world affairs	1	2	3	4	5	6	
23. People think I am unpredictable in my moods	1	2	3	4	5	6	
24. I do not find it easy to speak publicly	1	2	3	4	5	6	
25. I am impulsive about most things	1	2	3	4	5	6	
26. I get discouraged easily	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
27. I am not good natured when someone is giving me a hard time	1	2	3	4	5	6	
28. When I am by myself, I often get depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	
29. I enjoy planning work carefully before carrying it out	1	2	3	4	5	6	
30. I seem to withdraw in many situations when I should really be speaking up	1	2	3	4	5	6	
31. I have a great deal of self-control	1	2	3	4	5	6	49
32. Most people can be trusted	1	2	3	4	5	6	
33. In most cases it is important to get what you want even if you have to fight to get it	1	2	3	4	5	6	
34. I get into fights or arguments in defense of my friends or members of my family	1	2	3	4	5	6	
35. People are more inclined to help others than they are to look out for themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	
36. I hate to lose an argument even when the issue is not very important	1	2	3	4	5	6	54
37. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you	1	2	3	4	5	6	
38. No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it	1	2	3	4	5	6	
39. I am likely to talk back to a teacher or other person in authority over me if I feel like it	1	2	3	4	5	6	
40. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative	1	2	3	4	5	6	
41. When I resent the actions of anyone, I promptly tell him so	1	2	3	4	5	6	59

IX. Finally, we would like to learn something about your background and your future plans.

1. First, what is your sex? (Circle) 2
1) male 2) female

2. How old are you? (Circle) 3
0) less than 18 5) 27-30
1) 18-19 6) 31-35
2) 20-21 7) 36-40
3) 22-23 8) 41-50
4) 24-26 9) over 50

3. What is your race? (Circle) 4
1) Negro 3) Oriental
2) White 4) Other (specify) ______

4. Are you a citizen of: 5
1) U.S. 2) Other (Specify) ______

5. What is your current marital status? (Circle one) 6
1) Single 4) Married with children
2) Engaged 5) Divorced or separated
3) Married without children 6) Widowed

6. What is your actual or anticipated occupation? (Please give what you expect to be your long-run career. If you are a woman, indicate "housewife" only if you do not expect to work full-time until you have children.) Please specify as closely as possible in the space allotted. ______ x

______

______

______

7. Which of the following statements best characterizes your choice of occupation? (Circle one) 7
1) This occupation is my first choice and there are no others that I would really consider.
2) While this would not be my first choice, my real preference requires a kind of talent and capacity that I don't really have.
3) While this would not be my first choice, my real preference requires more money for training than is available to me.
4) While this would not be my first choice, my real preference would require too much work and time away from my family; it would not be worth it to me.
5) I really don't have any clear preferences and my current plans are quite tentative and subject to change.

8. How many years of education have you completed? ______years 8

9. List the colleges or universities which you have attended, including dates of attendance and degree(s) earned. x

College or University	From	To	Degree Earned

10. What is the highest degree which you expect to earn? In what field of specialization? x

______ ______
Degree Field of Specialization

11. Do you plan to attend school this fall? 10
1) yes 2) no

12. Where did you spend most of your life while you were growing up? x

______ ______
City State

13. What is your political preference? 11
1) Socialist
2) Liberal Democrat
3) Conservative Democrat
4) Independent leaning toward Democrat
5) Independent leaning toward Republican
6) Liberal Republican
7) Conservative Republican
8) John Birch Society supporter
9) Other (specify) ______

14. Have you ever served in the military service? 12
1) yes 2) no

15. Have you ever served in the Peace Corps? 13
1) yes 2) no

16. Have you ever been arrested in connection with any civil rights activities? 14
1) yes 2) no

(IF YES) Please specify the number of times, the circumstances and the location: ______ x

______

______

17. Have you ever been jailed in connection with any civil rights activities? 15
1) yes 2) no

(IF YES) Please specify where, for how long, and under what conditions: x

______

______

______

18. Have you ever been in a situation in which violence occured, regardless of whether it concerned civil rights? 16
1) yes 2) no

19. How has the influence of religious faith in your life changed since you entered college or in the last few years? (Circle one) 17
1) Increased greatly 4) Decreased some
2) Increased some 5) Decreased greatly
3) No change

20. How often do you attend church services during the average month? 18
1) four or more times 4) once
2) three times 5) never
3) two times

21. What, if any, is your religious affiliation and that of your parents? (Circle one) 19

	Self	Mother	Father
01) No affiliation	01	01	01
11) Roman Catholic	11	11	11
21) Reform Judaism	21	21	21
22) Conservative Judaism	22	22	22
23) Orthodox Judaism	23	23	23
31) Baptist–Northern (American Baptist Contention)	31	31	31
32) Baptist–Southern Baptist	32	32	32
33) Disciples of Christ	33	33	33
34) Methodist	34	34	34
35) Evangelical and Reformed	35	35	35
36) Lutheran–Missouri, Wisconsin Synod	36	36	36
37) Lutheran–United, American	37	37	37
41) Episcopalian	41	41	41
42) Presbyterian	42	42	42
43) United Church of Christ	43	43	43
44) Congregational	44	44	44
51) Unitarian–Universalist	51	51	51
52) Ethical Culture Movement	52	52	52
60) Other (specify) ____________	60	60	60

22. To what degree do you feel religious faith is an influence in your life, in the lives of your mother and your father? (Circle one for each) 25

	Self	Mother	Father
1) No influence	1	1	1
2) Slight influence	2	2	2
3) Some influence	3	3	3
4) Quite influential	4	4	4
5) Great influence	5	5	5

23. Are both your parents currently living and together? (Circle one) 28
1) Yes, both living and together
2) No, parents separated or divorced
3) Mother dead
4) Father dead
5) Both parents dead
6) Other (specify) ____________

24. What is(or was) your father's principal occupation? (Circle) 29
1) professional (doctor, lawyer, architect)
2) manager, proprietor or official of a firm or agency
3) sales worker
4) clerical worker
5) skilled workmen (craftsmen, technical worker or foreman)
6) semi-skilled worker
7) unskilled worker
8) farmer
9) other (specify) ____________

25. Does your mother have a job or career (even part-time) outside the home? 30
1) yes 2) no 3) Did, now retired or deceased

26. Indicate the highest educational attainment of both your father and your mother. (Circle one) 31

	Mother	Father
1) some grade school or less	1	1
2) Grade school graduate	2	2
3) Some high school	3	3
4) High school graduate	4	4
5) Some college	5	5
6) College graduate	6	6
7) Graduate or professional education	7	7

27. Which of the following best represents the total yearly income of your parents? (Circle one) 33
1) Less than $4,000
2) 4,000 to 5,999
3) 6,000 to 7,999
4) 8,000 to 9,999
5) $10,000 to 14,999
6) 15,000 to 25,000
7) Over 25,000

28. Was your father born in the United States? 34
1) yes 2) no

29. Was your father's father born in the United States? 35
1) yes 2) no

30. What was the original nationality of your family on your father's side? x

____

31. Which of the following best describes your current relations with your parents? (Circle one) 36
1) Does not apply – both parents are dead.
2) My parents and I are very close.
3) My parents and I are somewhat close.
4) My parents and I continue to be in touch but there are no close ties.
5) My parents and I do not get along.
6) My parents and I are hostile.

This completes the questionnaire. By this time, you may feel like the winner (or the loser) in an endurance contest. We appreciate your cooperation and your perseverence. If you have further comments, either write them in here or send them to us at the University of Wisconsin whenever you have time. We think the results will be important, but we have no illusions that this or any research is more important that the Project itself.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

SA

October 15, 1965

Mr. Samuel Adams, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

Thank you for your letter of October 8 and for the draft of the article. You are right: I have already put it with my lecture material.

I think it is good. My only suggestions would be that you reread it for undue repetition (I think there is a little) and that here and there you should understate instead of overcharging. I don't mean this latter comment only in regard to your strong meat; I would also, for example, (see page 5) be a little more reserved about the vision of the City of Atlanta.

One more thing. Do you really wish to leave the first three sentences on page 11 as they are?

All the best.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 16, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

"Barron's" may not often come to your attention. This is a distressing article to appear in such a publication.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/je
Enc.

(note: article not attached when filed)

PA
ML ✓
SA
EV ✓
VJ ✓
AL ✓
Ret PW

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

November 29, 1965

File

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Paul transmitted to me a copy of the resolution passed by the Council. He said in his letter that you had been the draftsman, but it was hardly necessary for him to tell me.

Please convey my deeply felt thanks to everyone. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

The Southern Regional Council at its 22nd annual meeting expresses its respect and appreciation for the work and character of Leslie W. Dunbar as its executive director from 1961 to 1965, and as a member of its staff from 1959.

By his qualities of intellect, of eloquence, of practical skills in the guidance of human affairs, and of humane appreciation for people, Dr. Dunbar has made a lasting impression for the good on the present reality of the South, and has strengthened our hope for the attainment of the goals of equality and excellence.

We remember (and will keep trying to justify) the strength of his belief in all the people of the South, and his confidence in the ability of all of us to achieve a people's highest potential.

Leslie Dunbar is a man in a time of "image making" who creates immediately the impression that here is an honest and honorable man, with a great depth of integrity, an integrity tempered by a gentleness of manner and spirit. Much of the success of his work with us is attributable to the mark of his personality, the impact of this "image" of his on the South and the nation.

But more important is the fact known to us who know him that the impression he makes is not merely "an image," but is the very substance of this most remarkable man with whom we worked and with whom we are still associated in mutual concerns and beliefs, and whom we hold in affection and respect.

We have been honored by our association with him.

# #

12/20/65

Mr. Dunbar:

Evidently this letter to Mr. Pat Watters in Atlanta, Georgia was mismailed to American Public Welfare, so we are returning it.

American Public Welfare Assn.

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 17, 1965

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1965
APWA

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have read over your letter of December 8 a couple of times. I have not yet gone through all of your marginal notes. The letter is, however, great and the marginal notes I have got to so far are going to be very helpful. Some time after Christmas I shall get back to this thing and try to put it in decent shape for publication. There is an awful lot of bad writing in it and more loose ends in the content than I would like there to be. You are quite right about the need for more transitions. My only excuse is that these things were written to be spoken and that has not quite the same kinds of demands as reading material. Now I have to make it all readable.

I was interested in your comment about the second lecture as being the weakest in writing. I think I agree with you, except for the fifth, but it was the second lecture that got the best reception.

I wrote to Michigan for permission for New South to use one or part of one. Still no reply. I cannot see how they can possibly object, however. So why don't you go ahead. But I do not want New South to use number five. It was written hastily (entirely while I was at Ann Arbor), I do not like it, it needs less to be refined than to be rewritten, and I am not about to have something in New South which I think so poorly of.

Other than that, make any choice you want. As they stand now the first and the third are probably the most finished. If you use the first I would prefer that you not use the first four prefatory pages, but instead start with the "new genus" business.

In fact, anything you use you should feel free to edit and cut.

Mr. Pat Watters December 17, 1965

How does the book go? Is Reese still on the job? I remain hopeful that you will call on me if I can be of any use in reading the manuscript.

I had a letter from Paul not long ago saying that Reese wanted to know what he could say about the Field Foundation. Unlike some others, we publish an annual report, and copies of them should be in the Southern Regional Council files. If any he would want are missing let me know. I should think that the annual reports would give him all the information he needs about this Foundation. The 1965 report is at the printer.

Tell Paul, also, if you will, that I finally read over your proposal to Rockefeller and it is darn good. One small point: the name of the thing is the "Southern Teaching Program", and it is not sponsored by Yale University.

We had a Christmas card from you and Cele. Many thanks. I do not know whether the Dunbars will get out Christmas cards this year; maybe in time for Valentine's Day.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

I'll re-read #5 over the week-end & get word to you. Incidentally, the Michigan Press editor shares my low opinion of that one.

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

December 21, 1965

Rec'd 12/22/65

Mr. John Scott Mabon, Associate Director
The University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

Dear Mr. Mabon:

I should have no trouble getting the revised manuscript to you by February 15.

I confess I am a bit depressed to learn that publication is not scheduled until Fall. Had I thought about it, I would not have been surprised; it just seems a long way off. Even though I have tried (maybe tried too hard) to put the material in a broader context than the day's events and to keep it from being too perishable, I have nonetheless a wish to see it out as soon as can be. I accept, however, the facts of life.

I have told the Southern Regional Council to write to Miss Case. I am sure that they will want to publish one of the pieces before next Fall and I do hope you can permit that. My understanding is that the one they most want is the fifth, which both you and I agree should be considerably changed. I wonder if this would not remove your reservations about early publication by them. Assuming that I shall revise it a good bit and that Southern Regional Council will be publishing it as delivered at Ann Arbor, what then comes in the book will be different enough to be hopefully better.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
bcc: Pat Watters (&enc.) ✓

File

December 17, 1965

Rec'd 12/22/65

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have read over your letter of December 8 a couple of times. I have not yet gone through all of your marginal notes. The letter is, however, great and the marginal notes I have got to so far are going to be very helpful. Some time after Christmas I shall get back to this thing and try to put it in decent shape for publication. There is an awful lot of bad writing in it and more loose ends in the content than I would like them to be. You are quite right about the need for more transitions. My only excuse is that these things were written to be spoken and that has not quite the same kinds of demands as reading material. Now I have to make it all readable.

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Tell Paul, also, if you will, that I finally read over your proposal to Rockefeller and it is darn good. One small point: the name of the thing is the "Southern Teaching Program", and it is not sponsored by Yale University.

We had a Christmas card from you and Cele. Many thanks. I do not know whether the Dunbars will get out Christmas cards this year; maybe in time for Valentine's Day.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

December 31, 1965

Dear Les:

re vep book

Here are the first and second chapters and something of an outline. As you can see, most of it is Reese's work. I have made some inserts in the first chapter. These are there more for the purpose of suggesting the tone of what I am sure will be different wording later. I am going to hole up for an indefinite time starting next week and try to come to grips with this thing.

We got permission to use your lecture in the New South. I think it will be the last one despite the misgivings your own misgivings give me.

Best wishes for a good new year.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW:jb

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

January 3, 1966

Dear Les:

Here are the first two chapters and something of an outline. As you can see, most of it is Reese's work. I have made some inserts in the first chapter. These are there mostly for the purpose of suggesting themes. I am sure there will be different wording and ideas later.

Some of the transitions are rough from the inserts. This will be handled later when we are ready to decide the final form of the chapter. It may make more than one chapter. It may need considerable revision. One point I have raised and about which we are both uncertain is whether or not the first chapter might not be improved by making the discussion of the three problems of American history less central. I have a squeamish feeling, first, about building the chapter on your ideas. By making it less central, we could then attribute it to you (your forthcoming book), and still develop it. Also, I had the feeling Reese's writing came alive after that discussion was done. But as I say, neither of us is strongly certain about this. What do you think?

We got permission to use your lecture in the New South. I think it will be the last one despite the misgivings your own misgivings give me. I am much obliged.

Best wishes for a good new year.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters

PW/pf
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Field Foundation
250 Park venue
New York, New York

March 1, 1966

Dear Les:

Have you received the three long inserts on chapter 1; the re-write of chapter 4; and chapter 5 which was mailed yesterday?

Please let me know.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters

js

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Encl: Housing study.

March 16, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Here is proof that I am following your advise concerning NCDH. The enclosed is one part of a four-part report. I am also doing what I can to help complete the other parts of the report. I would appreciate your critical remarks.

I know a big load is off Peggy now that the wedding is over.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Encl. - 1.

April 1, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

This is the revised chapter 4 I told you about. I intend, before we get together, to rework 7 and 8, but not this extensively.

Also enclosed is this copyright thing. As best I could understand it, your publisher will need this.

I am looking forward to our session in May and feel increasingly that we did the right thing in postponing. When you do know when we will be getting together, I would appreciate your setting a date. I want to try to set up some other appointments while I am in that terrible city.

I did get the revised manuscript from Ray Wheeler and we will keep it here among valuable papers.

Best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 2.

May 6, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Reese says he is afraid it is going to be after the last weekend of this month before he can get his chapter on the justice department to you. He will try to do it sooner but doesn't have much hope. Hopefully, I will have the chapter of narrative reports up to you by the end of next week.

I hope this doesn't delay things further. If you decide to wait until Reese's chapter gets there before tackling the thing, please let me know. I need to plan some trips and need some idea of when to leave things clear for the revision process.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

May 9, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Although I may begin reading at it before then, I do not feel secure in putting any marks on the manuscript until I have the whole thing. In other words, I would prefer to wait for Reese's chapter before doing any serious work on the book.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

May 24, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Despite the despairing feeling sometimes that it is never going to get done, I think Reese and I both will have our missing chapters in by the end of the month. I would feel better if we had some kind of notion from Goodman of a new deadline. Anyhow, what with such things as the Talmadge fiasco, I don't think our material is going to get stale any time soon.

I read your letter regarding Opie Shelton's martydom. A great letter.

If you are going to be at the White House conference, I hope we will get a chance to chat.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW;js

May 24, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

I tried to reach you by telephone, but you were out of town. I needed your advice and counsel on whether I should accept the newest of opportunities that have come my way. Although I already have made a tentative decision, it is not too late for a reaction from you to influence what I finally decide to do.

The University of Wisconsin has invited me to be a Russell Sage Fellow for ten months beginning in late August. While the grant offers only $6,600, which does not cover the financial needs of my family, I have a need for what I might learn. University officials have offered to try to find extra work to provide money that will soften the financial burden.

What do you think?

If I were to remain in my present job, the additional study would be helpful. Anyhow, its difficult to fill the research shoes you formerly wore. My development naturally is slower with you gone.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams

SLA:js

File: LWD
orig corresp in D's
personal file given him
on his departure 8/3/66

May 30, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

As I said during our telephone talk last week, we would greatly benefit from your participation in the conference on Public Policies and Minorities. We certainly hope you will be able to come here June 17 for the meeting. If not, we will understand.

By the way, I certainly appreciated your call. As you already know, my commitment with the *Times* was to take a year's leave. That arrangment would have given them a direct claim to me had I been among last month's Pulitzer winners. (I lost to Tampa's John Frasca in the Special Investigative Reporting category. He deserved to win.)

A few days ago, the executive editor of the *Times* confirmed that I now am free to detach myself completely from the newspaper if my talents might be better used elsewhere. He believes I have outgrown small newspapers where budget limitations might deny the time needed for writing important in-depth articles. However, I may continue indefinitely on leave and return there whenever I wish. A family man needs that kind of security (group insurance, et al) when returning to the classroom.

My first inclination was to accept the Sage Fellowship but to return to SRC in my present position. University study would have been geared to my research responsibilities at SRC rather than to newspaper work. For general reporting on a local newspaper, I already am pretty well prepared. Moving from local orientation, I now am finding more desirable challenges in work on regional and national levels. If the latter type of work is to involve moving to New York City, the job must be more attractive than my present work and it must provide growth.

My newest prospective employer is the Los Angeles Times. Ed Guthman, former Justice Department PR officer for Bobby Kennedy, has made a pitch to get me to join the L.A. paper. I have given it little thought.

If I go to the University of Wisconsin, I shall ask Paul to let me continue working on PublicPolicies and Minorities while in the midwest. I could take a political science course and fit it to the study.

When we talked you asked what I wanted. By now you are probably as confused as I. Life seems to be a continuing string of alternatives.

Again, I don't know how to thank you for being teacher, counselor, and friend all in one.

Warmest regards to Peggy.

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams

June 9, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Because the response to this speech was so good, I thought I would send you a copy FYI. Out it in File 13 when you are finished with it.

I pray Peggy and the others are well.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 7/5/64

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 1, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters, Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Pat:

Because I have an appointment in the city at 5:30 Thursday I can't be sure of meeting you at LaGuardia, and Peggy will not drive over there. Don't, however, fear. If I am not there we will have a cab waiting for you. (You can't get one of the usual cabs to take you to Westchester County.) The process is simple. If I am not there simply go out to the taxi stand of your particular terminal and there will be a cab from Pelham: it will probably be a Pelican cab but possibly may be a "Pelham" cab. He will take you to our house: $5.50 if Pelican, $6.50 if Pelham. I will certainly be home by that time and so, of course, will Peggy.

Looking forward to it very much.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

in other words, we'll ~~ha~~ order a cab & have it taken for you.

June 29, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

We've got reservations to arrive at LaGuardia at 9:17 p. m. (New York time), Thursday, July 7. If the time is bad, or meeting us is too inconvenient anyhow, don't hesitate to just give us directions on how to get there. The invitation to stay with you is good logically as well as socially. We accept with appreciation.

Your ideas on Goodman make eminent sense, also.

I spent two days in Mississippi last week for the sake of the book -- feeling obsolete in the intellectual atmosphere and antiquated in the physical requirements for walking all day long.

We are both looking forward to getting down to work again on the book.

Thanks again.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
JANET SHORTT

DATE 6/28/66

Pat:

Les called while you were out; he wants to know when you are coming to New York (time of expected arrival, etc.)
Through Mildred, I informed him that you had just gotten back to the office this morning, had been tied up, and hadn't had a chance to really look at your mail for answering, and that his letter was on your desk. I promised that you would let him know pronto of your plans.

[illegible] 7
[illegible] La Guardia

Reese's - [illegible] 10

COMPLIMENTS OF DARBY PRINTING COMPANY

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 24, 1966

Rec'd 6/27/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have marked July 8 to 10 on my calendar. Does this mean you will be coming up on the night of the 8th, or what? I would suggest we work out at the house, and so herewith you and Reese are invited to put up there. Tell Paul to authorize you to take Peggy out to dinner in lieu of a hotel, if you want to do this. It would be easy for us to meet you or have you met if you come in on a dinner flight at either Kennedy or LaGuardia; Newark, you are on your own.

See the attached note which I have sent off to Bill Goodman.

I would like to get out from in between you and Goodman. Inasmuch as you and he can both handle the language, I can see at this point no good at all that comes from my being a link between you so I would rather you spoke directly to Goodman about when he wants to see the manuscript.

Having said this, I would add that I don't think anybody can have more than one editor at a time. I would think, therefore, that it might work out best if you and Reese first made some decisions about what I will have to suggest and then dealt with Goodman.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Enc.
LD:la

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 24, 1966

Mr. William Goodman
Harcourt Brace & World, Inc.
757 Third Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Bill:

Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorne and I will get together here over the weekend of July 9. I now have the full manuscript and before they get here will have prepared for them all the suggestions that I can make. I would assume that after this session they will be able fairly quickly, perhaps within a month, to get a finished manuscript in your hands. As I understand it, and as they understand it, there would be opportunity up to some date this Fall to incorporate late developments.

If you (and your wife) can, why don't you come over to Pelham during the weekend to meet Pat and Reese.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la
bcc: Pat Watters

copy: Reese Cleghorn

June 22, 1966

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

Not that we are overeager, but both of us jumped at the July 8, 9, and 10 possibility. This is particularly good for my schedule, and we are anxious to get done.

What role will Goodman play? The reason I asked is that we never have sent him copies of the chapters. Would it be a good idea to do this? Even if he doesn't sit in on our sessions, it struck Reese and me both that we need to get some line on his thinking. What I am trying to say is we hope we can do most of the revisions in one session rather than through a process of getting your ideas, and then his.

Let us know.

Very truly yours,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

July 11, 1966

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Les:

The final decision here for me is to leave SRC in mid-August. The state policies study will be farmed out, but I shall finish the Atlanta Housing study. All else goes well.

Elenora is in the hospital and that cramps my style a bit. I have again rediscovered how much housewives have to do.

What are your summer plans? I hope your vacation brings you and Peggy here before we leave.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

July 14, 1966

Dear Les:

Thanks for the Village Voice. Except for some doubt that the movement was resurrected, this account came closer to my impressions than anything else I have read. It is all very interesting.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:js

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

July 12, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

You may not, every week, get to read the Village Voice. I thought you would not want to miss the front page analysis of the march.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

file copy

JOHN H. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, VICE-PRESIDENT
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

July 13, 1966

Mr. and Mrs. Leslie W. Dunbar
56 Benedict
Pelham, New York

Dear Les and Peggy:

Thanks again for putting us up and for putting up with us. We got back last night. I stood out in front of the airport with all the bags and Reese went to get his car. I stood there a good twenty minutes sweating and beginning to wonder if this was going to happen to me every time I got off an airplane. It finally turned out his battery was dead, and I left him in the clutches of a filling station hoping to get it fixed soon.

Les, I had a very good talk with Dr. Shapiro. He gave me the straight of the thing, skipping no discouraging aspects, but also including some encouragement. He is a gentleman. I will let you know what I do as a follow-up.

I also talked with the editor at Pantheon Books and as best I could get the drift of what he has in mind, it is something of a Mind of the New South. I reminded him of what happened to Cash in such an attempt and also that I am no Cash, but promised to work up an outline. Could I impose on you once more to look at the outline when I get it done?

I have not broken the news yet to Janet about the plans regarding the manuscript, but since she is now taking dictation, I fear I will have to. We will start sending you carbons as soon as she gets them done.

/My seemingly quiet boss has the touch of a sledge hammer. js_/ I think both of us had our morale lifted and interest renewed by the trip, and as always, your editing was invaluable.

And again, thanks to both of you. It was good being there.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

October 31, 1966

Rev. Will D. Campbell, Treasurer
Committee of Southern Churchmen
1106 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Will:

Pat Watters tells me (as of October 24) that Jim's memo is being rewritten by someone at SRC, incorporating into it the best of the transcript of the conference.

I don't know whether you ever saw the memo; if not, I am enclosing mine. I do this only because I do not think that SRC's handling (or, for that matter, my planning of long ago) is altogether blamable for the slow progress. Frankly, Will, this memo is hard to do things with. For 22, seemingly interminable, pages it preaches, to the converted. The ensuing pages have also their share of preaching. As to the content of these latter, I'll just say that the thinking didn't seem to me to get moving until page 48: the sections from there on in seem to me to have some vigor.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LD:la

bcc: Pat Watters

File

field found

the feminist press

at state university of new york / college at old westbury
box 334 · old westbury · long island · new york · 11568
telephone (516) 333-7800

April 5, 1972

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N.Y. 10028

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Thank you for your note.

I can understand your position and yet, I admit, it leaves me puzzled. If the Field Foundation is interested primarily in problems of race, poverty, and child welfare, then surely (by virtue of mere statistics) it must also be interested in "the specific concerns of women." For instance, if The Feminist Press were involved in developing a (non-commercial) book or writing workshop program relating to black welfare mothers, would the Field Foundation find this ineligible on the grounds that the board had not yet come to a decision in this program area?

I am also baffled by the fact that any foundation interested in education would be willing to let the universities take all the initiative in this area. By now, there are over 600 courses in women's studies in the colleges; the number is growing, and a good many high schools are now developing study plans of their own.

The history of women is an important part of American culture that has been neglected until now. Trade publishers are still neglecting it (whenever it is not guaranteed to sell extremely well), and the good books that are now getting written need help.

I have spent a lot of time over the past few years working on manuscripts by bright young men; I'd now like to spend some time working with women to get their writing published.

If you know of anybody who is in a position to support this kind of work, I wish you'd let me know.

Sincerely,

Verne Moberg

Verne Moberg

central office: college at old westbury, box 334, old westbury, new york 11568
distribution: 10920 battersea lane, columbia, maryland 21043

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

April 3, 1972

Ms. Verne Moberg, Coordinator
New York Biography Committee
The Feminist Press at State
University of New York
Box 334
Old Westbury, L.I., N.Y. 11568

Dear Ms. Moberg:

I have just seen your letter of March 22. I'm afraid the reply to it is about right but I did want to drop you a personal note.

The fact is that we are a foundation of quite modest size and are already overstretched. Our areas are those which have a direct connection with problems of race, poverty, and child welfare and we do not go into other program areas without deliberation and a board decision. This has not yet been forthcoming in regard to the specific concerns of women.

I wondered what had happened to you and am glad to know where you are. All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie Dunbar

Leslie Dunbar

LD/kjs

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028

File

Pat - he is writing a dissertation on the K administration + civil rights

D

Esleeck
Fidelity Onion Skin
100% COTTON

May 15, 1972

Mr. Carl M. Brauer
58 Linnaean Street
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Dear Mr. Brauer:

Thank you for your good letter of May 4. When I was at the Southern Regional Council, we put out a pamphlet along about 1964 with a title somewhat like, "Direct Action." It was written by Pat Watters, with the exception of one section on the origin of the Voter Education Project: I wrote that. My suggestion is that you write to Pat (inasmuch as I cannot remember the exact title of the pamphlet and cannot find my copy) and ask him to send you the publication.

The other thing that I would suggest your reading is the book that Pat and Reese Cleghorn wrote called Climbing Jacob's Ladder. In addition to being a great book it is authoratative on this matter of voter registration work.

To answer your questions briefly, the leadership among foundations, came preeminently from Taconic and Stephen Currier. From the beginning the Field Foundation was a close ally. Stern Family Fund was not a part of the early discussions and planning though it did join in the funding for the initial year. I am not aware of any grants made by Stern for voter registration prior to its grant in 1961 or 1962 to the Southern Regional Council; for verification on that point you could, of course, write to David Hunter at Stern.

The files of the Foundation are open to you anytime you might want to come in.

Sincerely,

Leslie Dunbar

/la

cc: Pat Watters

CROSS REFERENCE

FOR:

Correspondence re New South articles, see:

New South: Correspondence

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

OFFICE OF REPORTS

October 25, 1965

File

Miss Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Miss Watters:

It was very kind of you to offer to help on the announcement of the grant to the Council. We haven't had any inquiries for further details yet, but we will surely send them along when they come.

Please feel free to use your own judgment in supplementing our announcement simultaneously or thereafter.

Sincerely,

Richard Magat

Richard Magat
Director

RM:eh

October 21, 1965

Mr. Richard Magat
Mr. Walter Ashley
Office of Reports
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Gentlemen:

We have received your press release which includes news of the grant to the Southern Regional Council.

If I can be of any assistance in the distribution of it in the South or handling queries, please call on me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

File

NOTE PAGE 245

News from the Ford Foundation

477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Office of Reports PLaza 1-2900

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE TUESDAY, P.M., OCTOBER 26, 1965

For further information: Richard Magat or Walter Ashley

NEW YORK, Oct. 26 -- The Ford Foundation today announced grants related to the effectiveness of state government, urban poverty, domestic and international population problems, human relations in the South, the preservation of architectural and historical landmarks, and labor relations.

Noting that the grants represent a cross-section of several fields in which the Foundation is active, Henry T. Heald, president, said they were announced simultaneously, "as a tangible reminder of the important role private effort can and must play even as government expands its concern for social welfare." The grants are:

-- $750,000 to the recently formed Citizens Conference on State Legislatures for a national program to stimulate citizen action for the improvement of state government (Details on page 3);

(MORE)

-- $600,000 to the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (Chicago) and $80,000 to the National Council of Churches to help urban churches play a more active part in antipoverty efforts (Details on page 4);

-- $800,000 to the University of North Carolina for research, consultation, and teaching on domestic and overseas population problems (Details on page 4);

-- $972,000 to the Southern Regional Council for evaluation of Federal and state-government programs in the South and technical aid to community groups through affiliated state and local human-relations councils (Details on page 5);

-- $366,000 to the National Urban League to initiate a nationwide program to assist Negro entrance into selected labor unions, primarily in special-skill trades (Details on page 5);

-- $1.2 million to the City of Oakland, California, for further support of its community-development program (Details on page 6);

-- $130,750 to the United States Conference of Mayors for a study of government assistance in preserving architectural and historical landmarks (Details on page 7);

-- $130,000 to Brown University for analyses of Federal legislation relating to labor-management relations (Details on page 7).

"Even as the Federal government greatly expands its role in education and social welfare, the responsibilities of private effort increase," Mr. Heald said. "These grants illustrate some of the reasons. For example, private agencies must continue to pioneer in important affairs from which the government is absent or inadequately involved; population problems (and the University of North Carolina's program is one of an extensive series the Foundation is supporting) is such a field.

(MORE)

"In fields where government is very active, efforts supported heavily or in part by private funds (such as Oakland's antipoverty activities) can play a valuable part as models, demonstrations of parallel approaches, or as supplements for activities Federal programs do not cover. Moreover, government programs may tend to amplify the status quo approaches, and private agencies with proven ability to innovate, experiment, and sometimes to challenge -- as the churches are increasingly doing on urban social problems -- are important sources of social progress.

"Government itself is not always the best judge of its own performance, and independent agencies (as in the case of the Brown University, Conference of Mayors, and Southern Regional Council programs) can often evaluate and monitor government efforts more effectively. The private sector can also organize itself -- as in the case of the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures -- to work toward improvement of the machinery of government itself.

"In short, the American tradition of pluralism -- actions and decisions taken at many points in a free society -- is as relevant and productive today as ever. And the way to preserve pluralism lies not in rolling back government, but in maintaining and strengthening independent, private institutions capable of contributing to the well-being of American society with energy and originality."

Citizens Conference on State Legislatures ($750,000 grant)

The Conference, which was formed last year, is a national effort by top-level leaders in business, labor, agriculture, publishing, education, and other fields to focus public attention on shortcomings in the organization, procedures, and functioning of state legislatures. It will use its grant to publish major research reports, bibliographies, and pamphlets; to stimulate

(MORE)

reform; and generally serve as a clearinghouse of information on state legislative modernization. The Conference's principal offices will be in Kansas City, Missouri.

Although state-government activities in education, welfare, and other services are growing rapidly, the state machinery, particularly legislatures, still suffers a range of disabilities -- from inadequate staff and poor compensation to outmoded procedure and lack of facilities. Previous Foundation grants to help improve state government have been made for legislative internships in thirteen states, assistance to the National Municipal League for research and materials on reapportionment, and a Duke University study headed by Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina on the future role of state government.

Urban Training Center for Christian Mission ($600,000 grant) and National Council of Churches ($80,000 grant)

The center, sponsored by thirteen Protestant denominations, will expand its seminars (lasting from one to six months) in which clergy and selected laymen divide their time between urban studies and work with an agency engaged in antipoverty programs. Foundation funds will provide fellowships for ministers who cannot afford to attend, as well as internships in other church programs. The center will also engage urban experts to consult with staff and trainees and design ways of evaluating the effectiveness of the program over the next four years. The grant to the National Council of Churches will enable the Commission on Urban Life, a unit of the council's Division of Christian Life and Mission, to arrange a series of national conferences to acquaint church leaders with significant urban work by church groups.

University of North Carolina ($800,000 grant)

The university's Population Center will undertake a broad program of research on fertility limitation, including patterns of fertility change, the effects of family spacing on health, and the development of family-planning methodology. The center will also prepare case studies of administrative problems in family planning to help meet the needs for practical teaching material. Staff will help overseas institutions develop their own programs of birth-control research and training. The center will also arrange short courses, seminars, and conferences, and will place major emphasis on doctoral studies as other countries develop master's degree programs of their own. The state of North Carolina, which has a broad range of economic levels, ethnic composition, social problems, and development programs, is expected to furnish a variety of settings for the center's research.

Southern Regional Council ($972,000 grant)

The council is a research and action agency, with headquarters in Atlanta, concerned with antipoverty and economic-development efforts as well as strictly racial issues. It will use part of its grant for studies of Federal programs in city planning, fair employment, antipoverty, housing, and school integration, and a second group of studies dealing with state welfare programs, rehabilitation of criminals, penal administration, and unemployment caused by technological change. The grant will also help the council provide technical assistance and training to Negro and other groups trying to help themselves through community organizations, credit unions, and agricultural cooperatives; will support training in human relations within Southern labor unions; and will help carry out a program of voter registration.

National Urban League ($366,000 grant)

The League, which is active through affiliates in seventy-three localities throughout the nation, will undertake to coordinate and sponsor activities in selected communities designed to stimulate Negro preparedness

(MORE)

to qualify for union membership and to enlist the cooperation of local union leadership in accepting Negro applicants. The program was developed in response to concern expressed by some union leaders at the slow pace of integration in parts of organized labor. It will operate under and with the assistance of the League's Trade Union Advisory Council, which is composed mainly of prominent labor officials and representatives of government and business. The grant will enable the League to recruit staff for its national and regional offices, to organize and coordinate local action programs. These in turn will include information and interpretation within the Negro community about job prospects and membership requirements in organized trades, contacts with local union authorities, recruitment of prospects for and coordination of pre-apprenticeship and other training programs for Negro youths, and job placement activities. The funds will cover a three-year period, after which the League hopes to be able to support the program through its regular budget.

City of Oakland, California ($1.2 million grant)

Oakland received the first Foundation grant -- $2 million in December 1961 -- in a series of efforts to mobilize local resources to combat human problems of the nation's "gray areas." Subsequent grants were made in Boston, New Haven, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and the state of North Carolina, and aspects of these programs provided models for later antipoverty programs by the Federal government. Among the projects supported under the early grant in Oakland were preschool education, youth employment and training, adult employment, and pretrial release of persons accused of crimes. Oakland also achieved a successful coordination of public and private agencies in support of common objectives that gained national attention. Oakland will use its new grant for

(MORE)

new projects which may ultimately be financed from other sources and for a project history and evaluation of the program's first three years.

United States Conference of Mayors ($130,750 grant)

The Conference will do research intended to provide a factual basis for future government programs dealing with the preservation of architectural and historical landmarks. Most of these are at present privately owned, and are subject to the forces of the real-estate market. Despite limited Federal assistance and private intervention, 2,500 of the 10,000 landmarks identified in the nineteen-thirties have already been destroyed, and cooperation among Federal, state, and local agencies is needed to help salvage the remainder. Accordingly, the studies to be undertaken will set up alternative procedures and guidelines for Federal, state, and local laws, and will review possible channels of Federal aid to localities. Scholars will draft model laws and redraft existing ones for the attention of state and local officials.

Brown University ($130,000 grant)

Two types of studies of Federal activities in labor-management relations will be conducted. The first will examine the functioning of the National Labor Relations Board as it was set up under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 (amended by the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947), and evaluate the board's influence on the collective-bargaining practices, policies, and powers of unions and employers. The second part will deal with the impact of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin Act), which sought to curb abuses in union administration by encouraging rank-and-file participation in union activities. The study will assess the effect of the act on union democracy and management, on the relationship between union leaders and the rank and file, and on the ethical practices of union officers.

(65-40)

#

Note file

News from the Ford Foundation

477 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022
Office of Reports PLaza 1-2900

File
Rec'd 2/3/66

PLEASE OBSERVE RELEASE DATE

FOR RELEASE MONDAY, A.M., FEBRUARY 7, 1966

For further information: Richard Magat or Walter Ashley
Home phones: Magat (914) MOunt Vernon 4-7078
Ashley (914) Peekskill 7-7280

NEW YORK, Feb. 7 -- Grants for efforts to combat racial discrimination in the United States and abroad were announced today by the Ford Foundation:

-- $243,000 to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, a coordinating body for forty-one national religious, civic, labor, and minority-group organizations working to eliminate racial and religious restrictions in housing; (Details on page 2)

-- $275,000 to the Institute of Race Relations, in Britain, a leading world center, partially to support work on race relations in Britain and newly developing countries; (Details on page 3)

-- $300,000 to the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta, to help strengthen state and local human-relations councils in eleven Southern states. (Details on page 5)

"Both private and governmental agencies in the United States and abroad have a responsibility to shed light on race relations and work toward better understanding and the elimination of discriminatory attitudes and practices,"

(MORE)

W. McNeil Lowry, a vice president of the Foundation, said today. "These new grants, to groups with proven skill in the fact-finding and organizational techniques for this task, are intended to enlarge the contribution of the private sector, which frequently provides the informed analyses and recommendations on which governmental action is based."

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing will use its grant to expand information and consultation services for local and national voluntary groups, business firms, and government agencies over the next three years.

The committee was formed in 1950, a year after Congress, in the historic Housing Act of 1949, added to national housing policy the goal of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family," and directed "the development of well-planned, integrated, residential neighborhoods."

Despite regulations against discrimination at the Federal level, in sixteen states and many cities the open-housing market for Negroes is still severely limited. Many national and civic organizations (including some one thousand voluntary local fair-housing groups whose growth the committee has helped encourage), government officials, builders, and others obtain information and guidance from the committee on the issues of race and housing.

In addition to its bi-monthly publication, Trends in Housing, the committee plans to publish such special reports as analyses of census data on housing or summaries of Federal activities to combat housing discrimination. Its manual, Guides for Fair Housing Groups, will be expanded. The committee will help its forty-one member agencies and other groups conduct conferences and seminars on race in housing. It will also evaluate current housing programs and explore new approaches for achieving an open housing market, and help communities set up fair-housing groups.

The committee has conducted research or provided consultations for several Federal agencies -- the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Federal Intergroup Relations Service, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Expanding businesses seeking housing for their staffs also use the committee's services. The expanded program is an outgrowth of the Princeton Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which was co-sponsored with the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials in 1962 under a grant from the Ford Foundation. The conference brought together leading Federal officials concerned with housing, real estate and banking officials, labor, housing industry representatives, and professionals in the fair-housing field.

Britain's Institute of Race Relations has earned a worldwide reputation for the quality of its research on racial interaction in many countries and for its recommendations to improve interracial understanding and cooperation. Although scholars participate in its work, its emphasis is not academic. Rather, it seeks to provide factual and analytical guidelines for action by individuals, business and private institutions, and official agencies. The grant will be used for research and expanded dissemination of its findings, through publications, conferences, and seminars. Over a five-year period, two special studies also will be

(MORE)

supported. One is the institute's long-term survey of race relations in Britain. The other is a collaborative study with the Overseas Development Institute, another private British organization, of racial problems in developing countries.

The British race-relations project, begun in 1963, is roughly analogous to Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma, the classic study of the Negro in American life. Stemming from the increasing immigration to Britain of non-whites from Commonwealth countries in the late 1950s, the study covers such questions as immigration policy, housing, employment, traditions, teaching about race, political implications, family patterns, health, and the role of the police and the press.

The study of racial problems in developing countries will be prepared by Guy Hunter, author of The New Societies of Tropical Africa and Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa. It will examine the possibility of the less-developed countries and the United States and other highly-developed countries drawing on each other's experience in overcoming race-relations problems.

In addition to its research, the institute publishes the quarterly journal Race, a newsletter, and paperback books on critical racial questions. Under a 1960 grant from the Ford Foundation, the institute has conducted studies of race relations in Latin America and the Caribbean area, India and Pakistan, and Southeast Asia. Books comparing the findings in these regions with earlier institute findings about Africa are nearing publication.

(MORE)

The institute has received support from other British and American foundations, principally the Nuffield Foundation, and from British companies.

The Southern Regional Council, a research and action agency, will use its grant mainly to strengthen the professional staffs of human-relations councils in eleven states.* The state human-relations councils, which are autonomous, have grown in membership from 4,000 in 1947 to 11,000 in 1965. Cooperating college student human-relations councils exist in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina, and one is being formed in Mississippi.

The state councils assist local councils and other groups in efforts to eliminate discrimination and foster racial harmony. The state groups also help establish local councils. Activities vary from state to state, but they include assistance to local groups in improving education, employment, and housing opportunities; health services; administration of justice; and voter education. A number of local councils have conducted tutorial programs and collaborated in antipoverty efforts. Membership of the councils is interracial and composed of opinion leaders. Present professional staffs of the state councils range from a maximum of four to none in one state.

Following is a complete list of actions announced today by the Foundation:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Institute of Race Relations (London) -- $275,000 grant, for expanded research on racial problems, particularly in Britain and the less-developed countries.

(MORE)

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*Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas (Houston), and Virginia.
This grant supplements a $972,000 grant the Foundation gave the Council in 1965 to make studies of Federal and state social welfare programs and to assist Negro and other groups in community improvement programs, voter registration, and training in human relations in labor unions.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS

University of California (Berkeley) -- $99,200 grant, for the planning of a prison college at San Quentin State Prison. The university's School of Criminology will collaborate with the California Department of Corrections in designing the curriculum, faculty policies, admissions criteria, budget, and other aspects of the college. The university has already begun pilot courses at the prison. Although many thousands of prisoners across the country are enrolled in a variety of educational programs, college-level courses, except on a correspondence basis, are rare. The Berkeley-San Quentin project is designed to serve California and other states as a guide to high-quality post-high-school education in a prison setting.

-- Also, $98,500 grant, for advisory and other services to antipoverty programs in Oakland, California. The grant continues for two years Foundation support begun in 1961. The university's extension division assists in evaluating local poverty programs, conferences on such subjects as teen-age pregnancies, discrimination in housing, and liaison between such agencies as the Oakland probation department and university faculty members and students interested in participating in research, tutoring, and legal aid. The new grants will emphasize university and student assistance to community self-help projects.

Columbia University -- $25,000 grant, for a study by the School of Social Work on Britain's Citizens' Advice Bureaus. Directed by Alfred J. Kahn, the study will explore the possibility of adapting the C.A.B. system to New York and other American cities. The advice bureaus are information, service, and referral centers that help citizens make the best use of the complex of modern governmental services and private agencies. In Britain, the bureaus are privately supported, handle requests not only by the disadvantaged but by a cross-section of the population, are usually conveniently located, and publish manuals as well as handle inquiries in person. Most of the questions and complaints they receive concern housing, family problems, pensions, and installment buying.

Moton Memorial Foundation -- $200,000 grant, for the Moton Foundation's conference center in Capohosic, Virginia. Since the 1930s, the center has been the scene of private conferences originated by the late Robert Russa Moton, president of Hampton Institute, an influential Negro leader. It provides a setting in which interracial meetings (including leaders from diplomacy, industry, clergy, government, education, and voluntary organizations) can be held on an off-the-record basis. Half the grant will be used over the next five years for conferences on problems affecting Negroes; the rest is for building improvements and maintenance.

National Association for Community Development -- $25,000 grant, for a three-day conference on employment and manpower development. Held in Washington last December, the conference was attended by directors of Federally and privately financed community action programs. Among the principal problems discussed were lack of experienced personnel for local antipoverty programs, the need for closer ties between community action programs and groups concerned with economic and industrial development, and means of improving coordination among Federal programs.

(MORE)

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing -- $243,000 grant, for expanded dissemination of information and for consultative services.

Rutgers University -- $350,000 grant, for the Eagleton Institute of Politics, a leading resource for research and advanced training in the field of politics and the electoral process. The grant will be used in part to increase the number of graduate fellowships. Half of the graduates of the program, which began in 1947, hold positions in government or politics. It will also finance case studies, which are widely used in college and university courses in political science and government. Subjects in the past have included national political conventions, extremist politics, the role of sales taxes and other controversies in state elections, and racial demonstrations. The institute prepared a basic high-school text The Problems and Promise of American Democracy, which has been adopted in several major school systems.

Southern Regional Council -- $300,000 grant, to strengthen the staffs of state and local human-relations councils.

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NEW GRANTS RECENTLY ANNOUNCED BY RECIPIENTS

NOTE TO EDITORS: The following new Foundation grants were recently announced by the recipient institutions. The Foundation does not duplicate such announcements, but offers this list as a service to newspapers and journals that may not have received an announcement from the grantee institution.

Action for Boston Community Development -- $245,000 grant, in continued support of community development programs (Dec. 17, 1965.)

Association for Graduate Education and Research of North Texas -- $112,000 grant, for expanded services in higher education in the region (Dec. 22, 1965.)

Brookings Institution -- $14 million grant, for endowment and general support of research and education (Dec. 26, 1965.)

California, State of -- $150,000 grant, in partial support of the study of the Los Angeles (Watts area) riots (Oct. 4, 1965.)

City Center of Music and Drama -- $3.2 million grant, for its activities at the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts (Nov. 16, 1965.)

Committee for Gracie Mansion -- $200,000 grant, in partial support of improved facilities for official domestic and international visitors to the official residence of the Mayor of the City of New York (Oct. 19, 1965.)

(MORE)

Community Educational-Television

Matching grants for stations operated by nonprofit groups:

Central Virginia Educational Television Corp. (WCVE-TV), $168,615 grant (Dec. 17, 1965.)
Connecticut Educational Television Corp. (WEDH), $70,716 grant (Nov. 30, 1965.)
Florida West Coast Educational Television, Inc. (WEDU), $72,986 grant (Dec. 22, 1965.)
Twin City Area Educational Television Corp. (KTCA-TV), $73,061 grant (Dec. 15, 1965.)
WHYY, Philadelphia, $500,000 grant (Dec. 1, 1965.)

Cornell University -- $4.4 million grant, for expansion of the Division of Biological Sciences (Oct. 29, 1965.)

Harvard University -- $2 million grant, for the new John F. Kennedy Institute of Politics (Dec. 17, 1965.)

-- Also, $66,000 grant, for special graduate courses in soil-mechanics (Oct. 28, 1965.)

Institute of Public Administration -- $298,500 grant, for studies of New York City programs of human resources development and neighborhood improvement (Jan. 17, 1966.)

Kansas, University of -- $200,000 grant, for Latin American studies (Dec. 30, 1965.)

-- Also, $400,000 grant, for assistance to the school of basic sciences at the University of Oriente, Venezuela (Nov. 8, 1965.)

Midwest Universities Consortium for International Activities -- $928,000 grant, to assist in the development of the National Institute for Development Administration, Thailand (Dec. 2, 1965.)

New School for Social Research -- $300,000 grant, for a program for part-time students for master of arts degree in liberal arts (Jan. 5, 1966.)

Stanford University -- $975,000 grant, for graduate programs in journalism (Nov. 8, 1965.)

World Affairs Council of Northern California -- $97,000 grant, for general program (Nov. 22, 1965.)

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(66-3)

September 10, 1971

Mrs. Nancy Benoit
Office of Reports
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mrs. Benoit:

Thank you for your letter of September 3 regarding SRC publications. We have published a great deal--much of it through our two regular publications--NEW SOUTH and SOUTH TODAY, in addition to several special reports and pamphlets. I don't know if articles are appropriate for inclusion-- but since they did appear in publications sponsored by the Ford Foundation and in several instances were released also as special publications I am citing a few of the more significant, on the attached page.

Books in which we were directly involved include: The Chickenbone Special, by Dwayne Walls; New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich; and Our Land, Too, by Tony Dunbar. New York: Random House, Inc.

Among our reports I would cite for 1971: "The South and Her Children: School Desegregation 1970-71"; and "Equal Housing

Opportunities in the South: A Challenge."

For 1970 two reports might be considered: "Augusta Georgia and Jackson State University. Southern Episodes in a National Tragedy;" and "Voices From the South."

The listing of articles from NEW SOUTH AND SOUTH TODAY is attached.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor, SRC Publications

REA,jr:lb

Enclosures

Article listing from NEW SOUTH and SOUTH TODAY

"Is Martin Luther King, Jr. Irrelevant?" by Samuel Dubois Cook. NEW SOUTH, Spring, 1971.

"Gore's Lost Cause" by Gene Graham. NEW SOUTH, Spring, 1971.

"Building a Chicano Party in South Texas" by George Rivera. NEW SOUTH, Spring, 1971.

"The South After Thirty Years: A Talk With Gunnar Myrdal" by William Winn. NEW SOUTH, Winter, 1971.

"In Search of Populism" by James Clotfelter, William R. Hamilton, and Peter B. Harkins. NEW SOUTH, Winter, 1971.

"The Black Writer and the Southern Experience" by Alice Walker. NEW SOUTH, Fall, 1970.

"New Strategies for Appalachia" by Si Kahn. NEW SOUTH, Summer, 1970.

"A Federal Intrusion: When Readers Become Suspect" by Reese Cleghorn. SOUTH TODAY, July, 1970. Also released as a separate report.

"Crisis of Education" A special issue of SOUTH TODAY, December, 1970.

"A New Plant Meets a New Age" by Betsy Fancher. SOUTH TODAY, June, 1970.

"Mississippi Replay" by Betsy Fancher. SOUTH TODAY, April, 1970.

"Schools: Bickel's 'New Paternalism' Masks a National Retreat" by Charles Morgan. SOUTH TODAY, April, 1970.

BA -
please answer

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

OFFICE OF REPORTS

September 3, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Foundation's Office of Reports is beginning to compile a selected bibliography of Foundation-supported publications for inclusion in the 1971 Annual Report. It will contain some of the most significant books and reports published directly or indirectly under Foundation grants.

The emphasis will be on publications released during calendar 1971, but we will include anything significant published in calendar 1970.

We would appreciate receiving a list of your publications which are appropriate for inclusion in our bibliography at your earliest possible convenience.

Very truly yours,

Nancy Benoit
Nancy Benoit

NB/rm

July 7, 1965

Mr. David R. Hunter
Stern Family Fund
21 East 40th Street
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Hunter:

Thank you very much for what you say about *Encounter*.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW/mpa

June 26, 1959

Professor G. W. Foster, Sr.
Law School
University of Wisconsin
Madison 5, Wisconsin

Dear Bill:

I am enclosing the Timmerman-Morris correspondence which you requested. It makes juicy reading. I have also decided, with some diffidence, to send you a copy of my APSA paper. I told you my opinion of it, and I was being honest. I have never done anything for which I felt less satisfaction, made more intense by the fact that I could see no way of improving it. Nevertheless, the analysis which begins near the bottom of page two and runs to the top of page 6 seems to me correct. Unhappily, it leads to nothing but dilemma, both intellectual and practical.

It was awfully good to meet you and to break a bottle with you. I hope another opportunity to do the same will arise again. Best wishes for your "conference" and I am anxious to hear what the legal and intellectual discoveries will be.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: Timmerman-Morris correspondence
copy, APSA paper

P.S. The title of this paper was, in the way of a APSA, imposed upon me.

September 14, 1960

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister Sts.
San Francisco 2, Calif.

Dear Bill:

Glad to hear from you, and to learn that you have got a long way ahead on your writing. Interested also to see that you are at Hastings; I wouldn't have thought you were old enough.

I have read your article with great interest. I am glad to see someone write on this subject without assuming that exhortation and/or lamentation is itself, however felicitously phrased, worth a readers time yet another time; I am about fed up with the scholar qua cheer leader and the scholar qua special pleader has always been a phony. I share also, personally, your respect for the Nashville plan, though I think both fairness and good sense require that after an initial three or four years it be loosened up to permit individual Negro students in the higher grades to avail themselves of all special opportunities afforded by the white schools. In fact, I am not sure that the utility--even for the Deep South--of either the Baltimore plan of well nigh completely free choice, or the stair-step plan of beginning at grades 1, 7, and ~~9~~ 10 have ever been carefully explored.

My general agreement aside, I do have questions about several of your points: "Startling" to whom (page 2); and why should it startle anyone? I would doubt that "typically" many plaintiffs withdraw (2). What does "often hesitate" mean (2)? What proportion of defeats on non-technical grounds have gone un-appealed? Do you know that middle class Negroes, and "most" southern Negroes value other things ahead of school desegregation (3)? I assume you do not mean that "most" have some other prior civil rights aim, e.g. merit employment, or integrated housing. Do you know that separate standards prevail at many northern graduate schools (4)? I remember your story about your colleague at Wisconsin, and am sure you have other information as well. But this is a sweeping, damning comment on a most serious and sensitive issue; if published in a national magazine your documentation would almost certainly be demanded. I would think segregationists have had their greatest political success on the state level (6); if desegregation were actually an issue in rural localities your statement might likely become true. Who are the "many school board members" and are they numerous in proportion to those who have either muted the problem or stood for open schools (6)? In the Fall, 1958 a moderate school board in Little Rock resigned; in December, a new one was elected, made up of three moderates and three Faubusites; the latter were recalled in May 1959 (6). Can you reconcile the last sentence (7) of this paragraph with the first? What about Patterson of Alabama, Griffin and the suave Vandiver of Georgia, Almond of Virginia--conversion postdated election--, Timmerman of South Carolina; and what of the numbrous attorneys-general (7)? What's puzzling about Faubus? And can you cite Kefauver's victory without mentioning the defeats for common sense even as late as 1960? Does the honored title, "realist," have to be given such low employment as in the penultimate paragraph (7)? District Courts in Virginia held this about a year earlier than the Fifth, and I believe the Fourth ruled, upholding the Arlington case, about the same time as the Fifth (11). Dollas desegregation ordered for 1961 (11). Texas law applies sanctions for desegregation without electoral approval, now waived re Houston (11). Orchard Villa is better described as a rather callous concession of nothing; the neighborhood was in rapid transition and, at most, desegregation only pushed it a bit (12). The example given is, in my opinion, less than fair; most observers believe that on the whole record the Norfolk school board made an enviable showing in most adverse circumstances (14). What "impressive" record has either Kennedy or Nixon (20)?

As I read your article, I couldn't help but think you could have given it a more engaging twist by putting it into the form of a letter of advice to federal judges; I don't necessarily mean literally a letter. The entree of the article (I think) is your model decree (which I think is good), and you are the one fellow in the country who has probably thought most about this problem. If for any reason Atlantic can't use it, maybe you will consider re-casting it, getting the decree up front, and using the rest of the material to justify your reasoning.

My thanks to you and to everyone else who worked hard for Stevenson. Right now, I happen to be one of those who is dubious over the Democrats' chances. The consolation of this--the only consolation--is that it takes my mind off Kennedy.

Best wishes, and

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:A

Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister Sts.
San Francisco 2

August 31, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Like so many things that involve desegregation, my article has taken longer than I had hoped. The enclosed copy is going into the mail to you a day or so after the original was fired off to Atlantic Monthly. Whether they are interested in it remains to be seen.

A good many details need some checking before publication. At this distance it is hard to come by day-to-day developments in places like Prince Edward County and even of Houston. Just about everything in the article has been said before and the most that can be said for the piece is that it tries to bring these things together as connected parts of the problem. And I think you will quickly see that my model decree has not been bought by a number of the federal judges (including, alas, Judge Hooper).

But I'd love your reactions. About the past month has gone into this in full time terms. I had not expected to use up part of my sabbatical in this way but I became increasingly sure that I wanted now to risk a few suggestions, and here they are. Thanks so much for the things about Stevenson. I only wish there were more appearance of soul and less of calculated purpose in these Kennedy people.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

P.S. I sending separately a copy to Harold Fleming since I thought one or both of you might be out of Atlanta when this arrives.

THE COURTS AND THE SCHOOLS

G. W. Foster, Jr.

Until now the federal courts have administered school desegregation without help either from the President or the Congress. Help from both these quarters appears likely for the future. In surveying desegregation since the School Cases in 1954 this article points up some problems which have not easily yielded to judicial solutions and suggests things which the President and Congress may do to help out.

I.

The rule of law applicable to a desegregation case today may be stated simply: States cannot regulate the use of public facilities by rules based on racial differences. The rule was announced by the Supreme Court in 1954 with respect to public schools, and by 1957 the principle had been extended to strike down state imposed segregation of such facilities as public golf courses, beaches, city busses and parks.

But the rule of law against segregation is not self-enforcing. Segregation has a persistent character, giving way only after sufficient new forces gather to bring about a change.

The manner in which segregation gives way is variable, too. Desegregation may take place overnight and be complete. Or it may occur gradually, with only token desegregation at the beginning. The change may be accompanied by great notoriety, and sometimes disorder. Or it may occur unnoticed and peacefully.

Again, the change may result from voluntary action by the community, or at least through community processes short of court action. But when the other community processes have failed and the pressure for change continues, only court action is left.

So far as school desegregation is concerned, the processes short of court action appear about exhausted and not likely to resume any real utility until substantial changes in the present pattern have taken place. In short, court action must be counted on to bring about most of the school desegregation likely for the immediate future. And at least until Congress extends help in major ways, court action must be counted on to produce a new atmosphere in which voluntary desegregation will be resumed.

All this is a tall order for the federal courts, for potentially a great deal of school litigation lies ahead. Segregation was practiced in approximately 3,000 biracial school districts at the time of the School Cases in 1954. About three-quarters of these (or their successors where districts have consolidated) have done nothing whatever to desegregate up to this time.

A first question to examine is, why - when school segregation is in principle unlawful - has there been so little court action? Like most questions involving segregation, this cannot be answered in absolute terms. At least three big and importantly interrelated factors influence the decision to go to court: (1) Negro reluctance to press for school desegregation; (2) white resistance to desegregation; and (3) problems inherent in the judicial process or which must be faced in going to court.

These will be considered separately in the sequence just stated.

II.

Perhaps the most startling fact in this whole complex business of school desegregation is the reluctance of most Negroes to press for it. But the truth is that few Negroes step forward to become plaintiffs in court actions. Typically, many plaintiffs will withdraw their names from the case even before it goes to trial. If the lower federal court rules against them, those left in the case often hesitate to press for an appeal.

Some of this reluctance is explainable simply in terms of the nature of the judicial process itself, particularly when you consider some of the harsher implications of being put on the witness stand and being subjected to cross examination.

And it is easy to say that this kind of reluctance is simply the product either of fear of violence or perhaps of a concern that a Negro involved in this sort of thing may lose his job. Doubtless both fears operate to some extent. But the extent varies.

There are communities - Birmingham is one of them - where knowledgeable Negroes and whites alike report that many Negroes have a real fear for their safety and feel they lack adequate police protection. In contrast, Negroes at Atlanta and Memphis seem largely to respect and not to fear the local police and express apparent confidence that they would be protected against those who threatened to harm them for taking steps toward desegregation.

Negro fear of losing a job if identified with efforts to bring about desegregation appears to be an equally variable matter. A surprising number of Negroes in the South today earn their living entirely within the Negro community, and sometimes a very good living. In the larger communities a secure Negro middle class is emerging. These people earn their living doing what middle class people elsewhere do. They are bankers, lawyers, doctors, insurance men, retailers, wholesalers, and the like.

Everywhere I have gone in the South I have put this question to Negro leaders: Why have so few of these middle class Negroes been active in desegregation efforts? I got about the same answer from everyone, though perhaps the most articulate response came from a Negro funeral director, well-to-do, and prominant in the affairs of the NAACP in his state:

> "The economically secure Negro is the most complete captive of the power structure of this city of anyone here. He's got it made. If he doesn't push for racial progress, he can even win further status for himself by getting appointed to interracial committees by whites. Most middle class Negroes," he concluded, "simply value other things ahead of school desegregation."

Not just middle class Negroes, but most Southern Negroes value other things ahead of school desegregation.

Why?

A partial answer lies in the kind of education the Southern Negro gets in his presently segregated schools.

On the side of quality it can be said generally that huge improvements have taken place in the segregated schools of the South, particularly in the past decade. In many places the bulk of new construction has been for Negro schools. In some places I have visited the Negroes concede their schools are physically equal to, and because they are newer, sometimes better than the white schools of the same community.

There has been a widespread movement to equalize salaries of Negro and white teachers. Indeed Negro teachers frequently earn higher average salaries because of their greater seniority in the system. Teacher turnover is much higher among whites. Negroes, with fewer alternatives, tend to stay put. And thanks again to the comparative seniority of Negroes in teaching ranks, it is frequently true that the average Negro teacher in a particular school system will have had more years of graduate training than the average white teacher.

These are impressive virtues: newer physical plants with better paid teachers who have received comparatively more teacher training.

But the beauty is only skin deep. Almost universally in the South the academic standards of Negro schools lag far behind the standards of white schools in the same system. Because his parents are so poorly educated the average Negro child on entering school scores, as a rule, significantly lower in achievement tests than the average white. He is a disadvantaged child right from the start. And his position of disadvantage worsens by the end of high school because the rate of advancement is so much slower through the Negro schools.

The differences in academic standards of Negro and white schools in the same system are well documented and usually well kept secrets in most cities. But the local educators know about them. And now and then the magnitude of the gap is revealed.

Thus the principal of a white high school in North Carolina estimated that the first Negro assigned to his school was more than two school years behind the average of the eleventh grade class into which he was integrated. The boy had been near the top of the Negro class from which he came, but he failed several courses his first semester of integration. Fortunately, he was able to catch up and graduate on schedule with the class the next year.

In another state a Negro high school principal reported that the average performance on a standard achievement test was lower for his graduating twelfth grade class than the minimum score required for admission to the ninth grade of the "college preparatory" (white) high school of the same city. The academic gap, in other words, was more than four years.

Is it any wonder that only the very best Negro students dare to try a transfer at the high school level? Or that some Negro children have returned to segregated schools after trying a year of desegregation? Obviously it is difficult for the children to make this academic transition even where school authorities have made special provisions for helping them out. Where little or nothing is done to assist them in making the grade, the first year a Negro spends in a white school can be, in purely academic terms, unbearable.

The lower academic standards of the Negro schools also result in part from the comparative incompetence of the Negro teachers. Again, the school authorities are aware of this but guard the secret carefully.

It is not surprising that the Negro teacher is on the average less competent than the white teacher in the same system. Most of the Negroes were educated in segregated primary and secondary schools even poorer than the ones they presently teach in. They attended segregated Southern colleges commonly inferior to the schools from which the white teachers graduated. And with this education they entered teaching.

Much has been done to encourage these Negro teachers to obtain further education. Many flood the summer sessions at the graduate schools of education in the North. And a lot of them cannot meet the academic standards usually set. A professor of education described for me what he called a "not atypical case." After two weeks of the summer session, a Negro graduate student came to his office. She taught school in Mississippi, she explained, and four Negro families were helping support her in summer school. The girl was in tears. "I haven't understood a thing in your class. It's all over my head. But if I don't get a 'B' in your course, they won't even re-hire me back home, or if they do, I'll never get promoted. What can I do!"

The professor reported that he gave her a "B" grade.

In time that girl will doubtless receive a master's degree which has been watered down a good bit. No doubt her teaching abilities will be improved in the process. But the degree she will get isn't legal tender by the standards set for whites in the same school. And professorial sympathies for these disadvantaged Southern Negro teachers result in many sub-standard master of education degrees at Northern universities.

Northern educators are thus helping perpetuate the inferior standards of the Negro schools by sending back to the South teachers with degrees that supposedly stand for something else. The Negro teachers sense this. And they have other fears about desegregation, too. They fear that pupil desegregation will not be followed by teacher integration, and point with concern to occasional instances in which some Negro teachers have not been retained by school systems that have desegregated.

There is a widespread consensus that the Negro teachers are one of the most effective forces resisting school desegregation that can be found in the Negro community. At Louisville, where desegregation has occurred on a broad scale, I ran into numerous stories about children who had resegregated after their old teachers had urged them to come back from the white schools. And this sort of thing crops up elsewhere, too.

Now, as with all generalizations, it is perfectly clear that exceptions can be found. I know of a Negro public school in Tennessee acknowledged to be head and shoulders above the academic standards of the white schools in the same county. And many Negro teachers in the South have worked hard to bring about school desegregation. But the generalizations hold true for most.

Several other deterrents to school desegregation should be mentioned. In the really resistant communities the first desegregation has often been but a token affair. For the few Negro children who start the process, this means a terribly lonely year. Often a child may be the only Negro in the school. He begins by eating his lunch in the locker room. Most likely he will not be invited to participate in a single extra-curricular activity during the entire year.

It takes children - and parents - of pretty resolute stuff to feel so keenly about desegregation that they will endure the conditions needed to pursue a case successfully through court in order to break up the old pattern. This is true even where parental income is not placed in jeopardy and where no violence is threatened. Many Negroes want their children to have a good education. A lot prefer to put their energies into trying to improve the segregated schools rather than take on the desegregation battle as well.

One final deterrent is residential segregation. As I shall point out in some detail later, the various systems which the white Southerners have worked out for assigning students to particular schools rely heavily upon a rule which requires a child to attend the school nearest his home. This means that a Negro child who lives closer to a Negro school than a white one is immediately disqualified from seeking a transfer to the more distant white school. The patterns of residential segregation in most cities are such that relatively few Negroes live closer to a white school than to a Negro one. Hence the effect of these geographic assignment rules is to reduce to a comparative handful the number of Negroes even potentially eligible to commence a school desegregation case.

The surprise is not that so little desegregation has been begun. It is rather that, in the face of all this, so much desegregation activity has taken place. The progress is all the more surprising when we consider the patterns of resistance erected by the white community to prevent or minimize desegregation.

III.

Southern resistance has been most noisely manifested by those who have tried to build around themselves organizations to combat desegregation. Hundreds of these groups announced their formation soon after the decisions in the School Cases, and their leaders vied for position and power.

Few of these have had any real staying power, perhaps partly because they have found few things which they can do successfully on a continuing basis. The whole movement has a strong rural flavor and since very little desegregation has been attempted in the rural areas of the Deep South, there has not been much for them to do at home. Now and then they will mount a cavalcade and ride off to some urban area to protest desegregation there. But city police tend to hold them down to a moderately harmless letting off of steam. Only rarely have they succeeded in physically breaking up desegregation activities. The fire hose has proven remarkably successful in warding off threatened violence.

Some violence and destruction have occurred. But even in short run terms this kind of lawlessness has damaged the position of the segregationist. Most of the white South doesn't want desegregation. But when the segregationist compels the community to choose between some desegregation on the one hand, or mob action, shooting or bombing on the other, the choice almost invariably has been against the forces of violence and disorder.

Public officials, and would-be public officials, of the South have also had a lot to say about school desegregation. Much of it has been aimed at reinforcing segregation.

In the years immediately after the decisions in the School Cases, the legislatures over much of the South let off all sorts of fireworks. They erected a formidable array of laws designed to curb or slow down desegregation and tried in various ways to mobilize public opposition to it. Since then, many of these laws have been involved in court actions and discussion of them will be saved for the section on judicial action. More recently the pressures for further state legislation have subsided, although Arkansas, Mississippi and perhaps Louisiana may be pointed to as exceptions to that conclusion.

The segregation issue has overhung the election campaign for virtually every office in the South since the decision in the School Cases. And doubtless the campaigns both affect, and are affected by, local resistance to desegregation. But the effects of one on the other are widely variable.

7 All-out segregationists have enjoyed their greatest successes in elections at the local level. Many school board members in recent years have been elected on promises of do-or-die opposition to desegregation, a result which often tends to stifle needed discussion and to impair realistic planning for the future educational needs of the community. But even locally, extremists have not always carried the day. Little Rock, after its public high schools had been closed for a semester and a half, replaced enough of its school board members with moderates that the schools were able to re-open

the following Fall with at least a token desegregation in effect. And school boards in other large Southern cities appear to be in the control of moderates who will accept some desegregation in preference to closing the schools altogether.

At the level of offices elected on a state-wide basis, the extreme segregationists have fared less well, even in the Deep South. Only in Mississippi, if we leave the puzzling case of Governor Faubus to one side, has a real extremist succeeded to a governor's chair since the School Cases. And certainly Senator Kefauver's remarkably successful bid for a return to the Senate from Tennessee was a blow to the John Kaspers and their following.

Patterson

How much the press has contributed to Southern resistance is difficult to assess. Racial matters receive prominent attention in news and editorial columns alike. Many who work quietly to improve interracial conditions in the community deplore this notoriety, and point to frequent instances in which apparent success has been converted to failure by untimely publicity at some delicate state of the operation. But publicity does not always result in increased resistance, certainly not in long range terms. The closing of the public schools at Little Rock, Charlottesville, Front Royal and Norfolk had a profound effect. Many who hoped to preserve segregation were awakened to the realization that the only real choice is either to abandon segregation or abandon public education.

White resistance has also taken other forms, more personal and less public. An illustration of this was a letter sent in August 1957 by the Alabama State Superintendent of Schools to the Negro plaintiffs in a then pending court action to desegregate the Birmingham public schools. Here are two sentences from the letter:

> "If you refuse to cooperate with the city board of education in the school placement of your children, you will in effect invite the abolishment of the public schools. Where would your children be, and where would the children of your friends and your people be in this State without public schools?"

Running through much of the white resistance has been the insistent theme that public schools can be maintained on a segregated basis. This has been the segregationist's position from the beginning and the white South has been more than willing to give that position a try. As evidence mounts that this is not so, that either segregation or the public schools must go, there has been a split between the purists and the realists. For purists, segregation must be maintained and public education abandoned. The realist, placing public education first, has directed his attention to ways of delaying desegregation and minimizing the amount of it which occurs.

Public education, though in places it may be temporarily unavailable, will not be abandoned. And the realistic segregationist has set up the two issues most often considered in court actions: How much desegregation? And how quickly?

IV.

Any system which operates two or more schools must necessarily work out rules for assigning pupils to particular schools. There are countless ways to do this and the matter has traditionally been done by local school officials. What the School Cases did was to require that these rules for assigning pupils be worked out in such ways that the states were no longer "maintaining racially segregated public schools."

The Supreme Court recognized that a period of transition would be required to carry out a program of desegregation and that many hard problems would have to be defined, understood, and solved before the transition could be completed. Primary responsibility for working out the transition was assigned to local school authorities, subject to challenge and review of their program by the local federal District Courts.

Planning and carrying out the transition was a new experience for the school officials and the judges alike. The Supreme Court announced in 1955 a general formula for the transition: "A prompt and reasonable start" had to be made toward removal of racial distinctions in assigning pupils to schools, and the whole transition was to be carried out "with all deliberate speed."

The formula, intentionally broadened to permit dealing with widely variant conditions, invited debate over its application in specific situations. And the host of new state laws dealing with public schools and aimed at curbing desegregation posed further uncertainties which only the passage of time and quite a bit of court action could resolve.

We have answers now for some of these uncertainties as a result of judicial decision since the School Cases.

Thus, we can write off as largely ineffective - in urban areas at least - the state laws which require or permit a public school to close down when it has been ordered to desegregate. Courts have ordered re-opening, on occasion at the instance of white parents, on constitutional grounds: such a preferential closing denies children of the affected school equality with children whose schools remain open elsewhere in the state. City schools, closed at Little Rock and at Charlottesville, Front Royal and Norfolk in Virginia, were opened in a year or less under court orders which put Negroes in attendance at most of them. The rules worked out for these cases will permit use of equitable remedies which should curtail and perhaps in most cases prevent future school closings.

As this is written, no court order has yet directed a re-opening of the public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The County abandoned public education entirely for the school year of 1959-60 rather than submit to a desegregation decree. Negroes in the case, apparently hoping the white community would act to restore the public schools, have only recently gone to court asking for an order to re-open the schools.

Under the principles of cases already decided Virginia officials are under a duty to restore public schools in Prince Edward County. But this unhappy case, one of the five actions involved in the original School Cases in the Supreme Court, deals with a South Side Virginia county, largely rural, where the Negro population approximately equals the white. Another of the original School Cases involves a somewhat comparable rural area of Clarendon County, South Carolina. The only difference is that nothing whatever has happened in Clarendon County. The public schools remain open and completely segregated. The two cases dramatically reveal the difficulties ahead for desegregation in the so-called "Black Counties" of the rural South. Successful desegregation of any kind has been confined almost entirely so far either to urban areas or to rural areas where the Negroes form but a small part of the entire population.

Just as states cannot circumvent desegregation by preferentially closing particular schools, neither can they attempt that result by paying out state funds for the operation of segregated private schools. Arkansas cut off state school aids for Little Rock and while the schools there were closed paid out state funds to a private school organized to educate white children. The lower federal courts, backed by the Supreme Court, have now held these state payments illegal and have ordered the State to pay over to Little Rock public schools the state aids which had been withheld after Governor Faubus ordered the schools to close.

In theory it would appear that a state can, without violating the federal Constitution, go out of the business of public education altogether. The Fourteenth Amendment simply declares that the state shall not deny to any person the equal protection of its laws. Presumably if the state did go completely out of the school business, including abandonment of public schools by local units of government, there would be no state inequality involved. There simply would not be public education for anyone. But such a state withdrawal would have to be complete. Public funds will not be permitted to support segregation in private schools.

Perhaps all the public schools of one or more Southern states may close down temporarily but a complete abandonment of public education by any of them seems improbable. Strong forces work against such a result. Every Southern state actively recruits new industry. With embarrassing frequency they are pressed for information about the quality - and indeed the very existence - of public schools. Stories abound of instances in which national concerns have promised personnel sent into their Southern plants and offices either to pay tuition in private schools or to transfer families with school age children in the event local schools are closed. And apart from new arrivals in the South there appears to be strongly rooted support for public education among the indigenous population as well, especially in urban areas.

The future course seems unlikely to involve any protracted closing down of the schools. Rather, the major battles will continue, as in the court actions of the recent past, to involve the criteria and procedures for assigning pupils to particular schools.

Numerous criteria for pupil placement have appeared. These raise the essentially substantive question of huw much desegregation may in theory be expected. When the Supreme Court announced in its mandate decision of 1955 that school desegregation could occur as a gradual process, the question at once was: how much (or how little) desegregation constitutes a "reasonable start"? Some answers to this have been worked out in the past five years, but complex factors are involved and important issues have not yet been resolved in the Supreme Court.

Shortly after the School Cases the lower courts began to read the decisions as imposing no affirmative duty upon local school officials to mix, or integrate, children of different races. In this view a school district could continue to maintain completely segregated schools as long as machinery existed for seeking a transfer by criteria stripped of racial distinctions. The argument was that a state does not deny a child equal protection by permitting him to attend a school of his choice. He could thus be assigned to a school of his own race, provided he could thereafter transfer to a school of his own choice.

The rationale just stated forms the core of the pupil assignments statutes that Alabama and a number of other states have adopted. It is the core also of the so-called voluntary programs adopted in a number of North Carolina communities, and appears to be the practice which is followed at Little Rock.

The Alabama-type assignment plans share the same significant features, though the details differ. Under them, all children are initially assigned to school of their own race, either by explicit direction or by subtle suggestion. White children of course do no apply for transfer to Negro schools. Only a few Negroes apply for transfer to white schools; in most places where these plans exist as general laws of the state Negroes have made no applications for transfer. One commonplace criterion in the plans rejects the application of any child who has been assigned to a school nearer his home than the white school for which he has applied, thus relying upon residential segregation to disqualify many who might otherwise choose to attend a desegregated school. Other criteria for passing on the application are more vague but are usually sufficient to cause rejection of most or all applications.

The Alabama-type plans rely heavily upon the inertia and reluctance of the Negro community. They initially place the Negro in a Negro school, and shift to him the initiative for getting out. The plans treat the right to a desegregated education as an individualized affair, and not as a right owing to a class of people. The criteria for passing on applications call for subjective evaluations which can readily cloak racial discrimination. Thus, transfer may depend on whether an applicant has the proper cultural, moral and ethical background and qualifications for admission to white school When school officials refuse a transfer, and court review is sought, the child may be compelled to sit in open court and establish his compliance with these elusive standards. And the judge, obligated to scrutinize the whole process for signs of discrimination, often finds himself substituted as the ministerial authority who is in fact assigning pupils, a child at a time.

The lower federal courts at first insisted that the local assignment machinery had to be tried and shown to be inadequate before any judicial relief could be sought. They refused to presume, in advance of the fact, that a child's choice of a school would be denied him on racial grounds.

More recently a decided change in tone has appeared, and inroads have been made from a number of directions on the assumptions in the early cases decided by the lower federal courts.

Recently, several Courts of Appeal have made it clear that local school officials do have some affirmative duties toward the disestablishment of existing segregation. For the existence of such an affirmative duty, ample Supreme Court authority was available. In Bolling v. Sharpe the Court had explained in 1954 that the Constitution prohibits the states from "maintaining racially segregated schools." Four years later in Cooper v. Aaron the Court made the point clearer still when it said "State authorities were thus duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system."

Recently, too, the Courts of Appeal have insisted that the mere existence of Alabama-type assignment laws will not discharge a school district from its duty when it appears that completely segregated schools are still maintained. Formal plans or other steps must be taken "publicly to disestablish segregation in the school system."

An objection which may well result in the abandonment of the Alabama-type plans lurks in a recent suggestion of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit: A school board might be in trouble if it continued to maintain segregation by automatically assigning pupils to the same segregated schools and applied the assignment criteria only to "the relatively few Negro students who sought transfers to what had theretofore been white schools." The plan, the court suggested, called for applying the assignment tests uniformly to all students, and not just to those wishing transfers. Some unprecedented re-shuffling of school populations may be in the offing if school officials must also consider the cultural, moral and ethical qualifications of all white children for admission to white schools.

Other devices for pupil placement have been proposed besides the Alabama-type plans just discussed. One is the so-called "three-school" plan, which visualizes within a given system three kinds of schools, one exclusively for whites, another for Negroes, and a third for those who desired interracial education. A Tennessee statute providing such a three-school plan was declared unconstitutional in connection with working out the program for desegregation at Nashville. The District Court pointed out that a three-school plan would result in excluding Negroes, for reasons of race alone, from the set of schools organized exclusively for white children. "The right of Negroes to attend the public schools without discrimination upon the ground of race cannot be made to depend upon the consent of the members of the majority group."

Nevertheless, in a rather confusing directive to officials of the schools at Dallas, Texas, a District Court has apparently ordered desegregation according to a three-school plan for the Fall of 1960. Another federal District Court in Texas, on the other hand, repeated the idea that desegregation does not depend upon majority consent, and ordered desegregation for Houston despite a provision of state law calling for desegregation only after approval by referendum of local voters.

Surely the judges at Nashville and Houston are correct in saying that the right to attend public schools without racial discrimination cannot turn on the consent or choice of others attending the same school system. A policy which gives every child a free choice of any school in the system, on a first-come, first-served, basis was adopted by Baltimore in 1954 and has resulted in a thorough-going desegregation of the city's schools. But where desegregation is introduced at only one or two schools in a system, there is set up what is in effect a three-school system - white schools, Negro schools, and integrated schools - and a policy which permits children thereafter to transfer to a school of their choice results in a game of musical chairs. Something like this happened in Dade County, Florida, last year. Desegregation was initiated at only two schools in the County. In the Spring of 1959, four Negro and 81 white children were assigned to Orchard Villa School for the following Fall. Virtually all the white children thereafter moved into white schools. By January 1960 it was reported that Orchard Villa was being operated by an all-Negro faculty for 468 Negro and nine white children. The presence of the white minority at Orchard Villa is a most unusual circumstance, certainly for the Deep South.

Different from any of the plans so far discussed is the one developed under court order by the school board at Nashville, Tennessee. The Nashville plan deals realistically with so many of the hard problems in desegregation that it may well become a model for the future. The Nashville board, taking into account the academic disparities between the existing Negro and white schools, recommended desegregation of its schools on a grade-a-year basis beginning with the first grade. Academically, certainly, it is easier to mix the two races at the first grade level than to attempt it first in high school Geography is the only criterion for assignment of children to school. Each receives a post card assigning him to school near his home. Once a child receives his assignment, he may request a transfer to a school of his own race if he is a member of a racial minority in the school to which he has been assigned.

Here is the way the transfer feature worked last year, the third year the plan was in operation: Children in the first three grades were subject to assignment. About 75 white children were assigned to previously Negro schools; and 145 Negro children were assigned to white schools. The 75 white children, being members of a racial minority where assigned, asked for and got transfers to white schools. The 145 Negroes, minorities where they were assigned, had about 100 of their number ask for assignment to Negro schools. In other words, only 44 Negro children remained in the white schools, and all 75 white children left the Negro schools.

Several characteristics of the plan deserve particular comment.

Under the Nashville plan Negroes are relieved from taking the initiative for obtaining nonracial school assignment. Initial assignment is automatic and by a simple and objective standard: to the school near the child's home. The only real question on judicial review is whether gerrymandering has been employed in mapping out the assignment areas around each school. Geographic assignment goes a long way toward meeting the hesitation and inertia of the Negroes in the matter of risking a fight over school desegregation.

A geographic assignment rule substantially restricts the amount of integration in most urban areas, simply because of residential segregation. This is true not merely of the South but of urban areas all over the country. Retention of geographic assignment, however, in time results in substantial desegregation as the character of neighborhoods changes within the community. And Southern cities, like those elsewhere, are experiencing the exodus to suburbia, urban redevelopment, and a constant stream of new arrivals. If geographic assignment may produce small results at the beginning, larger results can be expected for the future. And in smaller communities and rural areas, geographic assignment can result in major integration.

The Nashville plan permits children to seek transfer subsequent to assignment and according to an obviously racial standard. Transfer is permitted in only limited circumstances. White children have no choice in the matter where the school is predominantly white. Unlike the white majority which was able to retreat from the Orchard Villa School in Florida, the white majorities at Nashville must stay put. The transfer provision, on the other hand, permits uneasy members of a racial minority in a particular school to retreat if they desire or are pressured into it. Both Negroes and whites have made use of the provision at Nashville, the Negroes recently using it less than at the start in 1957.

The Supreme Court declined review of the Nashville program in the Fall of 1959, three Justices expressing regret that the Court had not desired at least to consider the racial transfer feature of the program at the time. The effect of the Court's action was to leave the Nashville program in operation and the question remains open whether the Court will in time accept or reject the racial transfer as a transition measure.

Nevertheless, the racial transfer feature of the Nashville plan appears to introduce a desirable flexibility into a desegregation program at its beginning. Any transition program requires that some interim decisions be made in racial terms. In practical effect the Nashville transfer means that desegregation will commence with Negro minorities in predominantly white schools, for white minorities will at the beginning elect to retreat from Negro majorities. Like any transitional device, the transfer provision can be modified or withdrawn after the transition is under way. Indeed, the grade-a-year program inaugurated in the southern counties of Delaware under court order in the Fall of 1959 contained no comparable transfer feature. And the general directive of the District Court for the beginning of a grade-a-year desegregation at New Orleans in the Fall of 1960 explicitly provided that transfers between schools could not be "based on considerations of race." In time we will know whether a geographic assignment system may be coupled at the beginning with a limited provision for subsequent transfer of the Nashville type. The combination may be particularly practicable for the really difficult rural areas where the academic disparities between white and Negro schools are in some cases extreme even at the first grade level.

A grade-a-year plan would seem to call for a twelve-year transition. But it need not take that long. A primary justification for the plan is the academic disparity between existing Negro and white schools in the community. A decree which permits a program to begin on a grade-a-year basis should also require concerted efforts by the school system to raise the achievement levels in the grades which remain segregated. This should permit a speeding up of the transition, and in any case, improvement in academic standards is owing to those compelled to remain in segregated classes. The Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit has recently ordered a speeding up of the transition program for the schools in the southern counties of Delaware. After permitting the transition to proceed on a grade-a-year basis for two years, desegregation of the remaining grades has been ordered for the Fall of 1961, the third year of the program.

The courts have been involved not only with criteria for pupil placement, but also with numerous questions largely procedural in character. As earlier pointed out, Negroes have been required first to exhaust their remedies within the school system before coming to court. This has invited development of local remedies designed to take every advantage of Negro reluctance and inertia.

Thus, Negroes in North Carolina have complained that school officials refused even to distribute transfer applications through the Negro schools or to mail them out on request. Rather, the Negro applicant had to appear in person at the office of the school superintendent to ask individually for his form. Other procedural requirements make the applicant take special examinations, or permit anyone who opposes the child's application to demand a public hearing on it, thus affording segregationists a chance to appear and whoop things up.

In some recent cases the courts have treated such procedures as in fact affording no adequate relief and have dispensed with the need for proceeding first through local machinery. The question is one of degree, but once satisfied of the bad faith of local officials the courts have moved swiftly to grant relief thereafter.

Much uncertainty has also attended procedures in court actions themselves. Methods adequate for tort or contract cases have been challenged by defendant state officials who were looking for any objection which could delay things. Some objections have been jurisdictional, throwing the plaintiffs out of court and compelling them to begin all over. Serious questions of court procedures still remain, but some more or less standardized formats are emerging which should go far toward reducing future delays.

Once taken to court, school officials invariably seek further time for study of their local problems. The judges, in the beginning on uncharted seas, granted generous extensions. But when convinced that delay is being used for inaction rather than study, the courts have demanded action and got results. At Norfolk the court obtained a plan for commencing desegregation only after putting the school board in the jury box and delivering a stern lecture on citizenship.

Outside the Border States there has been a strong tendency for the court to approve any plan which promised even a token desegregation of the system as a first step. Certainly this has been true for the cities in North Carolina and Virginia, for Dade County in Florida, and Little Rock and Dollarway in Arkansas. But the Nashville plan, applying a grade-a-year desegregation to all the schools in the system, calls for much more than a token desegregation and marks a breaking away from the token pattern. As this is written, court-ordered plans patterned after the Nashville decree appear due for operation in the Fall of 1960 in several other Tennessee cities and at New Orleans. The court-approved plan for Atlanta will not qualify as a Nashville grade-a-year type. The Atlanta proposal is simply an Alabama-type assignment plan with its transfer provisions available at first only for eleventh and twelfth grade students. And even this proposed small token for Atlanta awaits the Fall of 1961 to go into operation.

Occasionally school boards have refused to produce plans for desegregation even after court orders to do so. Early judicial response to this kind of defiance was a general decree to desegregate, without details for carrying it out, and the results were usually no desegregation whatever unless the judge subsequently made the assignments himself. More recently, after local officials consistently refused to submit desegregation plans, the federal District Court decreed that the New Orleans public schools were to be desegregated at the first grade level in the Fall of 1960. The decree specified that children would be permitted to "attend either the formerly all-white public school nearest their homes or the formerly all-Negro public school nearest their homes, at their option." This language will enable a Negro to overcome the fact of residential segregation, for he may attend the nearest formerly all-white school even though a Negro school is nearer his home. In this sense the decree is substantially more sweeping than the geographic assignment device at Nashville. The New Orleans decree will also permit interschool transfers provided they are not based on racial considerations.

As this is written, Governor Davis has announced he is taking over the operation of the New Orleans schools pursuant to a state statute calling for this when a court has ordered schools to desegregate. This will doubtless produce commotion. Legally, however, a governor has no greater powers than a state, and states cannot maintain racially segregated public schools. More than this, nothing in the Constitution prevents sending a governor to jail for contempt of court when he acts beyond the ambit of his powers. Use of contempt powers is simply a question of tactics in such a case. It may be sufficient in some cases to employ contempt against those around him, thus depriving a governor of whatever benefits he might see in becoming a martyr.

It is essential for the courts to retain supervisory jurisdiction over a school case during the transition period. Occasionally the supervisory powers are needed to deal with evasive actions such as the seizure of the New Orleans schools by Governor Davis. More often the supervisory role will be confined to ironing out difficulties that crop up during the transition and to introducing modifications that speed along the plan as ways are found for solving problems which had justified a slow beginning. Imaginative usage of judicial remedies is called for and historically the judicial process has been singularly effective in evolving adequate means for giving substance to legal rights.

V.

Assessment of the role the judiciary may play in school desegregation

for the future involves some speculation. A few generalizations can be made, however, even if their relative importance cannot be accurately gauged.

First, we can count on future judicial actions to proceed more swiftly, smoothly and certainly. There is better understanding of what elements are essential to a decree which can get desegregation off to a satisfactory beginning in a resistant community, and of procedures for speeding along the transition after a start has been made.

At the risk of criticism from every quarter, I tender the following elements which seem to me essential to a minimal decree for commencing desegregation in a school system:

1. The plan should apply uniformly to all schools in the system. Even if the plan is to begin on a grade-a-year basis, it should apply to every school in the system at which first-grade classes are conducted. Anything less is a three-school system - some white, some Negro, some integrated - with all the attendant pressures for transfer to schools that remain segregated, and with the obvious racial character of exclusion from schools that are thus legally permitted to remain segregated.

2. Initial pupil placement should be by uniform standards applied to all. Various standards are possible. If pupils are to be left free to choose their school, they should be permitted, as at Baltimore, freely to choose any school in the system on a first-come, first-served, basis. If geographic assignment is employed, it should be applied to everyone and the use of gerrymandering should be watched for. If assignment is based on such things as the ethical, moral or cultural qualifications of the pupils, the testing should be given all children in the system; it won't do to assign pupils initially to segregated schools, then apply these tests only to the few Negroes who seek a transfer.

3. Inter-school transfer should be permitted after initial placement. School authorities should be permitted to transfer a child to another school against his will. Probably this should be confined to grounds of discipline, health or, perhaps, academic attainment. In any case the burden is on the school officials to show the transfer is free from racial taint. How far pupils should be permitted to transfer for their own reasons may vary depending on other characteristics of the program. In principle, transfers grounded on racial considerations are forbidden, but as a transition measure the Nashville plan makes some sense by permitting uneasy members of racial minorities in a particular school to transfer, and refusing transfers to racial majorities, who must stay put in the school. Such a device safeguards against the kind of musical chairs game played in Dade County, Florida.

4. Grade-a-year plans should start from the bottom up, not the top down, and should provide for raising achievement levels in classes left segregated. Desegregation should be permitted to begin on a grade-a-year basis only upon proof of academic disparities between Negro and white schools in the system. On proof of these disparities, the decree should direct efforts to improve achievement levels in grades which remain segregated and should require other steps needed to equalize the two groups. Proposals to start desegregation from the twelfth grade down suggest a purpose of capitalizing on Negro

reluctance to face the more difficult academic standards in white schools, for the achievement gaps between whites and Negroes are far greater on the average at the high school level than in the first grade.

5. The decree should clearly announce the continuation of court jurisdiction and the opportunity for modification as the transition progresses. Future court actions will be dealing with cases where segregation has been retained years after its illegal character has been known. These will tend to be places where substantial disparities continue to exist between the educational levels in the white and Negro schools. In these cases desegregation beginning with the first grade will afford a reasonable start, particularly when coupled with efforts to upgrade the education of those who remain in segregated classes. The need for continuing scrutiny of this kind of transition is manifest and it should help to clear the air for the court to annouce from the outset the availability of further judicial proceedings to consider modifications as the transition evolves.

Doubtless the passage of time will reveal further refinements with which the decrees will have to deal. And some of the points stated here as conclusions have not yet been given full blown judicial consideration. A decree which tackles the problem along the lines here suggested can be administered relatively simply, presents fairly clear-cut standards which the average person in the community can understand, and can be sought without involvement in issues which have no real bearing on the question of placing pupils in such a way that segregation will not be maintained.

The future course of judicial action may be profoundly affected by the proposal to have desegregation cases brought in the name of the United States. This would relieve Negroes from the costs of bringing desegregation cases. It would provide assistance in the form of attorneys and others needed to prepare and conduct the actions. And finally, it would stress the national character of the right which the action was brought to enforce. Congressional action in 1957 and 1960 has authorized suits in the name of the United States to enforce voting rights. Comparable authority for school desegregation suits is needed.

Public funds should underwrite the full costs of a school desegregation case. Defendants in the cases are state officials and state funds have consistently been used to defend against every desegregation effort. Private funds, however, have been the only source of support for bringing these cases to enforce what are the most obvious kind of public rights. And indeed some states have tried to curtail even private support by employing statutes patterned after the old crimes of barratry and maintenance.

The need for more attorneys who can devote full time and specialized attention to desegregation cases is also great. Probably there are fewer than two dozen attorneys in the whole country who presently possess the combination of skill and specialized experience that is required. Few of these can devote their full time to desegregation. The rest must support themselves at other legal work and engage in desegregation cases in the discharge of professional responsibility or as a labor of love. Congress can help by establishing a group of full-time attorneys for this purpose in the Justice Department. And an interested President can see to it that they tackle the job head on.

The future course of judicial action will also be affected by the growing experience of the judges themselves. The initial concerns that the judiciary itself would be discredited or disabled in the desegregation process have largely abated. At Clinton, Little Rock, Norfolk and elsewhere the courts have stood by their orders to desegregate in the face either of violence or promises, later carried out, to close the schools. The rule of law has prevailed over defiance.

The judges themselves can aid the judicial process by undertaking seminars which deal with the problems of desegregation litigation. Most of those I talked with in 1959 expressed the desire and need for exchange among the judges of their experiences in this area. They hesitated at that time, however, to take the initiative for inviting groups of judges together for this purpose. The changing judicial attitudes toward these cases should soon create the kind of atmosphere in which judges will call for fruitful exchanges of thinking on this subject.

The future role of judicial action will probably be influenced most profoundly, however, by the atmosphere, in the South and elsewhere, toward the desegregation question. The courts themselves will influence this atmosphere, as they have already influenced it. A court proceeding to compel any kind of desegregation puts in motion a unique process of education. As court enforcement becomes a more sure-footed process, some resumption of voluntary desegregation may be expected as the point sinks in that the task is easier to do out of court than in court. And voluntary action is obviously the preferable way to desegregate.

VI.

Desegregation, which has shaped and been shaped by so much political maneuvering in recent years, has received very little assistance from the two great political arms of the national government. No public action of Congress has yet spoken favorably of school desegregation. Beyond expressing his support for law and order, at one time to the extent of sending the 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock, President Eisenhower has done little to express presidential approval, either.

It would settle a lot of dust if both Congress and the President would declare, in terms all could understand, that school desegregation is a fine idea and a proper construction of rights guaranteed by the United States. Segregationists have long cited the silence and inaction of Congress and the President as proof that the Supreme Court usurped powers in declaring school segregation unconstitutional. They overlook the fact that silence does not constitute approval either, and they are of course wrong in suggesting that presidential or congressional approval is required to validate decisions of the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, affirmative support for the School Cases out of both these quarters will help when it comes.

Congress has received a wide variety of proposals for aiding school desegregation. I have already referred to two which seem to me essential. One is the proposal to have school desegregation cases brought by the United States in its own name, as may presently be done to enforce voting rights. The second is a simple declaration of agreement with the principle of the School Cases, accomplished in some way which dispels any claim that Congressional approval is required to validate the decision.

Another recurrent suggestion would furnish federal funds to any school district to help it desegregate. Variations on this thought would condition school aids to states on requirements that local desegregation plans meet some minimal federal standards, or that some federal authority should take over the operation of schools which remain segregated.

I have two objections to the use of any of these proposals at the present. So far as they would seek compliance by dangling money before a resistant school board, I doubt their efficacy. So far as they substitute a stick for a carrot, I doubt that sufficient congressional support can be mustered for such coercive control over the public schools.

What it seems to me Congress should do is tackle the problem of upgrading the education of those whose achievement levels fall far below national norms. Help should go to a school not because it has been racially segregated, but because its academic performance is beneath any acceptable standards. This avoids using racial criteria in operating the program. And it faces a problem which is not Southern and racial but national and non-racial.

There are disadvantaged children crowded into disadvantaged schools in our great cities, the gap between them and the children in the best schools of the city widening every day because of the differences in academic pace. The same may be said of what education is obtained by the children of itinerant Mexican or Puerto Rican agricultural workers. Or of children in ungraded schools of bleak rural areas too impoverished to accomplish anything better.

The problem common to them all is the inadequacy of their educational facilities to close the distance by which they lag the nation at large. Methods, all of them costing money, are nevertheless at hand for rapidly closing such gaps. Exciting instances can be found in which the reading levels of whole groups of disadvantaged children have been raised several grade levels in a matter of months. But this requires specialized attention by specialized teachers. And we need to be broadly at work, training teachers and furnishing the means for seeing that they get where they are most urgently needed.

Perhaps a start in the form of numerous kinds of pilot projects affords a basis for Congressional beginning. And perhaps some of the great private foundations can be called upon to help experimental programs which creative school systems are willing to undertake in return for some kind of matching assistance from the foundations.

The central point is that the most urgent education need of the Negro in segregated Southern schools is the same urgent need of many other disadvantaged groups elsewhere. The problem is not racial and it is national. It should be solved in terms which are national and are not racial.

VII.

The amount of school desegregation has thus far disappointed those who six years ago counted on much more. The authoritative Southern School News estimated in September 1960 that complete segregation was maintained in ____ biracial school districts in which __________ white children and __________ Negro children were enrolled. And in hundreds of other districts there has been only a token beginning of desegregation.

No sweeping desegregation of these districts is in prospect. For the immediate future desegregation can be obtained only through court actions, brought individually against each district to be affected. Court procedures and rules for carrying through the transition to desegregation are only now shaking down into workable and reasonably efficient patterns. Future desegregation actions should move more smoothly and swiftly, with still further improvement likely. The reluctance of the Negro to go to court and the costs of litigation will continue to limit the rate at which desegregation actions are begun. Congress can help here by permitting the United States to bring desegregation suits in its own name.

Desegregation, when it comes to these resistant districts, is likely to take the form of a gradual transition beginning at the first grade level. The gap in achievement levels between existing white and Negro schools, a gap that widens in the upper grades, imposes severe restrictions on the number of Negroes prepared to compete in white classes, particularly at high school levels. Efforts to close these achievement gaps must be undertaken as part of the desegregation process. But closing the gap in time to permit desegregation for children in higher grade levels of many school districts will call for more teachers and better trained teachers than can now be mustered for the job.

Achievement levels far below national norms are not a problem peculiar to segregated Negro schools or one confined to the Southern United States. The difficulty is nationwide and not racial, and should be dealt with by Congress in national terms in the form of assistance for schools shown to maintain standards below any acceptable minimum levels. Numerous methods exist for upgrading deficient achievement levels but they call for higher teacher-pupil ratios and specially trained teachers. This is expensive business but it is difficult to think of a national concern more important than striving toward our best, and not something less than that, in the education of our people.

7 The next President will play an active role in pressing for the end of racial discrimination. Both candidates have impressive records of achievement in this area. As President either can set a tone and create an atmosphere in which needed machinery can be provided, and in which defiance and fear can in time give way to cooperation and confidence. He can work toward solutions in non-racial terms, for solutions in racial terms pay a heavy price for the friction, evasion and hostility they generate and are in the end antithetical to the objective itself, which is to remove racial considerations from the picture.

* * * *

San Francisco, Calif.
August 31, 1960

October 11, 1960

Mr. G. W. Foster, Jr.
Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister Streets
San Francisco 2, Calif.

Dear Bill:

Your revised article is first rate, a tremendous improvement (and least of all because of incorporating some of my suggestions), and I'll predict you'll have little trouble placing it.

Ever since I saw Kennedy's performance in the Huntley-Brinkley interview of October 1, my estimation of this man has been ascending--in fact I think he looks good; I wish very, very much I could convince myself he will win.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HF ✓
MA-file

Hastings Law School
Hyde and McAllister Sts.
San Francisco 2, Calif.

November 7, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

I would like to add a P.S. to Foster's letter re exec action memo, & say that if he happens to be in the East at the time we'd like him for our meeting.

Good. H.

Dear Leslie:

The report on "Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees" arrived this morning, and I can't resist commenting on it: I think it's swell and hope it will be effective. Particularly I was impressed by the suggestions about size and procedures for carrying out their work. In a piece so full of helpful suggestion it is perhaps misleading to single out for special praise any particular sentence. Nevertheless, I don't think the points can be made too often that were in this one sentence: "Its proceedings and organizational structure have been fairly informal, and it has held closed discussions, though it has kept the local press informed." Bravo! Admittedly, though, such a relation with the press is simpler with people like Pete McKnight and Cecil Prince at Charlotte than with the crew in charge of the papers at Birmingham. The objective is correct, even if hard to obtain and maintain.

John Fisher of Harper's wrote a most flattering letter rejecting my article. So I've once more updated it to include developments of the Fall 1960 and am making one last try at national publication, this time the new education supplement of the Saturday Review that appears once monthly. If this fails, I'll doll the thing up with footnotes and head for some law review.

I'm still grinding away at materials relating to the enforcement of unpopular law. We've had a lot of unpopular law but darned little success at enforcing it.

Please give my regards to Harold and to your nice family.

Faithfully,

Bill

November 16, 1960

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
Hastings Law School
Hyde & McAllister Streets
San Francisco 2, Calif.

Dear Bill:

I think it is tremendous of you to make the offer you have. We shall of course pick up the tab back and forth from Chicago, as well as your time with us in Washington. I wish we could do better.

The meeting will be in Washington, and in a few days you will be getting details of time and place, etc. Incidentally, response to our invitation so far has been good and I believe we will have a sharp group. Your presence makes that adjective all the more fitting.

I am awfully glad the Saturday Review will publish your piece. Sometimes (but not always) I think these things have a way of working themselves out as they should. On the whole I think it is clear that the Saturday Review is a better spot for your article than either Harpers or Atlantic.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 28, 1960

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

Dear Bill:

How is this:

-- direct the Attorney-General to look closely into the authorizations he has for intervening in or initiating school desegregation cases. Several proposals have been made by informed legal opinion; these include: use of 5 U.S.C.A. sec. 316, which authorizes the Attorney-General to send any officer of the Department of Justice to "attend to the interests of the United States in any suit pending" in any court, federal or state, and reliance on the precedent of In re Debs (158 U.S. 564) to ask the enjoining of further acts to delay implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

Accurate? Anything to be added?

Incidentally, I talked with St. Johns Barrett about the New Orleans happenings. As I thought, the November action is the first of its kind but he does not regard it as applicable generally. Act 2 of the First Extraordinary Session in Louisiana had specifically forbidden federal officers from acting; the Department simply asked, as the party at interest, for an injunction against enforcement of the law.

Barrett also feels that Title 5 doesn't confer any powers upon the Department, that the effect of it is chiefly to designate the Attorney-General as the legal officer of the government. I did not persue it further with him.

Please reply by wire collect.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

January 17, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Research Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The executive action report, which I read cover to cover as soon as it came this afternoon, is really first-rate. And, as I've told Harold in a letter going out with this one, I'm really hopeful that you may have some real influence with it since nothing like it is available.

Your desegregation piece in the Phi Delta Kappan sobered me a bit. As I had expected it was clear, careful and thoughtful. What I've got to do soon is sit down with you and try out some thoughts I've got about moves to speed up the transition once there has been a token breaking of the ice. You seemed (or I thought you sounded) pretty blue on this score. And I must confess I cannot point to hopeful evidence. My hope rests, rather, on some ideas not yet tried.

As I mentioned to Harold, I'm getting kind of anxious to do some more nosing around the South soon, probably starting off at Atlanta, then coming back there at the end before returning to the West Coast. If you're in the mood to get out your drinking slippers, let me know.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

HFL
MA-file

108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

January 27, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

You guys were just darned nice to send the expense check for $140. You know you were under no obligation to do it, but I suspect you also know that I am very grateful for it and particularly touched by your thoughtfulness.

Thanks a lot for indicating the dates in February which look like busy ones for you and Harold. In light of these and other developments, I will probably come through Atlanta about mid way in my junket rather than attempting the trip there twice. My best guess is that I will get to Atlanta during the day of Sunday, February 19th. Please, though, don't turn down anything in reliance on this since it is entirely too early in the game for me to be sure of this.

Your article in the Phi Delta Kappan mentions a forthcoming report on the private school movement in Virginia. Since I am increasingly convinced that the tuition grant will furnish the next major battle, I want on this trip to learn everything I can about this. So if you have anything at hand on this, I'd certainly like to see it.

Hold your hat. I'll be in touch later as my plans settle down. My present intention is to leave here on Sunday, February 5th, for Madison, then south through Louisville, New Orleans, Houston, then back through Memphis, Nashville, Knoxville and on to Atlanta. But this is plenty tentative.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, California

April 4, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

The copy of your convocation address at Earlham College has just arrived. It is a beautiful thing, Leslie, and since finishing it I have sat mulling the question of how it may be given a broader circulation than merely among the student body and alumni groups of Earlham, plus your SRC mailing list.

The dilemma which civil disobedience poses for an ordered community can't be swept under the carpet. And anything which can keep alive the reminder with which you close - that the line is thin and shadowy between, on the one hand, presumption and moral conceit, and, on the other, courage and moral leadership - is a matter to be pursued. So if you are making efforts to seek publication of this to a broader audience, I cheer you. Or if you're not doing so, I either urge you to do so - or I will happily bend my efforts to find a publisher on your behalf.

So do let me know what you anticipate for further distribution of the speech. I think it urgently important that what you have said here be given very broad dissemination. For it is splendid.

Faithfully,

Bill

G. W. Foster, Jr.

April 6, 1961

Professor G. W. Foster, Jr.
108 Presidio Avenue
San Francisco 15, Calif.

Dear Bill:

You are a wonderful person to say such nice things. Of course you have my permission and blessings to find a publisher for "civil disobedience." I am too lazy to do it myself.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 28, 1960

Mr. Saul L. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Enclosed are thermafax copies of news clips on the riots in Biloxi, Miss., and in the several cities of South Carolina. I'm afraid this is the best we can do, as we do not have a comprehensive report on these events.

I hope you will find these of some help in the preparation for your Law Enforcement Workshops.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosures:
  news clips on Biloxi, Miss.
  "   "   " Columbia, Orangeburg, Greenville,
              and Spartanburg, S. C.

Mailed April 14, 1960 to Saul Silverman
Staff Assistant, Race Relations Commission
Governor's Office
Tallahassee, Fla.

New South, Feb. 1959 "Kentucky Desegregation"
"Bus Desegregation Gains"

New South, April 1958 "Sports Integration Setting Example"

3 copies: Desegregation of Recreational Facilities in the Southern States
October, 1959

3 copies: Desegregating white institutions (colleges and universities)

3 copies: Desegregating Negro Institutions " "

1 copy: The People Take the Lead, AJC publication on civil rights, Jan. 1959

3 copies: Civil Rights in the Nation's Capital, NAIRO publication on civil rights
November 1959

Changing Patterns in the New South - 3 copies

The Negro and the Ballot in the South - 3 copies

Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities - 3 copies

April 19, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Race Relations Commission
Governor's Office
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

I am enclosing a few things which may possibly help you prepare a statement on intermarriage. The pamphlets of the American Friends Service Committee and the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry may be particularly useful to you. Our little publication, Next Steps in the South, was done in 1956, and we have a revision at the printers now. In it we shall say:

> Do desegregated schools lead to interracial marriages?
>
> The idea that desegregation leads to an increase in interracial marriage is demonstrably false. Interracial marriage in the Northern states where it is legal, and where the schools have never been segregated by race, is unusual, and the percentage is so small as to be practically negligible. The fear of intermarriage is largely irrational, since there can never be a law or a court decision forcing persons to marry against their will. Marriage is and will remain a matter of personal choice.

Milton Meyer's article on miscegenation was in the September 1959 Progressive. In the Southern California Law Review, Fall 1958, there was what seemed to me to be a sound legal analysis of miscegenation statutes. I would suppose that both of these pieces would be available in some Tallahassee library, but, if not conveniently for you, please let me know and I shall send you thermafax copies.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures:
Next Steps in the South; Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation
Race and Conscience in America; The Myths of Racial Integration;
James M. Dabbs interview with Mike Wallace

MA - file

April 22, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Staff Assistant
Florida Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We are mailing today 100 copies of a two-page updating of our Special Report. This is in accord with the agreement which Ben Muse had with you. We tried to get these off yesterday, but couldn't make it. I hope they will nevertheless arrive in time to be useful.

This is the appropriate occasion to ask if you have a continuing use for regular revisions of our report. If so, how frequent would you want them? (I think fortnightly is the best we could do. Monthly would be preferable.) On what day of the week? How many copies? Is this first updating the sort of thing you will find helpful, or would you recommend some other presentation or emphasis or approach (please be candid)?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD/mf
cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

May 5, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Race Relations Commission
Governor's Office
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

I believe you will find the enclosed report on Corpus Christi, Galveston and San Antonio of interest. This is a completely unedited version, and I am sure that you will recognize as you read it that it contains some information which probably ought not to be publicized or widely disseminated. We shall be mimeographing or printing this very soon, but in a condensed and edited form. In the meantime, however, we thought you might find it useful in your work and we therefore wished you to have it at once.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Dictated but not read
Enclosures: K. Moreland reports

B cc- BM

May 6, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Staff Assistant
Florida Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you statements of religious groups and leaders, and these are enclosed. We have many more, of course, in our files, but only one copy; however those which seemed to us most significant have been reprinted or published in New South and copies of them are included.

In addition, I would suggest the following:

Kyle Haselden, The Racial Problem in Christian Perspective
William Peters, The Southern Temper, Cahpter 2.
The New York Times ran a series of articles on "Churches of the South Facing Dilemma on Segregation," by John Wicklein, July 5-8, 1959.
Pettigrew and Campbell, Christians in Racial Crisis (an account of ministers in Little Rock) also contains many religious statements

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

Enclosed:
Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision, 1957
Perkins School of Theology Journal, Christianity and Race Concern
(continued, next page

Race and Conscience in America
New South, Aug. '54; Oct. '56; April, Feb., May, June, Dec. '58; Sept. '59; Jan. '60.
"In the Hearts of Men," statement by Atlanta ministers, Nov. 4, 1957
"The Agony of the Southern Minister," by Ralph McGill, reprinted from New York Times Magazine, Sept. 1959
"The Churches Speak," United Church Women publish statements by various denominations, reprinted from The Church Woman, May 1957 issue
"No Use Hiding Our Heads in the Sand..." distributed by the Atlanta and Georgia United Church Women, 1959
"A Moral Issue," published by Methodists
"Protestantism Speaks on Justice and Ingegration," thermafax, Christian Century, Feb. 5, 1958

In addition, the Interracial News Service issue of its bimonthly digest, May-June, 1958, contains many statements by religious groups. Because it is printed in blue ink, in small type, it does not reproduce well. However, if you are unable to get a copy, please let us know and we will send the best reproduction we can. May be ordered from: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Dept. of Racial and Cultural Relations, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

In a week or so we will have a new publication by the Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee (National Council of/Churches), (Protes.Epis.) The Church in Areas of Racial Tension, and this will summarize a great deal of data and opinion on the role of religious groups in race relations. We will send a copy to you. We are also in process of publishing another pamphlet which has some material on religion and race relations--we have rewritten and up-dated Next Steps. We will be sure that you receive a copy of this too.

STATE OF FLORIDA
GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
313 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
800 TWIGG STREET
PHONE 2-2042
TAMPA, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
DON GENUNG, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

May 9, 1960

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Just a note to thank you and your organization deeply for the tremendous help, particularly with regard to pertinent literature which you have already forwarded to us.

Sincerely,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul Silverman
Staff Assistant

SS:jl

May 25, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Commission on Race Relations
313 State Office Building
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Ben Muse asked that I send you a bibliography of books on race relations. I hope the enclosed will help; we have now at the printers a pamphlet, which you will receive in time, titled Desegregation: The First Six Years, which will include a fairly detailed reading list. There are some good bibliographies available from other sources; among them are:

M. M. Tumin, Segregation and Desegregation (published by Anti-Defamation League). 1957.

________, Supplement, Segregation and Desegregation (published by Anti-Defamation League). 1960.

E. G. Olsen, Intergroup Education Bibliography, Vol. 2 (National Conference of Christians and Jews). 1959.

Selected Bibliography (Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University). 1959.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: SRC Bibliography

June 6, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Commission on Race Relations
313 State Office Building
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

For the past month we have been trying to locate some copies of Integration North and South, by Loth and Fleming, for you. So far, none of the inquiries have brought forth any copies. However, I found that I had a copy at home and am sending it to you. If we should locate any more, we will send them along.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

June 15, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Commission on Race Relations
313 State Office Building
800 Twigg Street
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We have read with great interest the text of your first report, as printed in the St. Petersburg Times for May 30. I wonder if it would be possible to be put on your mailing list to receive copies of subsequent reports from you?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

JC ✓ - LC ✓
MA

STATE OF FLORIDA
GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
313 STATE OFFICE BUILDING
800 TWIGG STREET
PHONE 2-2042
TAMPA, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
DON GENUNG, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

JUNE 29, 1960

NOTICE

PLEASE ADDRESS ALL FUTURE CORRESPONDENCE WITH THIS COMMISSION AS FOLLOWS:

COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL BUILDING
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

PHONE 21900

Gilbert [illegible]

H F — you know anything ?

JC — NO

LD

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

Only thing I know of is the annual "do" of the SERS, to which SSN corresps + guest newsmen are invited. But that was just held for 1960 + isn't really what he seems to have in mind, anyway. H.

August 26, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Do you have any information that you could share with us with regard to institutes, seminars, conferences or training programs involving race relations and press coverage?

We would appreciate receiving same.

Kindest personal regards,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

August 22, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for your note of August 19, 1960. Both I and the Commission were very pleased at your replies to same and grateful for your expression.

We are in the process of planning a series of conferences with Chamber of Commerce officials, Religious Leaders, and Law Enforcement Officers.

It is our hope that if we can get these groups to talk realistically to the dimensions of the problem and the possibility of constructive action, that much more biracial communication will be opened up in Florida.

We have previously requested material on desegregation of parks in the South and were informed by your office that the material had been sent, however we have checked everywhere and are unable to locate it. We are sure it did not reach this office. We would be grateful for anything you might be able to do in this regard.

Cordially yours,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

August 19, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the news releases of the Fowler Commission for July 2 and July 31, 1960. I thought these were first-rate and was particularly impressed by the candor displayed. I believe pretty firmly that realistic, informed discussion of race relations is the South's main hope, and I think that puts an obligation on all sides.

I intend to show the releases to Ben Muse when he is next in this office, after he returns from his vacation trip.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Ben Muse

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

August 18, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm the telephone conversation between you and my secretary, Mrs. Bruce, in which she requested information regarding desegregation of parks in the South. This would include the parks that were desegregated, the number that have been desegregated and how smoothly the change-over went.

We would appreciate having this information as soon as possible.

Very cordially yours,

Saul A. Silverman
Saul A. Silverman jb
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

Telephoned 8/19 - talked to Mrs. Bruce - pkg. mailed airmail, special delivery 8/15

HP

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

This is a rather
interesting statement.
Would you want to write
a comment to Silverman?
Should we hold it for Ben?
Or what?

August 11, 1960

Mr Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed please find a copy of the news release by Cody Fowler, Chairman of the Commission on Race Relations, and published in the Tampa Daily Times, the St. Petersburg Times and the Orlando Sentinel.

We would appreciate your comments or suggestions.

Very truly yours,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb
Enc. 1

August 2, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State of Florida
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We understand that Ashmore will fairly soon publish an expanded treatment of the material in his newspaper series (under the title The Other Side of Jordan). We don't know when or by whom the book will be published, but we should be learning more about it soon.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

August 1, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Other Side of Jordan

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 28, 1960.

Could you inform us as to whether or not the articles written by Harry Ashmore, "The Negro in the North," have been written or published in book form yet, or when they will be?

Cordially yours,

Saul A Sil

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

fcb

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

August 1, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Thank you very much for your booklet entitled "Race and Law Enforcement". The material contained therein will be a great deal of help to us in dealing with Race Relations in the state of Florida.

We are deeply grateful for your co-operation in sending this material to us.

Cordially yours,

Saul A Sil

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

July 28, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

We have your letter of July 26 requesting information regarding human relations programs for law enforcement officers. Some years ago the Council did publish a pamphlet, Race and Law Enforcement, on this subject, a copy of which is enclosed. Recently, the Anti-Defamation League has brought out a commendable manual, titled With Justice for All, which is also enclosed. (Incidentally, this has been issued to each member of the Atlanta police force.)

Under separate cover we are sending you two other items of which we happen to have extra copies: A Guide to Understanding Race and and Human Relations, prepared by the Milwaukee Police Department for police instructional purposes; and Police-Community Relations Institute, May 24-29, 1959, Kellogg Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

The following titles may be of interest to you. Unfortunately, we do not have extra copies, but I would assume that you can obtain them by writing to the source:

New Orleans, City of, Human Relations and Effective Police Action, printed 1952.
State of California, Department of Justice, Division of Criminal Law and Enforcement, Guide to Community Relations for Peace Officers, published by Edmund G. Brown, attorney general, and Emmet Daly, assistant attorney general, March 31, 1959.
Department of Justice, State of California, Police Training Bulletin, A Guide to Race Relations for Police Officers, Department of Justice, State of California, 1946.
State of California, Department of Justice, Division of Criminal Law and Enforcement, Guide to Race Relations for Peace Officers, published by Edmund G. Brown, attorney general, Arthur H. Sherry, and Emmet Daly. No date

J. E. Weckler and Theo E. Hall, The Police and Minority Groups, The International City Managers' Association, 1313 East 60 Street, Chicago 37, 1944.

Report on a Study of Negro Police, Made by The Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces, Coordinating Council, 309 North 23rd Street, Birmingham, Alabama, 1953.

Law Enforcement Committee of the Los Angeles County Conference on Community Relations, A study of police training programs in Minority Relations, by Milton A. Senn, 3125 W. Adams Blvd., Los Angeles 16, California, revised 1952.

Joseph T. Kluchesky, Police Action in Minority Problems, (an address before the 52 Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, Miami, Fla., 1945), published by Freedom House, Willkie-Memorial Building, 20 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

* Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University, Outline for Training, Police and Minority Groups, Essex County Intergroup Council, 30 Clinton Street, Newark 2, New Jersey, 1952.

A Handbook for Police Recruits, The Police and Human Relations, Denver Commission on Human Relations and Denver Police Academy, 1957.

Finally, we do want to note that the Council has a Consultant Service Program and that occasionally in the past we have, on request, brought police officers with experience in the handling of minority group tensions to Southern communities to consult with their police, and are prepared to do this, within our budgetary limits, in Florida. We possibly also could arrange for a police chief or two from Florida to visit a situation where law enforcement problems have occurred and have been solved. If you would be interested in such methods, or their like, I am sure the details could be worked out.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

* We find that we have an extra copy of this, and it isincluded with the separate mailing.

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

July 26, 1960

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have been informed that you have information regarding some form of Human Relations Program for Law Enforcement Officers. The Commission on Race Relations for the State of Florida would be most grateful to receive from you any information you could share with us with regard to same.

Sincerely yours,

Saul A. S

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

July 22, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
Capitol Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

In reply to your letter of July 18, I am enclosing a reprint of "Segregation Costs." The Lorin A. Thompson article can be found in *New South*, February 1959 (also enclosed); and we are including a thermafax copy of the Herbert Hill article.

Pettigrew and Campbell, *Christians inRacial Crisis*, was published by Public Affairs Press, 1959. We only have one office copy.

NAACP v. Patty was appealed to the Supreme Court and set aside. You may recall that in the Patty case the three-judge District Court voided three statutes and refrained from passing upon two others pending interpretation of them by the state courts. On appeal by the Commonwealth, the Supreme Court held that the District Court should have reserved judgment of the whole set of statutes until they had been interpreted by the state courts. The citation of the case is *Harrison v. NAACP*, 79 S. Ct. 1025, *4 Race Relations Law Reporter*, 527; the decision was handed down June 8, 1959 (Patty was attorney general of Virginia, Harrison is the present attorney general).

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

July 18, 1960

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We would be most grateful if you could send us a copy of the following:

1. Pettigrew and Campbell, Christians in Racial Crisis.
2. SEGREGATION COSTS: DIXIE FIRMS FIND THEM MORE OF A BURDEN AS RACIAL TENSION GROWS, Cal Brumley, Wall Street Journal, December 17, 1957.
3. SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF VIRGINIA'S CURRENT EDUCATIONAL CRISIS, Lorin A. Thompson, Director of Bureau of Economic and Population Research, University of Virginia.
4. VIOLENCE CHECKS SOUTHERN INDUSTY BOOM, Herbert Hill, New Leader, April 14, 1958, page 3.

LWD { Sometime ago, Ben Muse send me a copy of the decision in N.A.A.C.P. vs. Kenneth Patty, et. al., in the U. S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. Could you kindly inform me as to any further citations in said case, in particular whether or not it has been appealed.

Cordially yours,

Saul A Silve

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

#Fla

VD

File

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

September 1, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for the material and press coverage, as well as the park situation material.

You might be interested to know that the Associated Press Broadcasters asked us for suggestions with regard to press coverage in race relations. We forwarded to them the material in our files which we received from you. They found this of enormous help and plan to draw up their own statement using that material as the principal source and are distributing it to all their members. We have mailed a publication on to our Press Advisory Committee.

Further, your information on desegregation of variety stores was of real value in the negotiations in Miami.

We continue to be in debt for the excellent co-operation of your organization.

Sincerely yours,

Saul A Silve

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

September 9, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Just received the report from Duke Law Journal on Dime Store Desegregation and was very much impressed with same.

Is it possible for me to get 30 or 40 copies?

7h A
9-14-60
only 25 sent

Sincerely yours,

Saul A. Silverman

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

October 5, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Just received the copy of your letter to Mr. Kilpatrick. Thank you, thank you, thank you.

Kindest personal regards,

Saul

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

October 14, 1960

Mr. Saul Silverman
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
Capitol Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Saul:

Your report of September 14 listed committees formed since the establishment of the Fowler Commission in Coral Gables, Daytona Beach, St. Petersburg, Miami, Jacksonville, (now defunct?), Tallahassee, Ft. Lauderdale, and Auburndale. I know that the St. Petersburg was, and the Tallahassee was not, appointed by a mayor; could you tell us which of the others were appointed by the city administration? You listed Orlando, Delray, W. Palm Beach, Tampa and Winter Park as having had committees prior to the Fowler Commission. I believe the first three were unofficial. Is that correct? Were any of the five appointed officially? Also, are there any committees newly formed since September 14? Do you know if they have official auspices? I have heard of a committee in Eustis.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 31, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol Building
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Saul:

Thank you for the extra copies of the memo of October 17. I had read it last week with great interest and renewed respect for the direction you are giving your Commission. Ben is enthusiastic about it and the possibilities of its usefulness throughout the region. I think he is right about that. This letter is to inquire as to whether you would be willing for us to distribute perhaps 1,500 to 2,000 copies throughout the South to municipal officials, chambers of commerce, biracial committees, etc. If you are, there would, as I see it, be three alternatives for obtaining the copies. One would be for you to mimeograph this number and sell them to us. A second would be for us to re-cut the stencils and mimeograph here. The third would be for us to have your mimeographed report reproduced by photo-offset.

If you find that it is agreeable with the Commission for us to distribute the memo, you might indicate which, if any, of these three methods would suit you best.

I assume that your distribution is being confined largely to Florida.

I have passed on to Harold your approval for use of your discussion memo with the chain supermarkets. He sends you his thanks.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:a

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

cc Ben Muse

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

October 27, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Just spoke to Ben Muse and at his suggestion I am sending ten copies of our memorandum of October 17. Love to hear your reaction. We have now distributed 1,500 copies of this memorandum and have only begun to mail.

With regard to Mr. Flemming's prior request for the use of our memorandum of discussion with the Chain Supermarkets, I have just cleared same with Mr. Fowler and you are at full liberty to publish same. I am sending you another copy in case you have misplaced the other.

Kindest regards,

Saul

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb
Enc. 11

BENJAMIN MUSE
Post Office Box 312
MANASSAS, VIRGINIA

October 28, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I do not know if you have had time to study a memorandum issued by the Fowler Commission in Tallahassee and addressed by it on October 17 "To Florida Leaders in Civic, Religious and Business Affairs." One copy was sent to Atlanta. I have asked Silverman to forward ten more copies to you and suggested that we may want more.

This impresses me as one of the most convincing pleas for community attention to the race problem that I have seen. With only passing reference to the moral question and avoiding any emotional appeal, the memorandum deals in practical, business-like terms with many areas in which adjustment to the inevitable advance of the Negro is an urgent necessity. It is a superbly cogent argument for intelligent community action on a broad front.

It is also applicable in some measure to every Southern community. Emanating from an official state commission it should be more effective in some respects than if it had been a product of our organization.

I recommend that we ask Silverman have perhaps 1500 (?) copies of this memorandum mimeographed and furnished to us at our expense. I would like to see it given maximum distribution.

It could be helpful with mayors, chambers of commerce, bi-racial committees, clergymen and all on our L lists.

I would suggest that the Fowler Commission's covering letter be distributed along with the memorandum, with a Southern Regional Council slip to the effect that we believe this will be of interest and possible value to other Southern communities.

If you agree that this is worth while, I suggest that you communicate directly with Saul Silverman in Tallahassee. (His office is Tallahassee 2-1900).

Incidentally, Silverman is still uncertain as to the commission's future, though Cody Fowler seems to be looking toward continued operation after the new governor's inauguration. Farris Bryant has given no inkling of his intentions. Silverman thinks it a hopeful sign that Bryant's home city of Ocala has established a biracial commission.

Fowler, who is giving much of his personal time to the work, is finding it burdensome and would like to employ another staff member who would relieve him of some of it. They are trying to get some help from the Field Foundation for this purpose. Conceivably also, if the commission should be cut off by the state administration, it might continue to function with philanthropic help.

Looking forward to seeing you November 9.

Sincerely,

Ben

HFL ✓
VD ✓

STATE OF FLORIDA

FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

file

November 2, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 31, 1960. We are of course delighted that you and Ben were so pleased with the statement.

I have just talked with Mr. Fowler, who is in New York, with regard to your request. He has authorized me to give you full permission to proceed on the planned distribution.

Since this is for outside of Florida, it would be far more convenient for us if you would do the printing rather than billing us for it from here. Whether or not memeographing or photo-offset would be better, I leave to your judgment and experience.

It might be helpful for you to exclude in the reprint on page one, the sentence beginning with "In Florida with its vast tourist trade...", and on page two, the substitution on Section Six of "Southern Negroes" for "Florida Negroes."

Please keep me advised of the distribution so that I might share the knowledge with the Commission.

Your report L-20 is very helpful and we plan to re-edit it and distribute it to various communities in Florida.

Cordially yours,

Saul

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

FOWLER COMMISSION
ON
RACE RELATIONS

CAPITOL BUILDING TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

October 17, 1960

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS

Enclosed please find a memorandum which we are mailing to outstanding leaders in Florida. It points out twelve principal factors of change. They include changing factors involving:

Economics
Law
The World Scene
Mass Communication
Personal Communication
Education
Religious Emphasis
Armed Services
Negro Leadership
Urbanization
Political Rights
Attitudes

The memo points out that bi-racial committees have a similar, but more difficult, role to worker-management grievance procedures; that human relations committees, or some similar procedures, have been successful in numerous communities; and, that racial tension can best be handled around a table.

It contains a list of nine reasons why we, and many others, are convinced that such an approach will not precipitate discontent but will be profoundly contributive to peaceful race relations.

Finally, it reiterates our belief and respect for the right and responsibility of each community to develop its own approach.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

MEMORANDUM

October 17, 1960

TO FLORIDA LEADERS IN CIVIC, RELIGIOUS, AND BUSINESS AFFAIRS.

Since we wrote all Mayors in Florida in April, with regard to the establishment of a bi-racial committee, we have been busy studying the problem at length. We feel, as a result of our discussions with outstanding leaders in business, education, religion, law enforcement, the press, and local bi-racial committees, far more equipped to explain the reasons for this recommendation. Whatever doubt as to the soundness and logic of this approach we could possibly have had, was completely removed by recent events in Jacksonville.

There are strong indications that many factors and forces operating in the field of race relations in our State are increasing tensions between the races. They are operating to a greater or lesser extent in all Florida communities, and are particularly strong in metropolitan communities as well as communities with large concentrations of college-educated Negro youngsters. They are:

1. The change from an "agricultural economy" to an "agricultural and industrial economy," and more recently to a "service economy" as well.

   This service economy's major activity is not production, but selling and serving rather than producing. What has not been fully appreciated is that the Negro in the South represents three billion dollars of the market of these service enterprises. As such, he now, through "selective buying," can exert a kind of economic pressure that has never been available to him. Many chain services are beginning to recognize this fact. While some have dismissed the recent student demonstrations as small isolated instances, we are beginning to understand that these demonstrations are obtaining support in the Negro Masses, with the distinct possibility that race tensions can affect the pocketbook of the merchant on Main Street in an unparalleled way. This is particularly so in our large cities, both North and South, where an increasing percentage of downtown shoppers are non-white.

2. The change in the interpretation of the rights of U.S. citizens by the Supreme Court, regardless of the feelings of many.

   These new decisions widely accepted in all lower Federal Courts are making legal defenses to total segregation policies in public facilities increasingly expensive, and ineffective except for the purpose of delay. Unrealistic understanding of the law is widespread, and is creating unrealistic demands on people in leadership roles. In Florida, with its vast tourist trade and rapidly expanding industry, these decisions are contributing to a much more extensive problem than other Southern States. Tourists and new industry can be expected to be quite sensitive to the fear of unpleasant race tension.

3. The change in Africa from a continent of stable colonialism to a crucial part of the free world in the throes of new nationhood.

   The obvious need of America to maintain the effective leadership of the free world of which Africa is an essential part, plus the fact that two-thirds to three-fourths of the total world population is non-white, is increasing national pressure on many of the traditional practices of the South, and is clearly reflected in the platforms of both major political parties.

4. The change in the effects of mass communication.

   The increase in television and other mass means of communication has reduced the gap of aspiration between the two races. The same goals are held out to Negro and white alike, but job opportunities are far from equal. Whenever we increase wants, without increasing means, we are indirectly precipitating high levels of frustration.

5. The change in time, convenience and expense of personal communication.

   New York is now two hours away. When we add to this the fact of the increased number of Negroes of education and political strength outside the South, and their increased demands, it becomes very obvious that local and national Negro leaders are in closer contact, resulting in increased awareness of the relationship of local problems to the national and world scene.

6. The change in the number of Florida Negroes who are educated.

   This has resulted, to no ones real surprise, in a more persistant and articulate assertion of declared democratic rights.

7. The fact that so many major religious bodies or their leaders have seen fit to reassert the Judaic Christian understanding "that before God all men are created equal, and are entitled to equal opportunities."

   Our files reflect expressions from the following organizations to name only a few.

   Assemblies of God
   Southern Baptist Convention
   Church of the Brethren
   Churches of Christ
   Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints

Churches of Christ, Scientist
Church of God
Church of the Nazarene
Congregational Christian Churches
Disciples of Christ
Protestant Episcopal Church
Evangelical and Reformed Church
Evangelical United Brethren Church
Religious Society of Friends
Greek Archdiocese of North and South America
Jehovah's Witnesses
Central Conference of American Rabbis
Synagogue Council of America
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod
United Lutheran Church in America
The Methodist Church
Cumberland Presbyterian Church
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
United Presbyterian Church
Roman Catholic
Seventh-Day Adventist Church
Unitarian Church

8. Service in our Armed Forces.

Experience in our Armed Services, which have desegregated without difficulty, has made it more difficult for many Negroes to accept complete segregation. Included in this catagory are thousands of Negro veterans, many of whom are leaders in the Negro communities, and several of whom were officers in the Armed Services.

9. Changes in Negro Leadership Patterns.

The old "accomodating type" of leadership, which had power because of its acceptability to the white community, is being challenged and replaced by a younger and more aggressive type of leadership. Inability of responsible local leaders in the Negro community to bring about change means the diminution of their power and ascension of a more militant group of leaders.

10. The change from a rural to an urban society.

One of the major phenomenon of our time is the rapid shift of population from the country to the city. The pressure for change of customs based on a rural economic and social structure can be expected to become much greater in the city than on the farm.

11. Change in Political Rights.

Increased Federal legal protection of the Negro's right to vote obviously is increasing his political power. It is noteworthy that the last three presidents of the United States, as well as the two present presidential contenders have taken very strong positions with regard to civil rights.

12. Change in Attitudes.

Numerous researches have found significant correlations between the lack of educational opportunities and prejudice. With continued advances in education in our state and the nation, it can be expected that prejudice will continue to diminish.

These factors for change are extremely likely to increase in the 60's and are increasing rapidly as of this moment. New adjustments are going to have to be made regardless of the preferences of many. The difficulty is that these adjustments may be made on the street-corner under the leadership of extremists with disturbance of the peace, threats of violence, and angry passion as the guiding line, unless there is an institution in the community whose task is to deal with them.

No large industry would operate today without a well-functioning grievance procedure. This is vital to proper labor-management relations. A worker with a grievance who has no place to take it tends to build up resentment and increase the probability of irresponsible behavior. This is just a simple operating maxim of good management and public relations in general.

Our race problems are not basically different with the exception that they stem from such long held traditions and such strong emotions that they are even more difficult. They require much skillful treatment. Often they cannot be effectively handled in regular channels of government-citizen communications. We have discovered that many cities in the North and the South have found the most constructive approach to be the establishment and able functioning of a committee to deal with these and related problems of community relationship. Fourteen Communities in Florida have already established such committees. Thirty-three cities throughout the nation have hired professional staffs and have substantial budgets. The idea of a committee to deal with minority group problems is not in the least novel and has proved in numerous instances very effective, particularly in the areas of communication and understanding.

We have been so busy thinking in terms of names of "integrationist" and "segregationist" that we have lost sight of the fact that whether we like it or not we are facing real problems that cannot be avoided. Like all problems of change, they require a forum and safety valve.

Many of Florida's Leaders with whom we have talked have acknowledged the inevitability of change in race relations and share with us deep concern for such widespread lack of concern.

Simply put, which way is better for change to come?

1. By economic boycott, wade-ins, demonstrations, and race clashes?

OR

2. By responsible leaders who have studied the problem over a period of time; who have examined all points of view as well as the facts; who have the respect of the great majority of their community; and, who can arrive at the most satisfactory recommendations?

All these things are compelling reasons we feel for establishing bi-racial committees.

But more than this, abrupt change in racial policies can cause a community crisis. If the change is seen as involving the community's total situation, the possibility of hostility and anxiety are enormously multiplied. Such abrupt change is most likely to occur when prior communication has been poor. This means to us that the basic requirement for successful handling of a racial tension is the quality, extent, and depth, of prior communication between the races at the local level. Strategically this makes, we feel, an extraordinarily powerful argument for lengthy and thorough discussions prior to change.

Moreover, we have discovered that much racial tension can be greatly lessened by rational in time treatment of unmet needs of Negroes in housing, recreational, and occupational opportunities.

Progress Village in Tampa is only one of several outstanding examples of this kind of approach using the benefits of private enterprise and urban redevelopment programs. Research shows that contrary to the perceptions of many people of the white community the Negro is primarily concerned with job and housing opportunities.

Many communities have indicated that they have no racial problems and hence no need for a bi-racial committee. If this is so, we have only our congratulations and heartfelt thanks to give. In many instances this is true. In many others however, on the slightest prodding, it turns out to be unrealistic. Such unrealism may stem fro

1. Looking at racial incidents as being unique, with no attempt to see clearly developing patterns expressing major social forces.

2. Fear of criticism, causing discontent to be repressed and hidden which only increases the future pressure while giving a false impression of immediate satisfaction. Problems that are put off have a remarkably unhealthy tendency to worsen.

Many have indicated the fear that discussion will only encourage the expression of Negro discontent. The answer is that such discussion often has the immediate effect of puncturing dangerous illusions of racial content, but in the long run, if done by responsible leaders is profoundly settling because:

1. It encourages the leadership of both races to know how the other feels, and not just how they think they ought to feel. We have seen much too much evidence, some of it tragic, of people assuming that others felt the way they thought they ought to feel.

2. It tends to dissipate extremists pressure and influence. It is much harder to be irrational in the face of a fair hearing.

3. It tends to replace emotionalism and exparte speechmaking with firm understanding of reality, the community's growth, and the state's future in a dynamically changing world.

4. It encourages progress and advancement in community areas where resistance is least and need is greatest. It is apt to result in change with a minimum dislocation of the community's equilibrium, with improved community capacity to deal with future change, and greater harmony.

5. It encourages change to be seen in the light of understanding problems of resistance, and wide differences in feelings, rather than in terms of pressure, hate, indifference, or the special policy of a special interest group.

6. It is conducive to substantial economic savings to the community and the state. The present social costs of much of the Negro community, whether measured in judicial and penal records, police protection, social agency work, or malformed character structure, is exceedingly high and would be, in the long run, greatly reduced by such an approach of mutual understanding. Moreover, it would be a source of help and encouragement for Negro leaders to upgrade the standards of many of their people. Florida could lose millions in tourist trade and industrial expansion if a policy of racial repression, adapted for a rural economic society, is allowed to unwittingly build up the potential for racial tension and street-corner solutions.

7. It is likely to result in the accumulation of a much greater stock pile of knowledge than available to any individual. It provides for sharing responsibility in an area where responsibility must be shared. Moreover it makes it easier to recognize problems and to deal with them constructively.

8. We believe that deep down the discussion approach is in accord with the overwhelming majority of Florida's and the Nation's citizens. Its recommendation can be expected to be considered with a much more objective attitude than those made by an individual or group of limited representation. This is especially true where it is clearly indicated that such committees have no power to force anybody to do anything.

9. It will encourage economic and human realism as well as the harmonious existance and living together of the various people that make up a community.

These, then, are what we regard as some of the significant reasons for the appointment and effective functioning of a bi-racial committee, consisting of the community's top leadership selected with care and with fairness.

We have discovered that Ministerial Associations and Chambers of Commerce can be extremely helpful in the delicate task of ascertaining and obtaining the support of the community's respected leadership. They can be of real help in the very delicate job of minimizing premature statements until the problem has been thoroughly explored, as well as placing primary emphasis on conciliation and mediation, rather than arbitration.

We have also learned that such groups are most effective when they represent a variety of points of view.

We have been asked by many for specific suggestions as to how these groups might approach the problem once they are established. In response to this, we have drawn up an outline of approach which might be helpful as a starting point for a local committee's exploration as one of many ways to proceed. We would be happy to supply this upon request.

We are aware, of course, that every community is different, and that each must make its own decision and has its own responsibility. We firmly and deeply believe in this.

We ask your thoughtful consideration of these factors, as well as our sincere desire to be of help to you, your community, and the State as a whole. We would be happy to supply you with additional copies of this statement upon request.

Finally, we suggest, consider the alternatives to failure of taking the initiative.

Respectfully yours,

Cody Fowler
Chairman
Commission on Race Relations

jb

December 19, 1960

MEMO TO MR. SAUL SILVERMAN

Quantity requests for L-22, Fowler Commission report

Alexander F. Miller, Anti-Defamation League, New York City
150 copies for key people

Joe Glazer, Education Director, United Rubber Workers, AFL-CIO
Akron, Ohio 25 copies for key people in South

Aaron Aronin, Field Director, Jewish Labor Committee, Chicago
100 copies and the cost for 500-1,000 copies

If this keeps up, we'll have to do a reprint!

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

December 19, 1960

Mrs. Ed A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Enclosed herewith please find the requested Recommended Approach for Local Communities in setting up bi-racial committees.

It was wonderful hearing from you today, especially the gratifying response.

Kindest personal regards,

Saul A. Silverman
Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
SAS/jb
Enc. 6

December 21, 1960

Mr. Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant
Fowler Commission on Race Relations
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Mr. Silverman:

Thank you for the 8 copies of Recommended Approach for Local Communities in setting up bi-racial committees. We continue to receive request for this, as, for instance, 10 copies for Courtney Siceloff, Penn Community Center, Frogmore, S. C. Would you like to send us about 40-50 copies to fill these? Or, if you do not have this many to spare, may we mimeograph copies ourselves?

Sincerely,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
JOHN TURNER, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
L. G. PEEPLES

December 21, 1960

Mrs. Montez Albright
Southern Regionl Council
Room 201
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

We were just thrilled to get your memorandum of December 19. Thank you very much for keeping us informed.

Very cordially yours,

Saul

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
JOHN TURNER, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
L. G. PEEPLES

P

December 22, 1960

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, Five Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your letter of December 21, 1960.

We are delighted to send you a large supply of our Recommended Approach. In fact, we are sending you our entire supply with the exception of about ten copies. Since our Commission will terminate on December 31 we will probably not need any more than this number. If you have need of additional copies of this Approach, please feel free to duplicate in any way you feel would be best.

Very truly yours,

Saul a Silve

Saul A. Silverman
Staff Assistant

SAS/jb
Enclosures

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
L. G. PEEPLES
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
JOHN TURNER

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

It would be most helpful, particularly in Law Enforcement Workshops now in planning phase to have well handled reports on recent riots in Biloxi + South Carolina.

Can you help?

Respectfully yours
Saul A. Silverman
Staff Ass.

Thank you so much for nice material on Lunch Counter Desg. Pattern.

S.C.
Orangeburg
Greenville
Spartanburg

Miss.
Biloxi
April-May
17-

BM
HF✓
PR✓
MA-file

STATE OF FLORIDA
FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
CAPITOL
PHONE 2-1900
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA

CODY FOWLER, CHAIRMAN
JOHN TURNER, VICE CHAIRMAN
REVEREND E. C. TILLMAN, SECRETARY

PERRY C. HARVEY
MRS. C. D. JOHNSON
L. G. PEEPLES

Dr. Dunbar
Dear Leslie:

Thought you might be interested in enclosed memoranda which will be basis for discussion with Mayor High + other leaders of Miami.

Kindest regards
Saul A Silv

STARTING POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

I. EXPERIENCE OF THE GOVERNOR'S COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS:

This Commission has had more first hand experience with race tension in Florida than any other group of people. Its findings are set out in detail in its Report and its Memorandum of October 17, 1960. Its conclusions are clear - the factors for change are increasing tension, with metropolitan areas being on the front line of vulnerability.

II. BASIC ALTERNATIVES:

How will change come?

A. Banged out on street corners by the worst educated sections of the population.

B. Professional educational approach.

III. COST OF STREET CORNER SOLUTIONS:

It will cost millions. See Little Rock, Jacksonville, and New Orleans.

A. Local business will decline.

B. Tourism will be markedly influenced.

C. Police costs will go up.

D. Community runs risk of becoming polarized and rigidified. (Failure to deal with problems intelligently at governmental levels is a much more expensive reality for large urban area than for small city.)

E. Responsible leadership will run heavy risk of isolation by intervening prior to acute phase of crisis.

F. Probabilities of irresponsible legislat~~ure~~ion will be stimulated.

G. Demagogy will have fertile fields.

IV. WHY SHOULD MIAMI EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN THE SOUTH IN A PROFESSIONAL APPROACH?

A. Has greatest state of readiness in leadership.

B. Its future is related to South American trade.

C. Its proximity to Cuba gives it more tension.

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D. Its interreligious conflicts are real.

E. If it doesn't approach its problems in terms of 20th Century techniques it indirectly retards progress at state-wide levels.

V. 20th Century Alternative:

Commission on Urban Problems to include;

A. Outstanding leadership.

B. Professional Staff.

C. All modern bodies of knowledge.

D. Extensive public relations program.

E. Focus - Not race, but whole range of problems of urban life, stressing communication, fact finding, and support for community leadership.

VI. Underlying Understanding:

A. To have metropolitan approach as soon as realistically possible.

B. Goal - Not point of view of private individual or organization, but community harmonious vitality and growth, (would be quite conservative).

C. To act in such a way as to help City Government, not embarrass it. (It will deter change where community cannot handle it, and absorb hostility without counter hostility where change is necessary.)

VII. Budget Precedents for City Commission:

A.	New York		$494,000
B.	Chicago		294,000
C.	Philadelphia		184,000
D.	Detroit	(staff of 8)	
E.	Cleveland	(staff of 8)	
F.	Pittsburg		70,000
G.	Los Angeles	(staff of 4)	
H.	Newark		47,000
I.	Denver	(staff of 3)	
J.	Cincinnati		27,000
K.	Buffalo		27,000

VIII. Size of Commission:

A. Seven to fifteen members with extensive advisory committees. Probably 200 or more eventually.

B. Chairman needs committee respect, high intelligence, courage, and deep sense of public relations.

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IX. PERSONNEL:

A. Executive Director
B. Educational Consultant
C. Two graduate fellowships
D. Two secretaries.

X. FIRST STRATEGIES:

A. To do problem census of community leaders by interview.

B. To find maximum consensus.

C. To communicate consensus to widest grouping of community leaders and institutions to obtain maximum support and cooperation.

D. To set up priorities.

XI. POSSIBLE AREAS OF ACTIVITIES:

A. Monthly luncheons of community organization professionals.

B. Monthly newsletter. (Estimated circulation about 5,000)

C. Leadership training programs focused at minority group leadership so requesting.

D. Seminars on Urban Renewal and on urban life.

E. Tension reduction program to sieze initiative in all matters of intergroup tension.

F. Neighborhood Advisory Committee.

G. Study of programming of all organizations.

H. Accumulate extensive reference and film library as well as speakers bureau and make same available.

I. Conferences of law enforcement training personnel and minority group leaders.

J. Establish complaint procedure.

K. Training programs for religious and civic leaders.

L. Extensive educational approach on family disorganization.

M. Extensive research of problem area, distribution of findings, and feedback conferences.

N. Series of conferences with mass media personnel to deepen understanding.

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O. Probably major emphasis on race will be on merit promotion policies in business with substantial negro trade.

P. To establish an image of outstanding leadership and intensive impartial study of problems, as well as feedback and support to community leaders, rather than solutions - until community consensus jells to the point of asking for or accepting more deliberate intervention techniques.

Q. Hundreds of other possibilities.

XII. BASIC STRATEGY:

A. To pull tension off of street corners.

B. To pinpoint responsibility on shoulder of community leaders.

C. To give maximum support and knowledge to their constructive approach, and to absorb counter pressures directed at them.

D. To help focus on total community growth.

E. To deepen communities capability to deal with change, urban communication failure, and isolation.

XIII. FUNDS:

A. Immediate funds to pursue negotiations with Foundation and Community leaders.

B. Foundation support for about 30% of budget.

C. City and private funds for balance.

XIV. STATE WIDE AND REGIONAL LEADERSHIP:

A. Miami could become state-wide and regional center of such an approach. The state, the South, and the nation will be anxious to learn from Miami. Implications for excellent reputation with all that it involves.

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FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS
RECOMMENDED APPROACH
FOR
LOCAL BI-RACIAL COMMITTEES

GOAL I

To begin immediately to negotiate with responsible leaders and the persons directly involved in all matters involving racial problems.

GOAL II

To explore and discuss in good faith, race relations in the local community, the State of Florida, and the South in general, with no commitment other than to understand the viewpoint of all involved in order to reach a better understanding of what is happening and why.

1. In this discussion to obtain an understanding of the tensions, facts, and causes underlying the racial problems rather than attempting to find immediate solutions without total understanding.
2. To explore and understand the point of view of community leaders in the following areas: government, Chamber of Commerce, religion, press, police, education, social service agencies, service clubs, bar associations, medical associations, responsible community organizations and others.
3. To examine these viewpoints from the standpoint of isolating facts, values, and attitudes for further exploration and to take the necessary time to get the best available knowledge. These facts will include:
    a. Legal rights, responsibilities and obligations.
    b. The total community picture of race relations obtained either by community self study using only local resources or by community self study using local resources plus that of trained specialists. (Guide

material for community race relation studies will be forwarded at an early date.)

c. Knowledge from other communities of successful and unsuccessful approaches to racial conflict.

d. Evaluation by each committee member of knowledge gained in completion of Goal II.

GOAL III.

To develop a strategy:

1. To improve the general climate in the community by a responsible and peaceful approach rather than repression or avoidance of problems.
2. To intelligently treat the causes of racial tension by joint decision and joint responsibility at places of least resistance and of the greatest need.
3. To incalcate a sound understanding of, and respect for freedom -- its rights of choice, its responsibilities of human brotherhood if it is to endure.

GOAL IV.

Establishment of long range program.

GROUND RULES

Ground rules to be mutually agreed upon in formation of local Committees. All committee deliberations are to be conducted:

1. With mutual respect and dignity.
2. With an understanding and respect for the differing viewpoints of community leaders.
3. With an understanding and respect for the differing pressures and influences operating upon each and every member of the community.
4. With the express disclaimer of all illegal approaches.

5. With an understanding and respect of the underlying need for communication in an informal atmosphere.
6. With an understanding and respect of the rights of all citizens to choose and discriminate in their private racial relations.
7. With an understanding and respect of the importance of the racial problem to the American people and necessity of approachint it through Democratic process rather than coercion and denial.
8. With an understanding and respect of the need for the utilization of every available resource.

The staff of the Fowler Commission has been charged with the duty of assisting all local committees. We look forward to the possibility of holding a series of regional and state-wide conferences bringing together representatives of local bi-racial committees, the State Commission, and its Advisory Committees together with outstanding specialists in the areas of race relations.

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.
TIMES HERALD
D. 34,520 SAT. 33,025

MAY 31 1961

Big-Racial Group Warns Southerners

ATLANTA (UPI)—The bi-racial Southern Regional Council has warned that whites in the South must cooperate with Negro leadership "to forstall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

The council said Tuesday in a special analysis of "freedom rides" that the rides will continue because "there is momentum within it too great to be held back."

"IF white Southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly extremist group next year—and there are such lurking in the wings," the council said.

The report said "freedom rides" would not exist "if there were compliance with law and decency in the South. This is the fact that is basic to any thinking about this latest demonstration of the courage and vitality of the Negro youth movement. . .

"The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded."

The council defended the Negro and white students who toured Mississippi and Alabama to integrate bus facilities and who, it said, had been branded by some as "extremists". Whites must 'adjust to new types of organizations less ready to be patient" than the NAACP, the council said.

"The freedom ride," the council continued, "has emphasized. . . that the struggle for civil rights in the south can quickly degenerate into violence, and that is everybody's responsibility — Negroes and whites—to avoid whenever they can.

"The freedom ride is another indication that whites in some states are not trusted by Negroes and do not deserve to be."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Thursday, June 1, 1961

Eugene Patterson

The Truth Needn't Be Characterized

The Southern Regional Council is an organization of intelligent people bent on assisting the South toward progress in race relations through application of knowledge and common sense.

You might call it a group of responsible liberals. It deserves a hearing from both races when it speaks through one of its calm reports, the latest being a report on the Freedom Riders.

The fact that it reprints one of my columns on that subject and describes it as an expression of "true Southern conservatism" is mentioned here only because that is the one characterization I had not heretofore acquired at the hands of my various judges—one of whom once suggested I was a "known liberal."

• • •

The reprinted column simply stated the view that the beaters and not the beaten should be judged in the Alabama riots. There was no excuse for the violence. Law and order must be preserved, and it is sophistry to blame the breakdown on the demonstrators. The column did go on to suggest both races must work at change in the South, and that continuing theatrical pressure by the Freedom Riders risked a destructive result when constructive alternatives were available.

Such liberal newspapers as The Washington Post and The New York Times have reached the same judgment. And the SRC also has not dodged self-searching, which is a requirement of responsible liberalism.

The SRC properly concluded that Negro rights in bus stations must be granted. (A Kennedy approach through the ICC seems sensible.) To keep civil rights pressure from going into hands of extremists, "The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded," the SRC went on. "The Freedom ride will continue. There is a momentum within it too great to be held back."

• • •

But—and one can hope the Freedom Ride organizers headquartered in Atlanta will study this "but" raised by the SRC—"The South and the nation are now critically dependent on the quality of Negro leadership, and its ability to direct that momentum and not be overrun by it."

"The SRC saw a twofold prerequisite to progress—not only "by white Southerners coming to deserve the trust of Negro Southerners," but also "by Negroes maintaining their most valuable outside asset, the confidence which the country as a whole has had in their cause and their methods of pursuing it."

And finally the Southern Regional Council quietly cautioned not one but both races: "The Freedom Ride has emphasized . . . that the struggle for civil rights in the South can quickly degenerate into violence, and that it is everybody's responsibility—whites and Negroes—to avoid that whenever they can."

It is not important whether you characterize that conclusion as true Southern conservatism, or known liberalism. It's the truth.

Freedom ride file

ASHEVILLE (N.C.) TIMES
June 2, 1961

A Liberal View On 'The Freedom Ride'

THE SOUTHERN Regional Council has just issued a special report on "The Freedom Ride" that precipitated the recent racial troubles in Alabama and Mississippi. This report reviews the events themselves, their relation to sit-ins, gives the legal background and the press reaction. It then gives its own conclusion on the significance of this dramatic demonstration.

The Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta, has long watched and reported on noteworthy developments in race relations in the Deep South. It takes a broad view of racial problems and that view is a very liberal one. But whether you agree with its liberal view or not this Council is honest and intelligent and those who try to keep informed on all phases of racial problems and developments in this country would be wise to keep informed on its activities and opinions.

For what it is worth we quote here part of this Council's conclusion in its special report on "The Freedom Ride":

"The South is now receiving assistance that it keenly needs. A national administration devoted to civil rights is energetically stripping away some of our racial inequities, and removing some of the frustrations that face our Negro population.

"The big problems, however, can be tackled only by the South itself: by white southerners coming to deserve the trust of Negro southerners; by Negroes maintaining their most valuable outside asset, the confidence which the country as a whole has had in their cause and their methods of pursuing it.

"The Freedom Ride is another indication that many whites in some states are not trusted by Negroes, and do not deserve to be. It has furnished proof also that much of the South is now disgusted by the sort of lawlessness deputized by the authorities in Alabama. The Freedom Ride has emphasized as well that the struggle for civil rights in the South can quickly degenerate into violence, and that it is everybody's responsibility — whites and Negroes—to avoid that whenever they can."

Asheville Times
6/2/61 p

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SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS
LIGHT
D. 119,070 S. 120,592

JUN 2 1961

In the Wings

THE Southern Regional council, which is composed of white and Negro leaders, has sounded an intelligent and reasonable note in the furore over the freedom riders.

It calls upon the south to accept the objectives of the movement and end segregation on buses and in terminals.

This view, as we understand it, is held by southern moderates. As usual, the voice of the moderate is hard to hear amid the uproar of irreconcilable resistance.

Certainly the objectives are supported by simple justice. In addition the council warns that the freedom riders are "pointing out what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

It is a valid warning. There is evidence that Communists and left-wing groups are working to infiltrate the freedom ride movement.

Communists are not interested in the welfare of the Negro. Their aim is not to resolve racial tensions but to exacerbate them. Their strategy is not good will, but hatred.

On the other extreme, this is also the purpose of such organizations as the Black Muslims. They, too, preach division, violence and hate.

Groups like these, as the council says, "are lurking in the wings."

We would say it is the obligation of both sides—freedom riders and southern authorities—to keep diversive, anti-American forces from coming on stage.

JOURNAL
D. 61,175 S. 188,553
JUN 2 1961

The Freedom Riders Begin to Get Positive Results

Positive results have begun to emerge from the suffering of Freedom Riders jailed for using interstate bus terminal facilities in Alabama and Mississippi. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy has petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue rules as guideposts for full observance of desegregation provisions in the Interstate Commerce Act. Equally important is evidence of voluntary relaxation of color barriers in the use of terminal facilities in other Southern cities.

President Kennedy's brother has acknowledged that mob violence in Montgomery and Birmingham influenced his decision to petition the ICC. The Interstate Commerce Act forbids segregated use of buses, trains and terminal facilities used in interstate travel. But the law with respect to buses frequently is not observed. The attorney general is not asking the ICC to write more law; he wants the ICC to issue regulations to simplify enforcement of laws already on the books.

A Freedom Rider Is Searched.

"The time has come for this commission, in administering this act, to declare unequivocally by regulation that a Negro passenger is free to travel the length and breadth of this country in the same manner as any other passenger," the attorney general says. The lack of rules tends to create unrest and civil disorder because motor carriers are confused with respect to their duty towards passengers. Rules will help bring order out of chaos, they will lessen the risk of mob action, and they will protect the rights of travelers "against inconsistent and unlawful action by state or local authorities," according to the attorney general.

Mr. Kennedy urged the ICC to require carriers to post signs in all interstate buses and waiting rooms stating the rules against segregation. He asked for a rule clarifying the responsibility of the carriers for permitting segregated use of terminal facilities, including waiting rooms, rest rooms and eating places. Another order would have the effect of outlawing signs stating, "Colored Intrastate Passengers," widespread in the South and used to encourage all Negroes, traveling interstate and intrastate, to use Jim Crow waiting rooms.

The attorney general's petition deserves expeditious handling by the ICC, but tranquillity will not be restored to the South by promulgation of rules alone. It will come when Southern whites are ready to accept the inevitability of change in the status of Negroes. That forces are now working to bring about acceptance is reflected in the serving of food to Negroes at a normally segregated lunch counter in the Columbia, S.C., Greyhound bus terminal for the first time the other day.

One of these forces is the influence of the Southern Regional Council which has been contriving for years to improve inter-racial relations. Made up of white and Negro Southern leaders, the Council blamed the South itself for the Freedom Riders. "There could be no freedom ride if there were compliance with law and decency in the South," the Council said in a statement released in Atlanta. The Council added that whites must accept changes demanded by Freedom Riders to forestall emergence of "real, genuine extremists."

If the Freedom Riders encourage moderates like the Southern Regional Council to speak up, they will have done their bit to bring nearer the solution to some of the racial problems plaguing the South.

Duty to Fight Segregation

To the Editor of The New York Times:

As all Americans lose every day that racial discrimination is allowed to live on in our country, it strikes this early member of the Southern Regional Council that all Americans indeed do have the right to demonstrate against such discrimination wherever it is asserted.

To cite only one of countless testimonies to the same effect, one need only read the letter appearing in the same issue of The Times as the news of the Special Report of the S. R. C. on the Freedom Riders, from a member of Northern Rhodesia's Parliament, which begins, "Like a cold wind the news from Alabama is blowing through Africa," and asks, "How can the United States of America speak for us in Africa?"

cription Rates of The Nev

Of course it is the concern of every American that statesmen from Africa have suffered the indignities that are the lot of our own Negro citizens when traveling in our country. I hope it is the concern of most Americans that our own citizens are subjected to these same indignities. It ill becomes the Southern Regional Council to reprimand any American, North or South, who feels the wrongs being attacked by the Freedom Riders so strongly as to participate in the movement.

NINA HOWELL STARR.
(Mrs. Nathan C. Starr)
Gainesville, Fla., June 3, 1961.

Burrelle's
ESTABLISHED 1888
BArclay 7-5371
PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
EXAMINER
D. 384,760 S. 678,280

JUN 2 1961

'In the Wings'

THE Southern Regional Council, which is composed of white and Negro leaders, has sounded an intelligent and reasonable note in the furor over the Freedom Riders.

It calls upon the South to accept the objectives of the movement and end segregation on buses and in terminals. This view, as we understand it, is held by Southern moderates. As usual, the voice of the moderate is hard to hear amid the uproar of irreconcilable resistance.

Certainly the objectives are supported by simple justice. In addition the council warns that the Freedom Riders are "pointing out what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

It is a valid warning. There is evidence that Communists and left-wing groups are working to infiltrate the Freedom Ride movement. Communists are not interested in the welfare of the Negro. Their aim is not to resolve racial tensions but to exacerbate them. Their strategy is not good will, but hatred.

On the other extreme, this is also the purpose of such organizations as the Black Muslims. They, too, preach division, violence and hate.

Groups like these, as the council says, "are lurking in the wings." We would say it is the obligation of both sides—Freedom Riders and Southern authorities—to keep diversive, anti-American forces from coming on stage.

New Yorker

6-3-61

THE TAL

Notes and Comment

WE have been a little puzzled by the editorialists who, in speaking of the recent outbreaks of mob violence in the South, have urged moderation on "the extremists of both sides." Such phrases have a fine and statesmanlike ring, but they don't make much sense. One does not, after all, speak of the North Pole and the equator as being "poles apart." It strikes us as equally absurd to try to make an antithesis of the howling crowds of armed hoodlums and those Negroes who, defended by nothing but their gallantry, are quietly pressing for an active acknowledgment of the rights that already are guaranteed them on parchment. It is not as though the Freedom Riders were struggling for the freedom to burn buses themselves or to shoot white ministers. Conceivably, it is in the national interest to persuade Negro leaders to set a slower pace, but the argument is one that does not permit of taking a high moral tone. One can hardly, with justice, inform a Negro that he has a duty as a citizen to refrain from sharing in the rights of citizenship. We can imagine asking it, under special circumstances, but only as the immense favor that it would be, rather than as the obligation that it decidedly is not.

Animal Center

AT the cornerstone-laying ceremony the other afternoon for the new nine-story building of the Animal Medical Center, formerly the New York Women's League for Animals, at Sixty-second Street and the East River Drive, we learned, along with

Charleston, W. Va Mail - June 3, 1961

If A Little Violence Will Do The Trick, We Have Learned Nothing From History

The South complains bitterly and with some justice that the violence attendant to the "Freedom Riders" was thrust upon it. These zealous reformers went looking for trouble. They found it, exactly as they expected to, and helped foment it. Unless we are to suppose that there is a "good" kind of violence and a "bad" kind, they are equally censurable with the mobs which greeted them and the public officials who looked discreetly the other way.

The incitement to violence is scarcely less an offense to law and order than the violent response to a cooly calculated provocation. Granting that a man has a perfect right to wave a red flag in front of a wild bull, this is not really the question. Having taken this liberty, what is his just claim upon the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals when the inevitable happens?

What is at issue here is not so much who is right — the man or the bull — but what useful purpose is served by seeking and exploiting this form of encounter? Knowing how the bull will react, what is gained by demonstrating that, sure enough, he has an ungovernable temper? If violence is the evil it is supposed to be, then Justice Holmes's dictum is applicable: Freedom of speech to the contrary, "No man has a right to stand up in a crowded theater and yell 'Fire.' "

The difficulty with this strategy is that, while it attracts a great deal of passionate attention and provides a field day for photographers and reporters, it drowns out the voice of reason, such a voice, for example, as the Southern Regional Council, which calls on the white South to initiate some of the changes which the Freedom Riders are attempting to stuff down its throat. And it warns that the alternative to this voluntary acceptance of the need for change is to leave the solution of the problem to the "genuine extremists. There would be no Freedom Ride," it adds, "if there were compliance with law and decency in the South."

This is both the sound moral judgment (The South is the primary offender) and the sensible counsel (If its impassioned segregationists cannot bring themselves to deal with the moderate and patient National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has sought change by legal process, then it must expect to confront the more militant integrationists who will not wait for law and order to redress their grievances.)

This transmutes the search for peaceful change into a self-righteous struggle for power. Who is to prevail — the agitators or the intransigent South, the mob or the police, the sovereign state of Alabama, or the even more sovereign United States of America? Even the Southern Regional Council cannot resist the temptation to observe that Yale University, whose chaplain led this "crusade" into the South, has not a single Negro member on its distinguished faculty.

Cast in this form as a struggle for the power to impose a decision, the forces set in motion lead almost inevitably to calling out the troops. Oddly enough, this was the remedy applied 100 years ago. And sometimes, it must be admitted, it is the only remedy left. But if 100 years of American history prove anything, it is that this resort to force is an imperfect remedy at best and more to be feared than trusted.

If it had worked a century ago, as all its righteous advocates thought it would, it would not be necessary now to send U. S. marshals to Montgomery. The fact that it is should serve as a warning to all those in both North and South who suppose that a little explosion is all it takes to assure the triumph of justice.

PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU
165 Church Street – New York

NORFOLK, VA.
VIRGINIAN-PILOT AND
PORTSMOUTH STAR
SUN. 144,9120
1 1961

Restraints and Cool-Offs in Alabama

Federal District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr.'s restraining orders and injunctions in Montgomery yesterday have a plague-on-both-your houses condemnation and cooling-off requirement that deserve—and will get—widespread approval.

The condemnation of mob action and of "willful failure" of the police to prevent mob action and maintain law and order was the least the court could do. It is plain, therefore, that further mob action, further resort to violence, and further unwillingness to restrain cannot be indulged in without the prospect of imprisonment.

* * *

The more difficult problem before Judge Johnson was the ection of the Freedom Riders in testing the issues of whether areas and facilities ordinarily devoted to the use of interstate bus passengers, and so recognized by the highest court orders, were in fact open to Negroes. The Freedom Riders put the matter to the test.

Judge Johnson has now held that specified organizations and Negro leaders who directed these tests are "directly causing an undue burden and restraint upon interstate commerce." He used the term "agitation," "and he spoke of non-bonafide bus trips." He concluded that the rides were organized "with the knowledge that such publicized trips will foment violence" and "are just as effective in causing an obstruction" to interstate travel as the mobs were.

Therefore the court, accepting the plea of counsel for local police, laid its restraint upon such rides. The cooling-off thus ordered has obvious virtues. The Freedom Riders have made their point in the Alabama-Mississippi region. It is improbable that repetition would drive the point home deeper than it has already been driven. Both the Greyhound and Trailways bus lines have now formally abandoned any effort to maintain segregated facilities, thereby following earlier Supreme Court decisions; and in Southern localities in other states changes are being made.

The existence of an element of provocation in the Freedom Rides had been widely recognized. The weight of court decisions indicated that the Freedom Riders had a right to do what they were attempting to do. Nevertheless, human experience has shown that what is legal is sometimes unwise. That is the foundation of the court's restraining order on the riders.

* * *

There is, however, in Judge Johnson's language a weight of condemnation which deserves a further look. It can be illustrated this way: The first Freedom Riders left Washington May 4 and arrived at Richmond that day. There were no disorders. They arrived at Danville on May 7. There was a dispute over restaurant service. It was settled quietly in the Trailways terminal.

The riders reached Charlotte on May 8. There one was arrested for trespass while demanding a shoe shine in the Union Bus Terminal, but two days later he was acquitted. On May 9, in Rock Hill, S.C., the riders underwent a mild attack, and on May 10, in Winnsboro, S.C., two were arrested but were released several hours later and the charges were dropped.

In Georgia the riders used all facilities in Augusta on May 12. They used all facilities in Athens on May 13. They found the restaurant in the Greyhound terminal closed when they reached Atlanta on May 14, but some riders used facilities in the Trailways terminal.

* * *

The Southern Regional Council's special report describes the pre-Alabama record thus: "Through Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, there were few obstacles." Perhaps by the time the riders reached Alabama the spectacle of the organized effort for dramatic demonstrations had swelled to larger size, or perhaps police control and public behavior, both of which rest generally on public opinion, were different. More depends on where such tests are made than on their nature.

The cooling-off period will afford an opportunity for thoughtful consideration of this new chapter in an era in Southern life when many things are undergoing change. The opportunity ought not to be lost.

165 Church Street – New York

CLEVELAND, OHIO
PLAIN DEALER
D 319,667 S. 503,572

JUN 4 1961

INTEGRATION

Court Halts Freedom Rides, Integrationists Plan More

Freedom Riders promised a stepped-up assault on segregated transportation facilities in the South, but a federal judge in Alabama ordered four organizations associated with the rides to stop them pending further court action.

U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. issued a temporary injunction to compel Montgomery police to protect Freedom Riders in the future and continued in effect an existing no-violence order against two Ku Klux Klan factions and individuals. At the same time, he ordered a stop to the tests for the time being and threatened in strong words to jail Negro as well as white leaders if racial rioting breaks out again.

The Justice Department had sought the injunctions against police and Klansmen; the police had asked the injunction against the integrationist groups. Further hearing was set for next week.

Although he put the blame for the recent race rioting in Montgomery and elsewhere in Alabama squarely on the Klan—and charged police with "willful failure" to prevent violence, Johnson was critical of Negro leaders and Freedom Rider organizations, too.

He said the segregation-challenging bus trips through Alabama "are directly causing an undue burden and restraint upon interstate commerce . . ."

Denouncing the freedom rides further as "agitation" and "non-bonafide interstate trips," Johnson declared, "those who sponsor, finance and encourage groups to come into this area with the knowledge that such publicized trips will foment violence . . . are just as effective in causing an obstruction" to interstate travel as the mobs themselves.

The threat of increased Freedom Rides centered on Jackson, Miss., where several groups have followed the lead of the initial bus loads, some coming by train. All have been jailed, some are on hunger strike. In Chicago, a leader in the movement said the attacks by integrationists would multiply into the hundreds by July 4, most of them college students ending the school year. Jackson police officials said they had plenty of room to take care of prisoners.

In another federal move, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy asked the Interstate Commerce Commission to adopt stringent rules to wipe out segregation on interstate buses and in terminals. Six years ago, the ICC ordered railroads serving the South to stop segregation on trains and in stations, and made the same ruling effective on buses but not in terminals. The purpose of Kennedy's request is to make enforcement of integration easier. No new law is required; the Supreme Court has held that the Interstate Commerce Act prohibits segregation in any form.

The Southern Regional Council, an organization made up of white and Negro Southern leaders, issued a statement asserting that whites must accept the changes demanded by Freedom Riders to forestall emergence of "real, genuine extremists." It was a warning against possible moves by super-militant Negro groups and leftist agitators.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
TIMES
D. 644,175 S. 1,293,858

JUN 4 1961

Injunction in Alabama

Federal District Judge Johnson has issued an injunction in Montgomery, Alabama, which is directed equally at the sponsors and opponents of the Freedom Riders Movement. Though Judge Johnson's desire to avoid violence is certainly laudable, the court's action has the effect of equating persons seeking to exercise their legal rights and others who are violating the law by trying to prevent such exercise.

In the 1958 Little Rock school case, the Supreme Court made it clear that the robbers and the robbed do not have equal standing before the law. It declared then, in language clearly pertinent to the present situation, "The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature." The Supreme Court then quoted approvingly the following equally relevant statement in a unanimous decision it had handed down forty-one years earlier: "It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the Federal Constitution."

The Freedom Riders ought not to be enjoined by the courts from exercising their Constitutional rights. But, as we have urged before, the Freedom Riders should realize they have made their point and voluntarily cease their activities for a period during which the passions aroused by their recent efforts may subside. A similar position on this issue was taken last week by the Southern Regional Council, which is composed of both white and Negro liberals. The Council is entirely correct in advocating that the advantages gained be not pressed too far.

The issue of desegregation can ultimately be solved only in the South and primarily by Southerners, white and Negro. Neither violence nor the steadily insistent provocation of violence can bring about the solution. The demonstrations of the Freedom Riders have already resulted in a major advance. The Justice Department is putting strong pressure upon the Interstate Commerce Commission to outlaw segregation in buses and related facilities. This is a concrete move advancing desegregation under the law.

NEW YORK, N.Y.
JOURNAL-AMERICAN
D. 618,802 S. 812,836

JUN 5 1961

'In the Wings'

THE Southern Regional Council, which is composed of White and Negro leaders, has sounded an intelligent and reasonable note in the furore over the Freedom Riders.

It calls upon the South to accept the objectives of the movement and end segregation on buses and in terminals. This view, as we understand it, is held by Southern moderates. As usual, the voice of the moderate is hard to hear.

Certainly the objectives are supported by simple justice. In addition the Council warns that the Freedom Riders are "pointing out what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

It is a valid warning. There is evidence that Communists and Left Wing groups are working to infiltrate the Freedom Ride movement. Communists are not interested in the welfare of the Negro. Their aim is not to resolve racial tensions but to intensify them.

On the other extreme, this is also the purpose of such organizations as the Black Muslims. They, too, preach division, violence and hate.

Groups like these, as the Council says, "are lurking in the wings." We would say it is the obligation of both sides—Freedom Riders and Southern authorities—to keep divisive, anti-American forces from coming on stage.

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JUN 5 196

'In the Wings'

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, which is composed of white and Negro leaders, has sounded an intelligent and reasonable note in the furore over the Freedom Riders.

Report) 05

It calls upon the South to accept the objectives of the movement and end segregation on buses and in terminals. This view, as we understand it, is held by Southern moderates. As usual, the voice of the moderate is hard to hear amid the uproar of irreconcilable resistance.

Certainly the objectives are supported by simple justice. In addition the Council warns that the Freedom Riders are "pointing out what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

It is a valid warning. There is evidence that Communists and left wing groups are working to infiltrate the freedom ride movement. Communists are not interested in the welfare of the Negro. Their aim is not to resolve racial tensions but to exacerbate them. Their strategy is not good will, but hatred.

On the other extreme, this is also the purpose of such organizations as the Black Muslims. They, too, preach division, violence and hate.

Groups like these, as the Council says, "are lurking in the wings." We would say it is the obligation of both sides—Freedom Riders and Southern authorities—to keep diversive, anti-American forces from coming on stage.

JUN 5 1961

Rochester N.Y. Times-Union

Grant Equal Rights To Avoid Extremists

The Alabama federal court order restraining both the Freedom Riders and those who seek to interfere with them provides the cooling-off period Attorney-General Robert Kennedy sought.

But we doubt higher courts will uphold a permanent injunction against exercise of the right to travel without racial restriction in interstate commerce, even though a period to let passions cool has its usefulness.

Report

A similar view of the inevitability of increased rights for Negroes in the South was voiced the other day by the Southern Regional Council. This is an Atlanta-based group of whites and Negroes which has often offered good advice on the "winds of change" in Dixie.

The council sees no chance of stopping these winds — "the momentum is too great to be held back." Its recommendation to the South: Accept the desire of Negroes for equal civil rights before matters get out of hand.

"There would be no Freedom Rides if there were compliance with law and decency in the South," the council observes. And it warns:

"There are those who regard the Freedom Riders as 'extremists.' It would be more intelligent to realize that they are pointing out to the South what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists . . . and there are such lurking in the wings."

The council points out that lunch counters and other eating facilities in 108 Southern communities outside the Deep South have now been desegregated as a result of the sit-in movement. Where equal rights were granted, agitation ended and racial tension was eased.

"The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded" if it is to avoid violence from both sides, the council concluded. "If to say this is wishful thinking, it is also a statement of fact."

165 Church Street - New York

WILMINGTON, DEL.
NEWS
D. 26,167

JUN 5 1961

The South Must Initiate Change

"There would be no Freedom Ride if there were compliance with law and decency in the South. This is the fact that is basic to any thinking. . . ."

"Instinctively the South says 'Go slow,' 'not yet'."

"The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded."

These are three trenchant statements from a report just issued by the Southern Regional Council. The council is a group of distinguished Southerners of both races that has been in existence for two decades. It is untainted by Communism. It speaks primarily to the South.

It is the third statement that deserves emphasis. The council, recognizing that the South tends to hold back when change is called for, says the South must introduce change on its own motion.

A feature of its report is a comparison of the Freedom Ride with earlier student protest movements, bus boycotts, and sit-ins. The latter were largely local, and had the effect of "opening the eyes of whites to what Negroes were thinking and what they wanted." They served to create "an awakened respect among white Southerners," especially in cities, "for their Negro neighbors." They helped establish "bonds of community."

The sit-ins were settled by white-Negro talks and agreements without resort to the courts. Violence was not essential to their success.

The Freedom Ride brings in outsiders. Many riders do not themselves need "or intend to use the services demanded." They have been recruited by national and regional organizations. There is cause for concern in how well the statement of a leading rider reflected the mood of the others. He said: "It is only when the hostility comes to the surface that the people see the true character of our nation. Only through non-violent demonstration in the acceptance of violence without returning it in kind can we accomplish our purpose."

But, the report says, the South must expect more rides. The riders are not extremists but practitioners of non-violence. Unless their reasonable demands are met, "the emergence into power of real genuine extremists" may not be forestalled.

All this is wise and true. The new student protest methods represent, as Walter Lippmann has said, a lessening of Negro faith in courts, laws, and elections. That faith was exemplified by the NAACP, "and those who combated it most viciously . . . now have to adjust to new types of organizations, less ready to be patient."

The federal government is more active in enforcing civil rights. "The big problems, however, can only be tackled by the South itself—by Southerners of both races, working things out together." It is significant that the council, while it spoke approvingly of those who advised a "cooling-off" period, calls for Southerners to initiate change before other — and less peaceful — extremists bring worse troubles to that troubled region.

MA/Freedom Rides File

Cincinnati Enquirer, June 6 1961

Wise Words In The South

SOME OF THE soundest and most thoughtful comments on the disheartening events in Alabama have come recently from Southern leaders—those making up the Southern Regional Council. In a lengthy and carefully considered statement, these Southerners have noted the important differences between the sit-in campaigns and the Freedom Rides.

They find more to commend in the sit-ins, because they were demands **by local residents** to share in privileges accorded to other residents. The sit-ins were accompanied by little violence and were conspicuously successful, having brought desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in well over 100 Southern cities and towns.

The Freedom Rides are something different, having been organized and manned **from outside the South**, the Regional Council notes. But while they may not bring as much of constructive results, it was no more than an assertion—however injudicious—of rights.

What has happened on the racial front reflects a new militancy among Negro organizations. But it is proceeding largely with discipline and restraint within the area of lawful activity. Really grave friction can be avoided in months and years to come, **but only if the thoughtful, responsible people of the South recognize the problem and work to solve it.**

Obviously, the leaders of the Southern Regional Council would be happier if any test of segregation on buses and at bus stations had been made **by local residents**. But it recognizes that the problem is the same, whoever takes the initiative. There is a note of tragic sadness in its summary of the period of violence:

"VIOLENCE IN Alabama . . . reproduced in a few long days a lot of Southern history, let loose again a history which most of the South is successfully overcoming. But there it was: The mob and its sadism. The silent, acquiescent 'good people;' the inflammatory public spokesman; the disdain for law; and, the inevitable defeat."

These are words written by Southerners, out of a deep knowledge of the tragedies of their regional history and out of a profound disappointment that **the wrong people asserted leadership in a time of challenge.**

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS
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ROBERT VAN WAES, *Staff Associate*
HERMAN I. ORENTLICHER, *Staff Associate*

June 7, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This office has today received your excellent Special Report on the Freedom Ride and would like to order ten additional copies. If there is a charge for copies of the report, please bill the Association.

Cordially yours,

Robert Van Waes

Robert Van Waes

RVW:ceb

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

Many thanks for the copy of your Special Report "The Freedom Ride" of May 1961.

I would appreciate another copy of this special report. Many thanks for the literature received in the past.

Sincerely yours,

B. Raynal Ariatti

B. Raynal Ariatti
5401 Chamberlain Drive
New Orleans, 22, Louisiana

Committee Member:
Louisiana State Advisory Committee
to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

BRA/ra
Wed. June 7,1961

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

June 8, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Will you please send us three additional copies of the Council's Special Report, The Freedom Ride, May 1961.

Sincerely,

Winifred Meskus
Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

sent
6-9-61 - MA

Also:
5 copies to Vernon Eagle
telephone request LWD

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LOUISVILLE, KY.
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JUN 8 1961

Freedom Rides-May, '61

(A Special Report By The Southern Regional Council)

Violence in Alabama, from May 14-25, revealed the truth about "massive resistance." The defiant words hurled by state and community leaders at the law of the land after 1954 received their final definition in the terror of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery. Alabama in May, 1961, reproduced in a few long days a lot of southern history, let loose again a history which most of the South is successfully overcoming. But there it was: the mob and its sadism. The silent, acquiescent "good people"; the inflammatory public spokesmen; the disdain for law; and, the inevitable defeat.

THE FREEDOM RIDE

In mid-March, the Congress of Racial Equality, from its New York headquarters, announced that it would recruit a small, bi-racial group to ride Greyhound and Trailways buses from Washington to New Orleans, with the purpose of challenging any segregation of interstate travellers encountered. On May 4, the Freedom Ride began, with 13 participants: six white, seven Negro, ranging in age from 18 to 61. The number fluctuated during the course of the Ride. Through Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia there were few obstacles.

On May 14 came the events of Anniston and Birmingham. Mobs gathered, passengers were intimidated, a bus was burned and people were savagely beaten while police were either inactive, not present, or strangely late in arrival. The response of Governor Patterson was to issue the following statement:

> In view of the tenseness of the situation, it is impossible to guarantee the safety of the agitators. Our advice to them is to get out of Alabam as quickly as possible.
>
> We will escort them to the nearest state line; however, we will not escort them to any other cities in Alabama to continue their rabble rousing.

The mobs and official hostility broke the back of the first Freedom Ride. The participants flew on to New Orleans and there disbanded. But this was not to be the end. Angered and inspired by the example of these first Riders, a second group was organized in Nashville, and took bus for Montgomery, via Birmingham. They were incarcerated on arrival in the latter city. Released on May 19, they managed the next day to travel on to Montgomery. That city received them with riots which will forever disgrace the state, and which caused the intervention of federal marshals to establish order and protect constitutional rights, and finally a declaration by the Governor of martial law.

On May 24, with fantastic precautions, the National Guardsmen of Alabama and the state police of Mississippi escorted them to Jackson, where they were quietly arrested and, for the most part, remain today.

Other Riders continue to come into Montgomery and Jackson.

On May 29, the Attorney General — who more than any other person or agency has defended public order and common sense during these travails — requested the Inter-state Commerce Commission to issue regulations at once requiring the full desegregation of terminals of buses engaged in interstate traffic. On the same day, martial law was ended in Montgomery.

THE LEGAL BACKGROUND

There is a long line of cases relating to the rights of travellers to be free of racial discrimination. The Supreme Court's decision of last December in the Boynton case is the only one which needs to be cited in reference to the particular aim of the Freedom Ride.

In 1958 Bruce Boynton, en route from Washington to Selma (Ala.), was refused service in the white section of the Trailways Bus terminal in Richmond; when he declined to leave he was arrested for trespass. Trailways did not own or control either the restaurant or the terminal. On Constitutional grounds, Mr. Boynton and his NAACP attorneys argued that the arrest was illegal. The Court entirely disregarded the Constitutional arguments, and ruled instead that under the Interstate Commerce Act segregation in terminals — whether or not owned by the carrier — violates a clause of the statute which forbids buses to "subject any particular person to any unjust discrimination or any unjust or unreasonable prejudice."

RELATION TO THE SIT-INS

The Freedom Ride occurs against the background of the student protest movement, which, from its beginning in February 1960, has already led to the desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in well over 100 southern cities and towns, outside of the Deep South. Few if any episodes in American history have so typified and enlarged the national ideals of justice and individual worth.

The Freedom Ride is an extension of the sit-ins, and is sustained by the same enthusiasm and many of the same persons. There are, nevertheless, pertinent distinctions.

Characteristically, the sit-ins were demands by local residents that they share in the privileges of their communities. The persons who were asking for service did themselves want to use it. With only a few exceptions, the demonstrations were locally planned.

The Freedom Ride, on the other hand, has started from the premise that all Americans have a right to demonstrate against discrimination in the South.* Many of the participants do not themselves apparently need or intend to use the services demanded. They have been recruited by national and regional organizations whose plans they follow.

One of the finest of the features of the sit-ins has been an evident invigoration of the bonds of community in the South. The sit-ins succeeded where other means had not in opening the eyes of whites to what Negroes were thinking and what they wanted. There has been an awakened respect among white southerners, especially those in urban centers, for their Negro neighbors. The sit-ins have not engendered lingering animosities, but on the contrary have frequently produced a readiness on the part of whites to move on to further steps of desegregation. Without exception, settlements of the lunch counter and other issues have been without compulsion of court order: by the act of bringing the white South into agreement that old customs were unfair, the student protest movement helped the South find its footing more than had any other influence.

Although sit-ins in too many places were initially met with violence and repression, violence was never essential to success. There was little or none in the majority of towns which desegregated.

The sit-ins cleared the air of the South, and they succeeded without violence. That these two things would be so was not, however, apparent during the first month of the 1960 movement.

This is still the first month of the Freedom Ride, and no man's judgment can be more than tentative. The question is whether, with its differences of technique, the Freedom Ride can bring to the South the same values which the sit-ins did. There did seem to be cause for concern as to how well the statement of one of the leading Riders represented the mood of the others. On the bus from Montgomery to Jackson he asserted that, "it is only when the hostility comes to the surface that the people will see the true character of our nation. Only through non-violent demonstration in the acceptance of violence without returning it in kind can we accomplish our purpose."

*It is moderately interesting that professors from a great university which has not a single Negro on its faculty felt a call to crusade in the South.

109 C Street, S.E.
Washington 3, D. C.

June 9, 1961

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Permit me to extend my most sincere commendations for the fine work and beneficial reporting your organization has engaged itself in. It is through efforts of this nature that we can hope for the eventual justice we so desperately seek for our fellow citizens of other races, creeds, religions, and national origins.

I would be most appreciative if I could receive three (3) copies of your recent Special Report, "The Freedom Ride, May 1961".

I would also appreciate being placed on your mailing list for future Special Reports and for any other informative matter you may from time to time distribute.

With every best regard and best wishes for a continued success, I am

Sincerely yours,

Thomas Gee

Thomas Gee

g

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June 9, 1961

Dr. Robert Van Waes
Staff Associate
American Association of University Professors
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Dr. Van Waes:

We are pleased to send you the requested ten copies of our report on The Freedom Ride. There is no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

June 9, 1961

Mr. B. Raynal Ariatti
5401 Chamberlain Drive
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Ariatti:

We are mailing you today two additional copies of our report, The Freedom Ride. We are pleased to hear that our reports and publications have been of interest to the Louisiana State Advisory Committee to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

If we can be of any further assistance to you, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
2 - Freedom Ride

6-10-61

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The Calloused Conscience

HISTORY has a long memory. Perhaps one reason it repeats itself from time to time is to see if human beings have learned any of the lessons it tries so hard to teach us.

One lesson that recurs from generation to generation concerns the magnanimity of the human conscience. When this magnanimity shrinks, a man or a nation shrinks.

"Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience," George Washington wrote in 1748. There is an uncertain flickering of that celestial fire in America today, and history, the tireless teacher, has begun to repeat itself.

The terrible testimony of the Eichmann trial, bearing witness to man's inhumanity to man, has recalled from the memory of history episodes in which other men failed the human conscience. To instruct us, there is the incident of the British official who received a Hitler-authorized proposal from Eichmann to exchange 1,000,000 Jews for 10,000 trucks the Nazis badly needed. The proposal evoked this bureaucratic response: "A million! What on earth are you thinking of? What should we do with a million Jews?"

In the long view of history who would want to be that man? However much he may wish it, history will not forget him.

Yet there are outraged cries in Congress at the suggestion we should accept Castro's insolent proposal to swap 1,200 prisoners captured during the abortive Cuban invasion for 500 tractors, essential to the island's hard-pressed agriculture. This blackmail is only one more ugly chicken coming home to roost from that grotesque adventure in Latin American diplomacy. It does not become us to adopt moral postures now while quoting the "not one cent for tribute" policy toward the Barbary pirates.

A man on the morning commuter train to New York slapped his newspaper indignantly at the story that Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther, and Dr. Milton Eisenhower had formed a private committee to raise the money needed to buy the ransom tractors for Castro. He said in anger, "We shouldn't let him point a gun at our heads. I wouldn't give him a single tractor for all those prisoners."

THE plight of the gallant men who fought for freedom and democracy on our behalf and at our behest on the shores of Castro's Cuba was not as important to him as our national pride. The United States is a great nation, powerful and generous-minded. It can afford to be magnanimous, not mean-spirited, befogging this issue with petty legalisms and wounded vanity.

It is to the great credit of President Kennedy that his reading of history stood him in good stead. He exercised the moral authority of the White House with dignity and compassion in the midst of the mounting uproar on Capitol Hill. "If they were our brothers in a totalitarian prison, every American would want to help," he said. "I happen to feel deeply that all who fight for freedom, particularly in our hemisphere, are our brothers."

History will be kind to that response and to those who contribute to the purchase of liberation tractors.

IT WAS more than coincidence; it was a sign of a confused, fearful epoch of challenge and change that bloody violence was the response in the South to the "Freedom Riders" while the "Hate Riders" were received with an odd, circumspect politeness. The pitiful bus of haters, with their swastika armbands and ugly racial doctrine, were possibly regarded as the sick remnants of a defeated madness, while the "Freedom Riders" were recognized as a living challenge to the still virulent psychosis in the South that says the Supreme Court's ruling on the Constitutional principle of racial equality does not apply below the Mason-Dixon line. This sensitive nerve of sick Southern political morality cannot stand much pressure from history without lashing out blindly.

Yet the deep South can be sympathized with for learning so painfully that all men are created equal. This truth has not yet been learned in Washington, D. C., the capital of the nation that proudly holds aloft the torch of freedom and democracy for the rest of the world to follow. Edward R. Murrow, head of the U. S. Information Agency, told an audience of correspondents that discrimination in Washington against African Negro diplomats was hurting the U. S. abroad more than the Alabama and Mississippi headlines.

"Where do we house African diplomats in our capital?" he asked. "These are representatives of Negro nations led by Negro leaders. It is bad enough that they read headlines of bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the capital of our nation. Landlords will not rent to them; schools refuse their children; stores will not let them try on clothes; beaches bar their families.

"This is not something the Communists did to us. We do it ourselves in our own capital. Is it possible that we concern ourselves too much with outer space and far places, and too little with inner space and near places?"

From Cuba to Alabama to Washington, history is saying to the American people that this is not the age for a calloused conscience. We cannot let our celestial fire flicker any lower. To do so is to be false to ourselves, our history, and our vision of the good society. We are our brother's keeper.

—W.D.P.

Foresight Thought South's Big Need

Charleston, W. Va Gazette-Mail 6-11-61

By Harry Ernst

Mob violence arising from the Negro's determined quest for equality can be avoided in the South only if white Southerners "acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded."

That's a principal lesson to be learned from the violence which engulfed recent Freedom Rides through the Deep South, according to the Southern Regional Council.

The council, an independent organization of Southern whites and Negroes with headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., issues frequent studies of developments in race relations in the South.

"There would be no Freedom Rides if there were compliance with law and decency in the South," a special report on the May Freedom Rides said.

"This is the fact that is basic to any thinking about this latest demonstration of the courage and vitality of the Negro youth movement.

"For generations, white people determined what would be the racial relations of the South. No longer is this true.

►

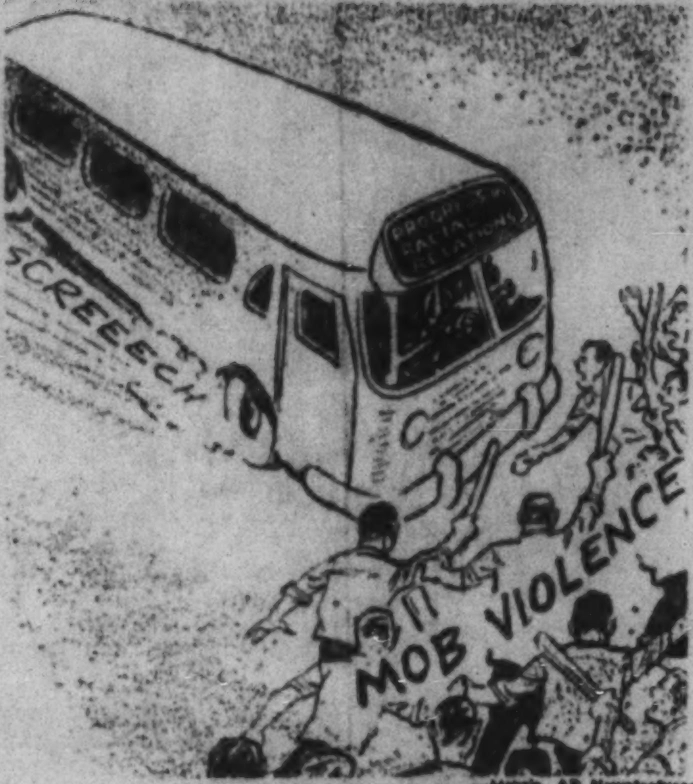
"YET IT is true that only if white people will resume leadership—but this time as co-leaders—can the South escape Alabama-style violence in the future," the report said.

"The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded. If to say this is wishful thinking, it is also a statement of fact."

White Southerners rejected "the sane, responsible NAACP" and forced the Negro civil rights organization to fight for its life, the council study said.

"The NAACP remains strong and those who have combatted it most viciously are the losers for it. And now they have to adjust also to new types of organizations, less ready to be patient.

"There are those who regard the Freedom Riders as extremists. It would be more intelligent to realize that they are pointing out to the South what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real, genuine extremists."



—Morris, AP Newsfeatures

UNSCHEDULED STOP

The report warns that Freedom Ride-style attacks on Southern segregation will continue because the momentum within the civil rights movement is "too great to be held back."

►

CONTINUING DEVOTION to civil rights by the Kennedy Administration will make the South's task easier in ending segregation hangovers.

"The big problems, however, can be tackled only by the South itself; by white Southerners coming to deserve the trust of Negro Southerners; by Negroes maintaining their most valuable outside asset, the confidence which the country as a whole has had in their cause and their methods of pursuing it," the report said. Report

Other lessons of the Freedom Rides, as seen by the Southern Regional Council, are that whites in some states aren't trusted by Negroes, and don't deserve to be.

And they have furnished proof that much of the South is now disgusted "by the sort of lawlessness deputized by the authorities of Alabama," which dramatized the lack of mature political leadership that has paralyzed the white South.

"The Freedom Ride has emphasized as well that the struggle for civil rights in the South can quickly degenerate into violence, and that it is everybody's responsibility—whites and Negroes—to avoid that whenever they can."

THE AARON E. NORMAN FUND, INC.
42 WALL STREET
NEW YORK 5, N.Y.

June 12, 1961.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sending us a copy of your special report about freedom riders. We found it most interesting and would greatly appreciate your sending us eight additional copies in order that we might distribute them to directors of this Fund.

Very truly yours,

Deborah M. Cole

(Mrs.) Deborah M. Cole
Staff Consultant

June 12, 1961

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Staff Consultant
The Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc.
42 Wall Street
New York 5, New York

Dear Mrs. Cole:

We are pleased to send you today, under separate cover, the requested eight copies of our report on the freedom ride, for distribution to directors of the Fund. We are, needless to say, pleased at your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

June 12, 1961

Mr. Thomas Gee
109 C Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gee:

Thank you very much for your comments on the work of the Council; it is good to know that our work and our publications have come to the attention of people like yourself. It will require the sustained efforts of all of us to realize the goals of democracy.

The requested three copies of our special report, The Freedom Ride, are being mailed to you today, under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

DALLAS, TEXAS
WALL STREET JOURNAL
D. 59,987

JUN 14 1961

Letters *To the* Editor

Investing in the South

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

Many of your readers will have noticed the statements contained in a special report issued by the Southern Regional Council on the Freedom Riders. I quote one of them:

"There are those who regard the Freedom Riders as 'extremists.' It would be more intelligent to realize that they are pointing out to the South what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real genuine extremists."

Do we not all have a responsibility to try to avert the kind of struggle that may take place if any governmental bodies in the South or in the North continue to defy the orders of the Supreme Court for desegregation?

There is a persistent story to the effect that Judge Samuel S. Leibowitz, years ago when he acted as counsel for the Scottsboro boys in Alabama, was persuaded that a factor in the ultimate partial correction of a grievous wrong was the difficulty the State of Alabama had in marketing some of its securities in New York. The story leads me to suggest that there may be an opportunity for prospective purchasers of securities to consider the morality of aiding American states which persist in conduct so prejudicial not only to our ideals and leadership in the world but to law itself. How good a risk are states or communities which provoke the kind of racial conflict which is bound to continue? I trust conflict will continue on Gandhian lines, but continue I am sure it will until there is an end of what once was legal segregation.

This letter, I beg you to believe, is not advice from a Socialist to a capitalist community but the expression of a deeply troubled American concerned for an early end of a situation which has brought so much shame upon our country.

NORMAN THOMAS

New York City

* * *

June 19, 1961

Mrs. Nathan C. Starr
818 N.W. 36 Avenue
Gainesville, Florida

Dear Mrs. Starr:

I read with interest your letter of June 3, and was pleased to see its publication in the New York Times. I say that truthfully, because I believe that the South has been damaged in recent years by conformity of opinion and expression. We have done what we could to encourage dissent from the dogmas of the segregationists and their political spokesmen; I think we have had some success. We are also prepared to dissent, if and when we think it necessary, from the programs of people and agencies on our side. By the same token, we welcome responsible criticism of our own views, because we do believe very strongly that open, vigorous discussion is a good thing in a society such as ours.

Let me add that we did not and do not "reprimand" any participant in the Freedom Ride, all of whom have a perfect right to engage in this demonstration. All that we have suggested is that the Freedom Ride is a new and as yet unproven method. We are interested in accomplishments. I think probably no agency voiced commendation of the sit-ins last year sooner than did we; we did so because we thought we saw--and events vindicated our judgment--the likelihood of fine results. I hope, and every one connected with the Council does, similarly fine results will come from the Freedom Ride, and the Attorney-General's action before the Interstate Commerce Commission is an indication that they may.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A

CC: Rev. Wm. Williams, Florida Council on Human Relations
BCC: Marion Wright

COPY

818 N.W. 36 Avenue, Gainesville, Florida

June 3, 1961

Eidtor, New York Times

As All Americans lose every day that racial discrimination is allowed to live on in our country, it strikes this early member of the Southern Regional Council that all Americans indded do have the right to demonstrate against such discrimination wherever it is asserted. To cite only one of countless testimonies to the same effect, one need only read the letter appearing in the same issue of the Times as the news of the Special Report of the S.R.C. on the Freedom Riders, from a member of Northern Rhodesia's Parliament, which begins, "Like a cold wind the news from Alabama is blowing through Africa", and asks "How can the United States of America speak for us in Africa?".

Of course it is the concern of every American that statesmen from Africa havee suffered the indignites that are the lot of our own Negro citizens, when traveling in our country. I hope it is the concern of most Americans that our own citizens are subjected to these same indignities. It ill becomes the Southern Regional Council to reprimand any American, north or south who feels the wrongs being attacked by the Freedom Riders so strongly as to participate in the movement. The S.R.C. was founded in 1944, when there was yet time for the injustices in the south to be handled as a family affair, that is a southern family affair. Now our whole nation has no more urgent duty, than to persist in unrelenting pressure until we can remove the awful negation now blazoned on our noble declarations of "liberty and justice for all".

sincerely
Nina Howell Starr

Nina Howell Starr
Mrs. Nathan C. Starr

copy to Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Dunbar - travel facilities are not primarily community facilities.
Wish I had time to write you personally - N.H.S.

Freedom Ride folder

August 10, 1961

Mr. Marion A. Wright
Top Knot
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Across the street as I write pickets are walking by the Journal-Constitution building, carrying signs which read, "Red Ralph Speaks for Moscow, Not For White America," and "Atlanta Newspapers, Inc. Aids Communism." They are distributing a newspaper, The White American (Issue Number 1) and the front page streamer is

Kill Whites Negroes Told
Train Behind Iron Curtain
Jewish Fiend in Charge

With all this in my view, you will understand, I am sure, that it is hard for me not to see our differences regarding the Freedom Ride report as even less wide than they in fact are.

Receipt today of your letter of August 8 prompts me to answer without further wait yours of June 16. I have not delayed a reply to that because of either indifference or disapproval. As I read and re-read the letter, and as I read your later one, I gathered that your chief concern is that the Report will damage our relations with our friends. I did not think that would be the case. Rather obviously, however, neither you nor I could be sure. I thought I had better postpone, therefore, a reply to you until the evidence was in, or at least an unmistakable trend of it.

Let me say at once that the evidence is not as conclusive as I would like, but I am naturally cautious in evaluating evidence. I think, however, there is a trend, and it is this: with some of our allies, the Report was received with quiet gratification. With newer agencies, and you and I are both especially concerned on this point, the Report was not welcome. However, --and that is a very emphatic "however" -- there is no resentment that we have encountered nor any dimunition of respect. Paul Rilling and I, both in New York and in the South, have gone to special pains to discuss the Report with persons who might have inferred some criticism of them or their organizations from it. Of course they have regret that we did not support the Ride unreservedly. But I have found--and I hope this will be your experience too--that we are respected for having spoken honestly. John Wheeler and I recently participated in a day long conference on the voting question with CORE, SCLC, and student leaders; I think there was an awareness on all sides that SRC had differed on the Ride, but a concession also of our right to have differed, and confidence in our comradship.

I remember your statement at Little Rock that you agreed fully with the analysis in the Report, except that you would not have issued it. Your letter of June 16 indicates a similar appraisal. You do, however, mention several points of partial disagreement, and I would like to comment on them.

As a principle, I agree that seeking a right for others is more commendable than seeking it for one's self. The statement in the Report ("Many of the participants do not themselves apparently need or intend to use the services demanded.") was made purely as an observation of fact, and the only use made of it in the interpretation that follows was in regard to the question of whether the Ride would succeed, as the sit-ins did, in "opening the eyes of whites." I think that this also involves a question of fact.

The reference to non-local planning is in the same context. I do not "look askance" at this fact; we simply reported it.

The question of the Yale professor. In the first place, I have learned, from you among others, to use whatever needles there may be lying around and Yale University is a juicy target; Will Campbell, incidentally, tells me that the little dig reached home and hurt. Secondly, in reference to one of your points, a professor has certainly as much control over appointing practices at his institution as over bus terminals 1,000 miles away. Thirdly, I don't clearly see the case of Harry Ashmore is comparable.

You say, finally, "I am not prepared to pit my judgment against theirs (the riders)." I believe that one of SRC's central and most valuable functions is that of interpretation. We could not have resisted longer than we did the pressures on us to issue an analysis and interpretation. This is expected of us; if we don't do it, we really give up ground we have won. To give you some idea of the pressure, three reporters--from two national and one Atlanta press--sat in our office all afternoon the day the Report came off the mimeograph, reading a page at a time. We had to say something, and I think our responsibility and role is to say it honestly and according to our best lights.

Schism is always to be avoided, and we in the civil rights campaign have been and are remarkably free of it. The case was and is, that if you speak at all on the Freedom Ride you take a step or so toward a side, because there are sides. I am sure you have not overlooked, for example, various public comments by Roy Wilkins and Bishop Spottswood.

As for Mr. Shad Polier, I have no intention--although I am open to persuasion--to recognize his comment by a reply to him. Mr. Polier assumes a pontifical role, impartially pointing out the error of SRC, the Riders themselves, and Judge Mize. We and the Riders "disappoint" Mr. Polier; Judge Mize is true to bad expectations. If Mr. Polier did in fact read our Report such is not apparent from his rendering of it. If these remarks betray annoyance ~~arrogance,~~ and if you are kind enough to regard that as uncharacteristic, it is because Mr. Polier's cute remark about our funds seemed to the staff here in squirmy bad taste.

Your letter of August 8 suggests a second report. You will be interested to know that the next issue of New South, now at the printers, will be devoted largely to the Freedom Ride. There will be three articles: one by a Negro student who took part, recounting his experiences; a report on foreign press coverage, based on materials which we obtained from USIA (this source told to you in confidence); and a short interpretive article by me (copy enclosed). Please let me know, after you have received this New South, what your reaction is.

I am enclosing also examples of editorial and other reactions to the Report; some you have seen already, no doubt. You may find those from the Negro press especially interesting.

Now, in all this long letter, I have talked only about our Report on the Ride, and given that some measure of defense. I have not talked about the Ride itself, and I want to make clear that I deny that defending the Report is equivalent to attacking the Ride. There are grounds for believing that the Report conveyed our basic sympathy with the Ride. It expressed some and implied some other reservations, and those so astonished some that they dominated their reading of it. I believe that many other readers have found in it a balanced interpretation.

I have also your letter of June 24, and your note of June 27. I am familiar with Perey v. Lippold; it was a state case (California). The Virginia case (Naim v. Naim) did get to the U. S. Supreme Court, and on appeal not certiorari, and seemed to confront the court with the necessity of decision. The Court, however, managed to dismiss it (March, 1956) and, so far as I know, has escaped further importuning. I think there is little doubt that someday the federal courts will have to meet the issue, and that when they do they will follow the lead of California and other states and outlaw the miscegenation statutes.

I think you were wise in declining the invitation to Washington.

With best regards. You were missed by everyone at the Executive Committee meeting. Hope you had rest and pleasure in New Mexico.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:A
Enclosures:
"The Freedom Ride," by LWD, for Forum Service, London
"Injunction in Alabama," New York Times ed., June 4, 1961
"A Liberal View on 'The Freedom Ride'" Nashville Times ed., June 2, 1961
"Freedom Rides--May, '61," Louisville,Defender ed., June 8, 1961
"Restraints and Cool-Offs in Alabama," Virginian-Pilot and Portsmouth Star ed, June 4, 1961
"Investing in the South," Wall Street Journal letters-to-the-editor, Norman Thomas, June 14, 1961
"In the Wings," San Antonio Light ed., June 2, 1961
"Foresight Thought South's Big Need," Charleston (W.Va.) Gazette-Mail ed, June 11, 1961
"If a Little Violence Will Do the Trick, We Have Learned Nothing from History," Charleston (W.Va.) Mail, ed., June 3, 1961
"In the Wings," New York Journal-American ed., June 5, 1961
"In the Wings," Los Angeles Examiner ed., June 2, 1961
"Court Halts Freedom Rides, Integrationists Plan More," Cleveland Plain Dealer ed., June 4, 1961
"The Freedom Riders Begin to Get Positive Results," Providence Journal ed., June 2, 1961

Enclosures, continued:

- "The South Must Initiate Change," Wilmington News ed., June 5, 1961
- "Grant Equal Rights to Avoid Extremists," Rochester Times-Union, ed., June 6, 1961
- "Wise Words in the South," Cincinnati Enquirer ed., June 6, 1961
- "The Truth Needn't Be Characterized," Atlanta Constitution ed., Eugene Patterson, June 1, 1961

Burt Marshal —
is he on mailing list
also
John Seigenthaler —

Freedom Ride

ck mailing list

FR —
send 6-9-61

Mr. Burke Marshall
Asst. Atty Gen.
Civil Rights Division
Dept of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.

John E Cosgrove - AFL-CIO

40 Copies - Fla -

Freedom Ride

Advanced Institute

So. Labor School -

Colonial Inn

St. Petersburg, Fla.

January 27, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

I think it is almost sure that you have the enclosed two clippings, of which the originals are available if you want them, but I don't seem to be able to find much else.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures: Washington Post clip, Burnesville
N. Y. Times clip, The Long, Long Ride

January 27, 1960

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative
  of Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Dear Jean:

I heard today from Miss Thelma How, and the prospects sound interesting indeed. I hope we may be able to take advantage of them. Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

February 1, 1960

Mr. William Bagwell
1818 South Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Dear Bill:

The clippings you requested are enclosed; we are glad to lend them to you.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosures:
10 newsclips on Burnsville school situation

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office
1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

1-30-60

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for the two clippings about Burnsville which arrived yesterday.

With regard to the booklet of clippings which we are preparing, I have listed on the attached sheet the clippings of which we need the original copies. We have only photo copies of the ones on the list. If we could borrow such originals from your files, it would be most helpful.

Thank you for any assistance you can give in this matter—

Best wishes—

Bill Bagwell

ė p v —
Cardboard—

STORIES ABOUT BURNSVILLE SCHOOL SITUATION

✓ VIRGINIAN-PILOT	August 11, 1959	"ASHEVILLE TAKES YANCEY NEGROES"
✓ JOURNAL AND GUIDE	August 15, 1959	"YANCEY PUPILS SEEKING INTEGRATION THIS AUTUMN"
✓ JOURNAL AND GUIDE	August 15, 1959	"TEN YEARS OF PROMISES ENOUGH", OFFICIALS TOLD"
✓ JOURNAL AND GUIDE	September 9, 1959	"YANCEY (N.C.) STUDENTS SEEK COUNTY ASSIGNMENT"
✓ NEW YORK TIMES	Sept. 27, 1959	"NEGRO SCHOOL OPENS IN CHURCH BASEMENT"
✓ WASHINGTON POST	October 1, 1959	"STRANGE BURNSVILLE CASE--NEGROES ASKED SEPARATION"
✓ ATLANTA DAILY WORLD	Nov. 5, 1959	"CITIZENS HELP DEPRIVED STUDENTS GET EDUCATION"
✓ CHATTANOOGA TIMES	Nov. 12, 1959	"27 NEGROES ASK SCHOOL OPENING"
✓ NEW YORK TIMES	Nov. 12, 1959	"NEGRO STUDENTS SUE"
✓ ASHEVILLE CITIZEN	Nov. 28, 1959	"DISMISSAL OF SCHOOL SUIT IN YANCEY ASKED BY 4 MEN"

Educ. N. C.
Burnsville School
Situation, 1959

JC - you may want to acknowledge

American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

National Offices
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Harold Evans, *Chairman*
Colin W. Bell, *Executive Secretary*

Telephone 88 2-0109

Regional Office
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
Wilton E. Hartzler, *Executive Secretary*

November 9, 1960

Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Following are names of six persons whom you might like to add to your mailing list to receive leadership reports or other materials.

Rev. Robert Stamey (chairman of race relations committee of Ministers Association of High Point)
Main St. Methodist Church
High Point, N. C.

Rev. Frank Ketzell (chairman of Citizens Human Relations Committee)
First Congregational Church
Merrimon Avenue
Asheville, N. C.

Rev. William P. Price (chairman of Mayor's Committee on Human Relations)
St. Mary's Episcopal Church
Main Street
High Point, N. C.

Owen Lewis (President of N. C. Chapter of Unitarian Fellowship For Social Justice)
P. O. Box 2509
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Rev. Irving Birdseye (president Greensboro Ministerial Association)
Guilford Park Presbyterian Church
Greensboro, N. C.

Rev. E. W. Price (president High Point Ministerial Association)
Green Street Baptist Church
High Point, N. C.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

WB:mh

William Bagwell

November 11, 1960

Mr. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Center
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney:

Many thanks for the Courier-Journal. If you do see a later tabulation of votes in South Carolina, I would love to have it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 9, 1959

Dr. John L. Fulmer
School of Industrial Management
Georgia Institute of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Professor Fulmer:

I have found your articles on my desk this morning. Thank you very much for remembering to send them, and I look forward to reading them very soon.

It was a great pleasure having lunch with you last week and hearing you discuss your work at Georgia Tech and your thoughts about the South. I am sure that we shall be calling upon you in the future for advice and suggestions, and I hope that you will let us know if we can ever be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 22, 1960

Dr. John L. Fulmer
Georgia Institute of Technology
225 North Avenue N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

I wonder if you could have copies of your Georgia population and income study sent to:

Dr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

John Hope has been working with the National Manpower Council in its current analysis of manpower underutilization in the country. I mention your study to him the other evening, and he expressed a great interest in seeing it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 21, 1963

Mr. George M. Goldman
Haas and Dodd Realtors
Haas-Howell Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Dear George:

Thanks so much for your good note on my new job. Needless to say, I am finding real satisfaction in it. I do appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

MEMO

FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE M. GOLDMAN

10/29/63

Pat—

Good luck, please call if I can help with anything in your new job. You're a great guy & doing a great job for all of America.

George '50 EMORY

Commercial & Industrial Department

HAAS & DODD Realtors
Haas-Howell Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30301
Jackson 2-3111, Ext: 75 (Bus.) TR 5-3923 (Res)

June 19, 1964

Dr. Joe Golden
School of Social Work
Atlanta University
223 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Joe:

Sorry to be so late with the attached check. I take comfort, though, in the fact that you're just as late sending the results of the survey.

I got the copies of the schedule and do look forward to seeing what you found out.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
of Information

PW:mp

Enclosure

File

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY, INC.
PUBLISHERS
360 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 22, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

Mr. Robert Brisson has passed along to me your excellent list of writers and press people who would be interested in WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH?, by James McBride Dabbs. I do appreciate your compiling the list for us, and I know that it will be greatly valuable to us in our promotion and publicity plans for the book.

Sincerely,

Mab Gray
Mab Gray
Publicity Director

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

March 9, 1966

File

Rec'd 3/10/66

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

As always it was good to see you at the luncheon. And by the way, I thought that the luncheon went very well and the Council got nothing but good credit for the enterprise.

I enclose a copy of the remarks about the journalism schools. If you have a chance to send that voting study to me I will copy it and send it back.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

JAG:jj
enclosure

Watters Takes Information Post Here

Pat Watters, columnist for The Atlanta Journal, has resigned to become information director for the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

Pat Watters

Mr. Watters assumed his new duties at council headquarters Monday.

He had written a column for The Atlanta Journal since July, 1961.

Before becoming a newspaper columnist, Mr. Watters was city editor of The Atlanta Journal for two years, and before that he was a staff reporter.

A native of Spartanburg, S.C., he attended public school in Albany, Brunswick and Atlanta.

He received an A.B. in journalism degree from Emory University in 1951. While at Emory, he was editor of the Emory Wheel and a member of Chi Phi social fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Delta Chi, ODK, and the senior honor society.

He later took a masters degree in journalism from the State University of Iowa.

While an Atlanta Journal reporter, he covered a variety of assignments — DeKalb County, Fulton County, and the State Capitol among them. His reporting won a number of awards.

Mr. Watters, who is 36, is married to the former Miss Cecile Rhinehart, and they have two children.

ROYAL WAY TO DIE

KING'S LYNN, Eng., Oct. 28 (UPI)—A local shop put on sale pheasants shot by Prince Philip at a nearby royal estate for 30 shillings a pair, or $4.20.

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May 26, 1959

Mr. Johan Galtung
Instituttet for sosiologi
Lokkeveien 7
Oslo, Norway

Dear Professor Galtung:

The confidential reports on Charlottesville are enclosed.

May I say how much I enjoyed reading the memoranda which you sent us. If you can sustain this level of perception throughout a book, we have something good to look forward to.

Because I had already read your memoranda, the one remark which you made in New York that most interested me was your comment that Charlottesville segregation leaders tend to hold the Jews responsible for the local agitation. I suspect that the variety of reactions you got to this comment were indications that other people, as well as myself, were hopeful of suggesting to you valid qualifications. If you ever have a moment to spare, would you be willing to write to me summarising the picture as you see it on this point? It would be most helpful to us.

With best personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Charlottesville reports
Thermafax

April 5, 1960

Professor Johan Galtung
Department of Sociology
Columbia University
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Professor Galtung:

Glad to hear that you are back and ready to finish up the Charlottesville study. We sent off a package of things to you after your letter came in and shall continue to send you our stuff as long as you are interested. I am afraid we do not have anything of special interest on Charlottesville, except a lot of clippings about the hassel going on on private schools now, but you will be picking that up yourself.

We look forward to seeing you when you visit Atlanta in May. Hope that we shall have a chance to get to know both you and Mrs. Galtung better.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 25, 1959

Professor Warren E. Gauerke
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Warren:

We are much pleased that you and Ross Green have consented to undertake the preparation of a pamphlet on the private school question. Please consider this a joint letter to you and Ross confirming the understanding that we had reached.

The proposed treatment, as Ross outlined it to me yesterday on the telephone, seems good. As I understand that, you will include in your study such subjects as: The present costs of public schools; the cost experience of private schools in the area; the relative effectiveness and success of private and public schools; accreditation problems involved in setting up new private schools; indications of some of the legal questions that would have to be resolved. It is also my understanding, that, although most of your data will be derived from Georgia, ~~that~~ you will endeavor to present it in such a way as to suggest that this is a case study generally applicable to other southern states.

As I told Ross, we would be delighted to have your names appear on the title page as authors. Whether pamphlet comes out with our imprint or that of some other organisation - or with no imprint at all - are matters that we would reserve for our decision. Our tentative thinking at the present is in favor of using our own imprint.

Finally, I proposed to you a joint fee of $250.00.

Once again, many thanks for undertaking this most important assignment. We think it will be a real contribution to southern planning and to intelligent public discussion. We are fortunate and happy that the study is in such good hands.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 16, 1959

Professor Warren E. Gauerke
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Warren:

This letter is to you and Ross jointly.

First, I want to repeat our real gratitude for the job which you two have done. It is first rate and we hope to get it headed toward the printers this week, and then to give it a good distribution.

Secondly, I want to note my personal thanks for your patience with a bothersome editor. You have been more than kindly in accepting my suggestions and, I may add, in combatting those with which you disagreed.

Harold Fleming has now read the article and shares my high regard for it. He has, however, one or two general suggestions and, inevitably and helpfully, spotted a couple of specific points that we had overlooked. I would like to use the rest of this letter to outline some further editorial notions for you. Would you please call me, when you have had a chance to discuss these among yourselves, and give me the word, or words?

First, as to general notions: is there such a thing as a short, or fairly short, statement of critera used by one of the accrediting agencies that might be printed as an appendix?

Second, Harold suggested, and has persuaded me, that the section on principles ought to go at the end. The reasoning is that the rest of the essay constitutes a single, straightforward analysis, whereas the section on principles contains your value judgements: these are personal, the rest is objective. You were good enough to accept my proposal of switching about the legal and financial sections and it is therefore with some humility that I approach you with a proposal for still another switch. If you are amenable, and frankly I hope you will be, the thing could be handled in some such way as this (though perhaps you will have a better suggestion):

1) Add a footnote after "several questions of principle" on page 2; footnote to read "The discussion of principles is reserved until the end of this pamphlet. The reader who wishes to know the authors' premises in advance, can, however, turn at once to Part 7."

2) Title the section "Addendum: Some Questions of Principle."

3) Insert short introductory paragraph in this section to read somewhat as follows: "Underlying the whole previous discussion there have been certain values and premises - moral, political and educational - which the authors hold. It is time to make these explicit."

This does for the general suggestions. Now for a couple of specific ones.

Page 1. A quick and careless reader might think you were advocating the holding of desegregation to a minimum. Can we insert in the penultimate line after "To desegregate," some such sentence as: "The likely fact is, however, that desegregation will not, especially in the Deep South, result in a large influx of Negroes to formerly all white classrooms." It seems to us that this would make clear that you are predicting and not advocating.

Page 2. The term "local option" has accrued some honorific connotations that organisationally we don't like to impugn. Could we substitute for your local option sentence some such sentence as: "There may be local option on the timing and pacing of desegregation; there can be none on the constitutionality of governmentally compelled segregation in the schools."

Page 12. Can you document the statement "some other states have enacted new laws providing for the exclusion of Negro pupils from state subsidized private schools"?

Page 44. We have a number of Catholic Board members, and some Catholic officers. We would like, therefore, to mark a footnote at your subtitle "State and Church Separation"; the footnote would read as follows: "Editor's note: the extent to which public funds and services may properly be used in support of sectarian education is still a debated question in our society. The Southern Regional Council has no organizational position on this issue; the views presented here are those of the authors."

That does it.

Let me repeat my statement of the other day, that if you have some associates to whom you would like copies sent, we shall be glad to have their names.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Professor Donald Ross Green

July 15, 1959

Professor Warren E. Gauerke
Division of Teacher Education
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Warren:

The page proofs were received today and look good. I hope to have them proof-read within a few days.

As we discussed, we wanted to include an appendix summarizing accreditation standards. What I have come up with is enclosed, and if you or Ross have any criticisms or see any miss-statements, I wish you would telephone me.

Unless you or Ross have objections, the title will be:

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...

(subtitle) A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: Appendix to
Private School pamphlet

~~CAN A PRIVATE SCHOOL SYSTEM REALLY WORK?~~

by

Donald Ross Green

Warren E. Gauerke

Division of Teacher Education

Emory University

Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

1959

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

Donald Ross Green (Ph.D.) is Assistant Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University.

Warren E. Gauerke (Ph.D.) is Associate Professor of Teacher Education at Emory University. He is the author of ~~a book~~ Legal and Ethical Responsibilities of School Personnel (Prentice-Hall, 1959).

December 14, 1960

Dear Les:

Thanks so much for including me in the mailing of the "Georgia's Divided Education." I dropped Ross Green a line saying that I am happy to know he served as a supervisor. Gee, how much such materials are needed! Thank God for even a meager budget which permits this much.

Don't know when I'll get Atlanta way but want to soon. I miss the good folks and the problems of the area. A friend wrote me of an opening at the Florida State University. Do you know of anything in particular which might make a guy think seriously about such a job?

Drop a line if time and energies permit.

Sincerely,
Warren

January 11, 1961

Professor Warren E. Gauerke
316 Merriweather
Grosse Pointe Woods
Michigan 36

Dear Warren:

Got your letter of December 14--finally. We haven't been at this address long enough for a mere name and street number to work, if it ever will.

Thank you for the good words on Georgia's Divided Education.

I hope you will follow up on the Florida State opening. I can't speak authoritatively or even with much information about the school, but it impresses me as one of the more interesting and alive campuses in the South. It lost a good President last year and replaced him with Gordon Blackwell, who, so far as I have been able to judge, is one of our new breed of research bureaucrats, but probably a man aimed in the right direction. In a field that I know something about, Florida State has one of the few good departments of Political Science in the South. I have met two or three people in Sociology and thought them very bright, alert fellows. I had occasion last year to read a few issues of the student newspaper which was a humdinger. Next to Wake Forest, the students at Florida State showed, I believe, more good response to the sit-in movement than did students at any other southern campus. John A. Griffin, whom I trust you knew at Emory, has been at Florida State since September, 1959 doing the same sort of thing he did at Emory plus other duties; why don't you write to him?

We would love to have you back in the South.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

[illegible]

Current Costs. # To illustrate the point that public schools

Center are substantially cheaper than private schools already in exis-

Pg 3

2/

F~~ootnote~~ ~~18~~ page ~~19~~. 3

2. B.S. Bloom, "The 1955 Normative Study of the Tests of General Educational Development," School Review, 1956, 64, 110-124.

E. Ginzburg and D.W. Bray, The Uneducated, New York~~:~~ ~~Columbia University Press~~, 1953.

~~Ebay~~ C.D. Hutchins and E.C. Deering, Financing Public School~~x~~ Facilities, U.S, Office of Education, MISC. NO. 32, 1959.

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

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Addendum:

VII ~~V~~. Some Questions of Principle~~[illegible]~~

~~IV~~ In general terms we in the United States have believed that public schools have a special and a necessary contribution to make to the develop-

Underlying the whole previous discussion there have been certain values and premises — moral, political and educational — which the authors hold. It is time to make these explicit.

Legislatures of some states have considered laws providing for the exclusion of colored pupils from state-subsidized private schools.

footnote: As long as private schools are not controlled by any arm of government~~al~~, their voluntary admission policies are not subject now to court scrutiny.

Memo
FROM THE DESK OF LESLIE DUNBAR

To whatever extent the abandonment of public schools will lower a community's total expenditures on education, or will result in less schooling for dollar spent, we may expect literacy ~~to decline and~~ and years of school attendance to decline.

---

1. The discussion of principles is reserved ~~for the~~ until the end of this pamphlet. The reader who wishes to know the authors' premises in advance can, however, turn at once to Part VII.

~~ment of the state."[9] In the light of these utterances, it is improbable that the Court would give weight to an argument that mass education, in mid-twentieth century, "can be divested of its public character."[10]~~

~~It is the considered opinion of the writers that~~ Education IS an essential service of the state. It cannot[15] be "given" away. The partially tax-type ~~of~~ private school, now operating and those to be established, are subject to challenge as instrumentalities of the state under the concept of state action developed above. Court decisions have clearly established that performance by private parties of a function of government makes the private parties a vehicle of the state. ~~To be~~ The private school could thus be attacked on the theory of performance of a function of government, without raising ~~the privately~~ the question of financial aid. ~~organized schools need not receive even discernible aid from the state.~~

7 ~~Some southern states have enacted "new" laws providing for the exclusion of Negro pupils from state subsidized private schools~~. Such measures of state action would warrant the application of the Fourteenth Amendment, should a plaintiff so charge in his petition in federal court. The enforcement by a state court, or the sanction by the state of discrimination in a private school, may possibly be attacked directly as being state action under present Constitutional

---

[9] E. P. Cubberley, Public Education in the United States ~~Public Education in the United States~~ (New York, Houghton-Mifflin Co., ~~1934~~ 1919), ~~rev. ed.~~, p. ~~188~~ 19.

[10] Murphy, "Desegregation in Public Education -- A Generation of Future Litigation," 15 Maryland Law Review, 221, 232 (1955).

15. There are several military academies in the South, as well as the parochial schools of Louisiana, which now receive financial assistance from the states for operating expenses.

One thing is certain, however. There is a high degree of correspondence between the level of expenditure for schools and such factors as literacy and years of school attendance beyond the elementary grades. ~~items as the per cent of school-age population attending school, length of the school term, average days attended by school-age children, and the per cent that high-school attendance is of the total school attendance.~~ To whatever extent the abandonment of public schools will lower a community's total expenditures on education, or will result in less schooling for dollars spent, we may expect [1]literacy

Insert

In the South, the realization of quality education is steadily being encouraged by more ~~specific gains of public schools include~~ economic and efficient operation of schools, comprehensive instructional programs, curricula suited to varying abilities, ~~increasing attendance of graduates at colleges,~~ and vocational aid. The growing success of our public schools can be measured by the increasing attendance of their graduates at colleges, & by other criteria.

The facts and figures presented suggest that there are no quick, easy, and simple answers to the question: What would we have to spend to obtain similarly high-quality private education? The facts, however, do shed considerable light on the question. The evidence is a far better basis for answering the question than sheer guesswork. (A)

(A) The available data suggest that expenditures per pupil would be at least double the amounts now spent by public schools and might easily be triple the amounts.

~~Differences in outlook are part of the times we live in. These are not to be laughed away nor are they to be reconciled either. Long-continued differences of opinion serve only to add to the confusion and uncertainty that already exists. When differences continue to go unresolved, they are likely to interfere with sound developments. Stated another way:~~

> ~~The process of serious discussion, attempting to understand, taking into consideration the point of view of the other person, and striving to find common ground as the basis for agreement, which has been so significant in the past, must be pursued vigorously in the future if the schools are to continue as a vital force in American life.~~[32]

~~[32] Edgar Morphet, *et al.*, *Educational Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), pp. 7-8.~~

Although well known, it will be helpful to review briefly the current situation. Legal suits in Clarendon County (S.C.), New Orleans & Atlanta have led to court orders to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." At least two Florida counties are presently involved in litigation. There is no reason to doubt ~~that~~ orders will in time be directed at localities in all of the six states still completely segregated. The

Memo
FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

steady stream of suits to desegregate continues.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

On present averages, it would take a school population of over 24,000 children to fill one classroom (30 pupils) at one grade level with children needing speech correction, and ~~three times that~~ many to provide classes of gifted children.

FROM THE DESK OF LESLIE DUNBAR

Memo

For it is naive to assume ~~that~~ the fine private schools of high standards & integrity — such as we are familiar with at present — will be typical of the schools which would proliferate in a time of mass private education.

pg. 14

Memo
FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

#D

There may be "local option" on the timing and pace of desegregation; there can be none on the constitutionality of governmentally compelled segregation in the schools.

pg 24

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF LESLIE DUNBAR

This was the meaning of the January ruling~~s~~ of the federal courts in Virginia: schools could not be provided for children in the rest of the state when they were ~~not~~ closed in Norfolk, Charlottesville & Front Royal.[38]

pg 28

FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

Memo

Some lawyers, it may be noted, believe ~~that~~ the southern states will have to make tuition payments to sectarian school~~s~~ students, *if* the tuition-grant system is to work. Their reasoning is interesting: by refusing grants for sectarian schools, the states would be requiring the operation of the schools according to public educational policies, instead of the grant being to the *child*, it would be clearly seen to be a grant to the *school*: not a "child benefit" because some children would be discriminated against & denied the "benefit."

pg 37

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF LESLIE DUNBAR

Same paragraph

~~It is not fanciful to~~

If ~~the~~ some states were to abandon public education, there is a real possibility ~~that~~ the federal government ~~may~~ would take over the function within those states.

pg 38

Memo
FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

A

the attrition of the student body 41

during the period of "no-schools" and

consequent

pg. 41

Memo
FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

B

because this help is based on the statistics of the preceding school year — and there was none?

41

April 6, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Gauntlett:

I have postponed a reply to your letter of March 22 longer than courtesy permits. My explanation is that there has been a chance of my being in your vicinity and I had thought that if such were the case I would try to come by and see you. I think, however, that I had better not wait longer on this possibility.

Instead, I would like to propose that you visit us if this is convenient; we would of course reimburse you for travel expenses. This would affort us an opportunity to discuss your work on Negro voting in South Carolina. The conference would be especially helpful if you could bring along such of your material as you would deem proper.

I think I should reiterate some description of our position. We do have a grant for the study of Negro voting in the south. If it is possible to draw a line between scientific interest in this subject and interest weighted on the side of information particularly valuable to action groups and law enforcement agencies, I would say that the terms of the grant confine us to the latter. In any event, the grant is modest and our commissions to outside consultants have to be also modest.

We would, however, like to see you, to have an opportunity of discussing with you the subject in which we both are absorbed. If you can come to Atlanta, please write and tell me when the trip would be feasible for you. Our offices are open Monday through Friday and I would certainly try to be available to suit your desires.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.
March 22, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter of March 19th arrived, and I am wasting no time in answering it. In reply to your query as to whether our research could be related to yours, I wish to state that I believe it does directly. As you are presumably interested in increasing Negro voting and registration, out study would provide you with data as to what types of people tend to register, what influences them the most, etc.

Dr. McConaughy and I spent the entire summer working on this project with the eventual hope of getting out a book dealing with Negro and White voting behavior in South Carolina. Our survey, carried out at our own expense and time, included Greenville, Spartanburg, Columbia, Darlington, and Charleston. Over 95 per cent of the questionnaires have been returned, and the data has been tabulated by factors on IBM machines. We are contemplating three articles, one entitled, "The Influence of Superiority and Inferiority Traits Upon Negro and White Voting Behavior in South Carolina", a second dealing with the recent gubernatorial election in South Carolina of last June, and a third dealing with the subject of Negro voting behavior. We hope to have them published in a scholarly journal.

Dr. McConaughy has indicated a willingness to spend additional time, particularly in the summer, working on this project. Part of the first article has been completed, and we expect soon to have it done. The other two may have to wait until this summer. Because I do not have a job this summer, I asked our friend, Mr. Dabbs, as to the possibility of our obtaining funds for the project. I was a Visiting Professor at the University of South Carolina last year, but unlike Dr. McConaughy, do not have a job there this summer. I had though that if I could obtain some financial aid from your organization, we could complete a good portion of our project this summer. We would make available to you our findings, and, perhaps, even material for your publications.

I hope to hear from you again at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

March 19, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Gauntlett:

Mr. Dabbs referred to us your letter of March 1st and we have read it with a great deal of interest. I am afraid we do not have funds to help along independent research. This is all the more to be regreted as the kind of investigation which you and Dr. McConaughy are doing is, in our opinion, the sort of think which badly needs doing and in which we are contimuously interested.

On the other hand, the Council has for several years now carried on its own fact-finding studies on Negro voting, in the course of which we have several times benefitted from the assistance of academic researchers such as Kenneth Vines of Tulane, Donald Strong of Alabama, and others. It is rather hard for me to ascertain certainly from your letter whether your work could be related to our undertakings. I simply would, however, wish to mention that if your studies can be related to what we are doing, we would be interested in discussing ways in which your information and interpretations could be made available to us.

I will be glad to hear further from you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC - Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

LWD - Can you make enough of them to be sure there's nothing in it for us? HCF

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

March 9, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a letter to me from Mr. John Gauntlett. I should appreciate your giving him your opinion on the question raised near the close. I am not aware that the Southern Regional Council has any funds that might be used in this way, as excellent as the project is, but you will know about this better than I.

I know Mr. Gauntlett very pleasantly. His associate in this investigation, Dr. McConaughy, of the University of South Carolina, I have known and respected for many a year. McConaughy told me only a week ago that he thought their findings would be most significant; they showed, for one thing, that the politicians in South Carolina were already responding to Negro voting pressure.

I'm off for Pittsburgh and New York tomorrow.

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs

J. M. Dabbs, President
Southern Regional Council

Copy to:

John H. Gauntlett.

I intended to send a copy to John Gauntlett. But look on the back of this sheet. Hell's pavement!

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.
March 1, 1959

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

It was certainly nice to receive your letter of the 16th. I must have been mistaken about the conference and your speaking in Chapel Hill...the notice musthave been ~~of~~ of the Institute of Religion in Raleigh. I would indeed like to see you if you come to Chapel Hill soon.

Our voting study of South Carolina has progressed well, despite our lack of funds. About 95 per cent of our questionnaires were returned, and we have completed most of the IBM work for our write up. Although we are hoping to write a book, we are now contemplating three articles...one on the influence of inferiority and superiority traits on Negro and White voting behavior; a second on the election of last year; and a third on Negro voting behavior in a deep-South state.

Dr. McConaughy would like me to return to Columbia this coming Summer to assist him with preparation of the book. We applied for a grant for this purpose from the Social Science Research Council in New York, but were unsuccessful. If I had some money, I could take off for the Summer and continue the work with him which we have made good progress in. Would it be possible for me to obtain money for myself from the Southern Regional Council in order to continue this work? If this work were to be completed, I believe it would provide some useful knowledge concerning voting in the South, particularly as pertains the Negro.

It would be nice to hear from you at your convenience.

My kindest regards to you.

Very sincerely,
John H. Gauntlett
John H. Gauntlett

Esleeck
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN USA

April 10, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Gauntlett:

I well understand the press of time in preparing for orals. When you do find an interval, we shall be glad to see you in Atlanta; you can write, or if necessary telephone when you know of a convenient time. It it turns out that I shall be in the Chapel Hill vicinity, I shall let you know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
(Dictated but not read)

LWD:a

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

April 9, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Your letter reached me yesterday, so I am taking the opportunity immediately to answer it.

The time is not very suitable right now for me to come to Atlanta, because I am presently in the process of preparing for my oral exams for my Ph.D. to be taken either in May or June. If there is much possibility for your being in this vicinity in the next few weeks, this would be an ideal time for us to talk. Other possibilities might be my flying to Atlanta from Raleigh-Durham, or if this proves impossible, driving down some weekend.

I see no reason why you shouldn't use any information from our articles or book, following publication. It might be best from my colleagues side if you would not divulge the sources of your information, but I don't suppose that this would prove a barrier.

What I would like to do is to spend a few weeks this summer in Columbia, S.C. working on an article or two, and perhaps again devote some of my time at a later date to the project. I do feel that now I should progress as rapidly as possible towards my degree without getting sidetracked, but, on the other hand, I am very interested in at least getting out an article or two from the mass of material which we have gathered an coded on IBM cards.

I look forwards to hearing from you.

Yours very sincerely,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

April 26, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I returned back here today, after a good visit with the McConaughy's in Columbia, S.C. He was quite agreeable to my going ahead with you people on the basis of our discussions of last Friday. Also, I checked into the voting, and found that we had the Negro vote in each ward that we studied except Columbia, which Dr. Mc Conaughy may be able to get. Also, we have the Negro registration for each except Columbia and Darlington. I am trying to get the registration of Darlington, and may be able to get for you that of the Negro ward in Columbia. We will also try to answer for you soon the other questions you may like to know, although our problem may be somewhat difficult because our chief helper with the IBM cards has quit her job. If the questions are simple, we may be able to do the job quicker.

My expenses for the trip were $65,02 for the plane, $8.59 for food, and $7.68 for limousine and gas. The total amount is $81.29. I would appreciate your sending me a check as soon as feasible.

I enjoyed meeting you and Mr. Fleming, and hope that the trip has been mutually beneficial.

Yours very sincerely,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

April 28, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Gauntlett:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to send you the enclosed check. He will be writing you in a few days, since he is out of the office today and tomorrow attending an inter-agency conference.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Research

May 1, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mr. Gauntlett:

It was good to talk with you last week and to receive subsequent word from you that you and Dr. McConaughy would be able to work with us. I think this will be of real value to us and I hope that you will share in that value.

It may be worthwhile to repeat our understanding: (1) you will submit to us by mid-autumn, and earlier if possible, a manuscript of Negro voting behavior in South Carolina. This will be signed, either by you alone or by you and Professor McConaughy as you prefer. We shall have the option of publication. However, if you have other publication plans for the same or similar manuscripts, we shall be ready to accomodate our plans to yours. (2) You will provide information to us now, based on your completed research and the data obtained can be used in our voting survey.

We are able to pay you an honorarium of $250 plus expenses not to exceed $100. I am enclosing for your use expense vouchers.

On the attached sheet I am listing questions for which we would like to have answers in the very near future.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: Questions
Expense vouchers

List of Questions for John H. Gauntlett

1. Negro registration and voting figures for the wards studied in Charleston, Greenville and Spartanburg.

2. The same, if possible, for the wards studied in Columbia and Darlington.

3. From your questionnaire, the figures in each of the five cities for Questions 1-A, 5, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 30-A, 30-B, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43-A, 43-B, 52, 53, 54-A, 54-B, 55, 58

4. Can correlations be run between:

   a. Negro registration and sex (1-B)
      age (2)
      education (5)
      family income (16)
      union membership (18)

   b. Negro registration and answers to Questions 52, 54-A, 55, 58 ?
      If so, we would like to have them.

Please send a.s.a.p. the information which is readily available, and send the other data when ready.

May 26, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Jack:

I found your letter of May 13 awaiting me when I returned to the office after a short trip. Your expense account of May 16 is also here, and I am enclosing a check to reimburse you. As it is our practice to pay .08 per mile mileage, I have had the check made out accordingly.

The figures which you sent on Charleston, Greenville and Spartenburg appear good and will be helpful. I hope that you will be able to complete the Darlington and Columbia figures. I assume that we have permission from you and Dr. McConaughy to use these figures in our forth-coming voting survey. Would you prefer that we attribute them to "SRC Consultant" or to "Mr. John H. Gauntlett, graduate student at the University of North Carolina" ?

I am disturbed by your report of Professor McConaughy's attitude. Above all, we are concerned that our relationships with consultants be mutually satisfactory and I would want to do nothing that in any way would trouble Dr. McConaughy, who is a gentleman we respect and whose good opinion we are desirous of having. This being so, perhaps the best thing is for us to abandon our arrangements at this point.

In case I have misunderstood your situation, let me restate what ours has to be. We cannot subsidize your research. We can, on the other hand, commission you to contribute to our program. Although we are interested in your manuscript we are also and immediately interested in using data from your study, with proper attribution, in our voters survey which is now in its final editing. I wrote to you and itemized the information we would like to have. A logical next step would be, as I said to you recently on the telephone, for you to respond with a statement of what you feel you can provide. We could then decide whether the arrangement I originally proposed to you in my letter of May 1 should be continued, could be continued, or should be abandoned.

Somehow I suspect that you may feel rather uncomfortably in the middle. I want you to know that we have the highest regard for your association. If things may not altogether work out this time, we hope that there will be a continuing relationship.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:s

May 13, 1959

360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Although I was hoping to receive the Negro registration from Darlington this week, I have anyhow decided to send you the figures on registration and voting for the highest-percentage-Negro-ward in the five cities which we surveyed last year. When and if I can get the Darlington registration, I'll send it to you. It may be that we can get the exact Negro vote for Ward 9 in Columbia, S.C., for you later.

I will go to Columbia this weekend to try to get some of the other figures for you. Dr. McConaughy is quite reluctant to release these figures prior to our doing the article on Negro voting behavior in South Carolina. I will, however, try to talk him into releasing some of it which is available. Rest assured I will make every effort to assist you now, and that you will certainly have the data when it is digested.

My best regards to you.

Sincerely,

Jack

Charleston

Voting	Voting
1st Gubernatorial Primary	Runoff Primary
Ward 9 Negro Vote	Ward 9 Negro Vote
388	290
Total vote:463	Total vote:412

Total Negro registration 516
(Approx 100% Negro)

Greenville

1st Gubernatorial Primary	Runoff Primary
Ward 5, Negro Vote Box 1	Ward 5, Box 1 Negro Vote
	190
Total vote:466	Total vote:427

Total Negro registration 601

Spartanburg

1st Gubernatorial Primary	Runoff Primary
Ward 1, Negro Vote Box 1	Ward 1, Box 1 Negro Vote
199	106

Total Negro registration 438

Total vote:661	Total vote:622

Approximately the same number of whites and Negroes who were registered, voted.

Darlington

1st Gubernatorial Primary	Runoff Primary
Ward 4 Negro Vote	Ward 4 Negro Vote
546	368

Total Negro registration *---
(Approx. 100% Negro)

Columbia

1st Gubernatorial Primary	Runoff Primary
Ward 9 Negro Vote	Ward 9 Negro Vote
982 approx.	904 approx.

Total Negro rsgistration 1827
(Approx 95% Negro)

May 27, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My trip to Columbia, S.C. last week was a fruitful one, and I was able, with the aid of Dr. McConaughy, to get most of the information you asked for. He is having the work duplicated, and upon its receipt, I will forward it to you. He seems amenable to your utilizing it, with the qualification that we are still planning to utilize it in an article, and if you published it first, someone else might analyze it and publish it before us. So, you can have the material, except that if you publish it completely, we would like to see the draft first. We could then determine if there was enough left for our article. Neither of us object to your printing the rough figures.

You probably received my expense sheet. I wonder if you could kindly send me the $22.90 at this time. I would prefer receiving expense money as I spend it, if this is alright with you.

My regards to you.

Sincerely yours,
John H. Gauntlett
John H. Gauntlett

P.S. Sorry no registration
figures from the Darlington, S.C.
ward.

June 2, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Your letter of May 26 and my last crossed. I'm glad to say that we were able to get you all the information you requested, and you will notice that most of the questions correlated very well, with the exception of a negative correlation between age and voting, and Negroes registered and those wanting Negroes to run for the state legislature. I did all of the totals, of necessity, in percentages. I believe the scattergrams at the top of each page well give you the information at a glance.

I'm glad that everything went so well. Dr. McConaughy and I are in full agreement about turning over this information to you, and only if you decide to analyze all of this data might there be conflict with our article, and, in such case, you might send us the script and I would then clear it with John. You are welcome to the figures as aforesaid.

Because my friend could not send the Darlington figure, I suppose that if you really desire it this summer, I will have to drive down and get it, but I don't know if you think it is worth going from Columbia to Darlington, some 160 miles for that purpose.

I think that you might attribute these figures to "SRC Consultant" rather than giving my name. WE have checked the figures, but should you find an error, we would certainly be glad if you would tell us.

My best to you, and I will be in touch with you later.

Sincerely yours,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

June 3, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Jack:

The tabulations arrived and, although we have not yet had time to work with them, they seem to be exactly what we had hoped for. It was a very prompt job and I wish, personally and on behalf of the Council, to thank you and Dr. McConaughy. We cannot tell yet how much of them we will use, but I trust that you will be satisfied with the manner in which we do employ them. If it is at all possible I shall give you our copy, or rather the relevant portion of it, to examine before the printing.

Because we are interested in the work which you and Dr. McConaughy are doing, we hope that the manuscript that you later will write for us be a contribution to and not an impediment of your study. Perhaps it could be regarded and planned as a first draft of one of your articles? However, I leave this to you.

Please let me know how and when you wish to receive payment.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 12, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

Good luck on your orals.

I would have no objection to sending the entire honorarium. Being, however, an organization we are the creatures of our own rules and conventions and I am afraid that we are restricted to making an advance. Consequently, I am enclosing a check for $200.00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: check

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.
June 9, 1959

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

Glad to hear the tabulations are what you hoped for, except sorry that you confused those column nosl with question nos....will send those to you when I am in Columbia late this summer.

About the honorarium..if it pleases you, kindly send the $250 to me here. Any further expenses can be managed on an *ad hoc* basis. If you would prefer to wait before paying all, then kindly send $200 with the rest to be sent when the article is finished.

Right now I'm busy on orals.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Jack

John H. Gauntlett

June 19, 1959

Mr. John Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear John:

I have been working with your figures, and have discovered what I am sure is simply an omission through oversight. On the tabulation of Negro votes which you sent on May 13, the Negro vote for Ward 5, Greenville, in the first gubernatorial primary is missing. You have the figure for the run-off (190) and all the other figures.

Also, may I ask you a question. Question 35 has a category "didn't vote" in the 1958 run-off. Question 37 asks whether the respondent did vote in the 1958 run-off and one of the categories in reply is "no". I don't understand this - why there should be any difference between these two categories, but the figures do not coincide. Can you explain? What I would like most to know is how many of the group did not vote. Which of the two responses should I use?

I have looked through all of our correspondance and I do not find anywhere a description of the sample used in your five cities interviews. I would prefer not describing it in my own words, based on my recollections of our conversations. Could you please send me a one-sentence description of how the samples were done?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 24, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear John:

We do want the Greenville Negro vote in the first gubernatorial primary.

I am unable to see how your explanation of the discrepancies between questions 35 and 37 can be correct. The "no" response for question 35 does not include all not voting and all not answering. For question 35 you show 203 "no answers" and 43 "didn't votes". For question 37 you show 127 "no answers" and 122 "didn't votes". I cannot avoid concluding that you got two different answers to the same question, but still hope that you will be able to clear this up.

How was the sample composed? It is a random sample of whom--adults? heads of households? voters (but this couldn't be, for non-voters are included) ? what?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

June 22, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Your letter reached me tonight. I'm sorry that I do not have the Negro vote for the Greenville gubernatorial primary. If you want it, I can send to Columbia and get it for you.

We found that question #35 was not very well phrased, but it refers to a candidate, whereas, question 37 refers to the act of voting, or not voting. The answer "no" for question 35, I believe includes all not voting and not answering together. I believe that the negative answers in question 37 are more accurate as purely "not voting" than the ones in question 35. Frequently we had to lump those not voting, with those not answering, under the assumption that those who did not vote did not answer.

Each ward was selected as the most representative Negro ward in each city. By this, I mean that it has a higher percentage of Negro votes than any other ward, although it may not be as large as other Negro wards. The random sample method was used so as to cover the whole ward. Negro school teachers and other volunteers did the interviewing using the NORC (National Opinion Research Center) method. One hundred interviews were held in each ward, except Columbia, where we had 150.

I hope this is of some help.

Sincerely,
Jack
Jack

35		37	
34	11	30	24
38	12	23	29
46	8	32	30
35	10	26	19
30	2	16	20
203 - NA	43 - No	127 NA	122 - No

July 18, 1959

3 60 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Les Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council

Dear Les:

In pursuance of our telephone conversation, I am sending you the following information which I have received from McConaughy.

He sent me the total ward 5 vote for the first primary, of which the sample we used was from Ward 5 box 1. There are four boxes in this ward which are as follow: Ward 5 box 1 Hollings 108, Johnston 61, Russell 297, total 466; ward 5 box 2, Hollings 48, Johnson 71, Russell 36, total 155; ward 5 box 3, Hollings 41, Johnston 67, Russell 67, total 175; ward 5 box 4, Hollings 48, Johnston 23, Russell 110, total 181. This is, of course, for Greenville.

Now I know you want our opinion on questions 33, 34, 35, and 37. I phoned Dr. McConaughy, and he spent all afternoon figuring this. There is no great difference between questions 35 and 37. The difference is probably caused by the fact that some in question 35 who said they voted for a certain candidate gave no answer in question 37. If this hypothesis is true, then the figures in question 35 should be used and that would make questions 32 and 34 valid for use.

The total voting in answer to question 35 is 304. In answer to question 37, it is 281. The percentage voting out of the total sample of 530 is 57.35 per cent according to question 35 and 53.01 per cent according to question 37. This is a difference of 4.34 per cent in percentage voting according to the two questions...a small difference, and from talking to people here, I understand that such errors are commonplace and don't amount to much. The difference may be ignored.

As for these other questions, I would go ahead and use them as being perfectly reliable. We believe our figures accurate & reliable.

Crossley and Perry published an xxxxx article in Public Opinion Quarterly on so-called response error...I believe during the recent war. I haven't read it, but I understand it supports the above opinion.

I hope this explanation is satisfactory.

Yours very truly,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

June 30, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Dear Les:

I gather from John's figures, received today, that the Greenville Negro vote in the first gubernatorial primary was 73 out of 101, with 14 no answers.

It is difficult in explaining the difference between questions 35 and 37, for we did get different answers to identical questions. The difference in those voting is 23 and in those not voting is 79. I'm enclosing the handwritten tables that John sent, and obviously the main difference occurs in Greenville and Columbia. John is inclined to think that the difference is caused by more of those who didn't vote answering NA in question 35 than 37. More of those who voted would have to have answered NA in question 37 than in question 35. But they may not have told the truth. We both would advise following the results in question 37 than the other as more accurate because there are a smaller number of NAs.

Re the sample, it was a random sample of 101, distributed equally throughout the ward. Only those over 21 were interviewed, ~~eligible to vote,~~ male and female about equally, if possible. Only one person in each household was interviewed, and, I stressed the necessity of interviewing those eligible to vote in the mechanical sense of those who "ought to vote". NAs meant that they refused to answer, or didn't know.

I trust that this clears matters up for you. My best wishes.

Sincerely yours,
John H. Gauntlett
John H. Gauntlett

P.S. The natural tendency would be to interview the head of the household, but since the interviewing was often done during the day, the lady of the house or relative was frequently the respondent. I also stressed the necessity of interviewing some at night or on weekends so as to even up the men and women respondents.

1958 Gubernatorial Primary Greenville

Greenville 1st Primary

NA = 14
Russell = 48
Johnston = 15
Hollings = 10
I can't vote = 14

Total 101

Totals – N

Question 35

Greenville NA = 34
Russell = 45
Hollings = 11
I can't vote 11

Total 101

Spartanburg

NA = 38
Russell = 26
Hollings = 17
I can't vote = 12

Total 93

Question 37
Greenville

NA = 30
Yes = 47
No = 24

Total = 101

NA = 23
Yes = 41
No = 29

Total = 93

35
Charleston
n A = ~~30~~ 30
Russell = 11
Hollings = 55
I don't vote = 2

Total 98

37
n A = 16
yes = 62
no = 20

Total 98

Darlington

n A = 35
Russelll = 23
Hollings = 30
I don't vote = 10
Total 98

n A = 26
yes = 53
no = 19

Total 98

Columbia

n A = 46
Russell = 74
Hollings = 12
I don't vote = 8

Total 140

n A = 32
yes = 78
no = 30
Total 140

Totals

35

NA = 183
Russell = 179
Hollings = 125
Didn't Vote = 43

Total 530

Total vote

Russell = 179
Hollings 125

Total = 304

37

NA = 127
Yes = 281
No = 122
Total = 530

Voting

35 = 304
37 = 281

Difference = 23

Not Voting

37 = 122
35 = 43

Difference = 79

c

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **LESLIE DUNBAR**

H	J	R	T
108	61	297	466
48	71	36	155
41	67	67	175
48	23	110	181
245	222	510	977

245
222
510
977

July 21, 1959

Mr. John H. Cauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear John:

I well realize the pressures you are under, and therefore dislike having to interrupt your exam preparation with continual questioning. I believe you can end my bothersome inquiries by a careful reply to this one.

For your convenience, there is enclosed a copy of the table sent by you on May 13, and giving the Negro vote in the 1958 primaries. The Greenville figure for the first primary was, as you can see, missing. After some correspondence, you have now sent me some figures in your letter of July 18. When the votes for Ward 5, Box 1 are added, the sum is 466. This is the same as the total vote shown in your table ?

Is 466 the total vote or the Negro vote? If it is the total vote, can we get the Negro vote? If it is the Negro vote, can we get the total vote, though this is not as important ?

In case this question has to be referred to Prof. McConaughy, I am enclosing an extra copy of this letter, which you may send to him, so that he may know just what it is we lack.

The statement in your letter of July 18 regarding the problem of Questions 32, 33, 35 and 37 is most satisfactory, and gives us the re-assurance we need. I hope you will convey our thanks to Dr. McConaughy for his time and patience in advising you and us on this.

In reply to my request for a short, printable description of your sample you wrote on June 22 that, "The random sample method was used so as to cover the whole ward." In your letter of June 30 you wrote, "It was a random sample of 101, distributed equally throughout the ward." In this letter of July 18, you write, re Greenville, "the sample we used was from Ward 5, Box 1."

Was the sample you interviewed in Greenville distributed throughout the ward? If not, was the sample interviewed in any of the other cities confined to one precinct or a ward (I note, for instance, that your voting figures for Spartanburg are for Ward 1, Box 1, whereas for Charleston, Darlington and Columbia they are for the entire wards.)

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosures: cc for Dr. McConaughy
2 thermafax copies, voting figures

Wednesday, July 22, 1959

360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

Here is your answer to that of the 21st.

In every ward, we interviewed only Negroes, although in some there were a few Whites living along some streets. The approximate percentages of Negroes are: Darlington 100%; Charleston ~~95%~~; 100%. Columbia 95%; Spartanburg 95%; Greenville 85%. However, Ward 5, Box 1 was approximately 95% Negro. Spartanburg I would say Ward 1, Box 1, about 95% Negro. These are the best figures we have, although we don't know their absolute accuracy, but for your calculations, that slight amount won't make any difference.

The figures, such as 466 are total vote for the ~~Ward and~~ Box, elsewhere ward. There are probably no White votes in this, but that's the flat figure and there might be 5% White, but this is a very small amount. It was impossible to separate the Negro from White, although we tried.

No, the sample in Greenville (and Spartanburg) was just in that place Box, not the whole ward. But our SAMPLES AND voting figures elsewhere, include the entire ward. Elsewhere, we took the Box because it was large and almost entirely Negro.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jack

P.S. Will keep the tables for future reference or use.
Precincts called boxes.

July 24, 1959

Mr. John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear John:

I have your letter of July 22nd and it obviously uncovers more questions than it answers.

You tell me that 95% of the voters in the Greenville precinct are Negro and yet your own figures for the run-off primary show a total vote of 427 - Negro, 190 (look at your table which I reproduced and enclosed in my last letter). I never before before understood your hand-written inserts on the table and largely disregarded them. Now, with your letter of July 22nd, I can neither understand them nor disregard them. You say, for instance, that Ward 9 of Charleston is approximately 100% Negro, though your figures show in both primaries a total vote well in excess of Negro vote. You tell me in your letter that Spartenburg Ward 1, Box 1 is 95% Negro and yet your own figures show a total vote here well exceeding the Negro registration. Etc.

Unless you can take time to work up a new table which will not contain these obvious inconsistencies, I must conclude that your data on actual Negro voting and registration is unreliable and that we cannot use it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

August 11, 1959

Mr. John Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, S. C.

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of August 5 and for the corrections of earlier data that it contains.

You asked for my comments on the advisability of your remaining in Columbia to assist Dr. McConaughy with an article on Negro voting, according to our original agreement. I do not encourage you to do it. I believe that it would be best all around to terminate our project at this point. That would mean that you would forego the remaining $50.00 which we had agreed to pay and that you would be under no further obligation to us. There is enclosed a final check for expenses in the amount of $17.65.

I am, of course, dismayed and chagrined that you did not have, as you indicated in your Atlanta visit you did have, statistics on actual Negro voting. I may at some time get out all of your data and see if I cannot work out of it some sort of report--perhaps one that could be offered to New South. But for the time being we are using none of it in our voting survey, which has now gone to press.

I know that you have recently had disappointments that cut hard, and I am sorry if we must add to them. I am, however, glad that we had the oppostunity to meet, and I hope our pathes will cross again.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enc. - check, $17.65

Mr. Gauntlett

Dear John:

Thank you for your letter of August 5 and for the corrections of earlier data that it contains.

You asked for my comments on the advisability of your remaining in Columbia to assist Dr. McConnaghy with an article on Negro voting, according to our original agreement. I do not encourage you to do it. I believe that it would be best all around to terminate ~~the~~ at this point our project. That would mean that you would ~~forge~~ forego the remaining $50.00 which we had agreed to pay and that you would be under no further obligation to us. There is enclosed a final check for expenses in the amount of $1265

I am, of course, ~~disappointed~~ dismayed and chagrined that you did not have, as you indicated in your Atlanta visit ~~that~~ you did have, statistics on actual Negro voting. I may at some time get out all of your data and see if I cannot work out of it some sort of report--perhaps ~~from~~ one that could be offered to New South. But for the time being we are using none of it in our voting survey, which has now gone to press.

I know that you have recently had disappointments that cut hard, & I am sorry if we must add to them. ~~You [illegible]~~ I am, however, glad that we had the opportunity to meet, & I hope our paths will cross again.

With best wishes,

University of South Carolina
COLUMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

August 5, 1959

John H. Gauntlett

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is in reply to yours of the 24th. I have investigated the figures which I gave you in my last letter and find that the total vote includes both White and Negro vote for each place.

The percentages that I had written in below Total Negro registration were inaccurate and were in each case percentages of Negroes out of total population in the Ward, or Ward and Box as the case might be. I would like to give you the percentages of total registration in each case which is Negro. They are as follows, and will give you a better idea of the number that were registered who voted:

Charleston: 83 per cent of total registration is Negro.

Greenville: Approximately 25 per cent of Ward 5, Box 1 registration is Negro.

Spartanburg: Approximately 35 per cent of Ward 1, Box 1 registration is Negro.

Darlington: Approximately 100 per cent of registration is Negro.

Columbia: Approximately 90 per cent of registration is Negro.

I believe that this clears up inconsistencies which you correctly pointed out in your last letter.

I will be here through the eighth of August, should you desire more information. I then plan to go to Washington for awhile, where my address will be: c/o C.V. Imlay, Colorado Bldg., Washington 4, D.C. I have decided not to return to school at Chapel Hill, and will most probably seek a job in September. We will still try to get you an article having to do with Negro voting behavior, but whether I should remain here to assist Dr. McConaughy with it is doubtful because I should seek employment. You might comment on this.

My regards to you.

Sincerely,
John H. Gauntlett
John H. Gauntlett

P.S. Have enclosed an expense sheet.

July 28, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
360 Tenney Circle
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

So much has happened to me recently, that I have been a good deal "up in the air", so to speak. I received your letter of July 24 only today, and don't know off hand how we should interpret the percentage figures I gave you with the figures for total Negro vote. I am going down to Columbia S.C. in a few days, and I will look into some of our other material and give you a full explanation of the discrepency.

My orals did not go so well, so I plan to leave Chapel Hill. I can be reached for the next week, anyhow, at: c/o John B. McConaughy, 2829 Dubard Street, Columbia, S.C. I have got to decide what I am going to do, and this presents problems. First, I plan to leave for a few days in the mountains, and then will spend a few days at Columbia, S.C. I will then go to Washington, D.C. for awhile, and then will return to Columbia, S.C. around August 15th. I will keep you notified.

My guess is that the Whites voted more than the Negroes, but I'll first have to figure out if these figures are what you think they mean....total Negro and White vote.

My regards to you, and I will be in touch with you shortly,

Sincerely yours,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

JHG:jg

August 14, 1959

John H. Gauntlett
c/o Political Science Dept.
Univ. of South Carolina
Columbia, S.C.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file

Dear Leslie:

Your letter of August 11 reached me in Washington, D.C. today, and I'm glad I've cleared up the misunderstandings of the data which we gave you.

Our article entitled, "A Comparison of White-Negro Attitudes and Voting Behavior in South Carolina" is now virtually done, except for a few changes to simplify our tables. We have not yet heard from Harold Lasswell, but are anxious to get our copy into the American Political Science Review for early publication.

I'm anxious to see the article that Margaret Price and you are doing in the New South, and hope that you can utilize the material sent to you in the near future.

Concerning the chagrin you experienced in not having the Negro voting in the wards, I must apologize for my optimism. Of course, you now have it for Darlington which has about 100 per cent Negroes in ward 4. I hope the percentage of Negro registrations are of some help.

I will be leaving in a few days for Columbia, S.C. to collaborate with John McConaughy on an article on Negro voting behavior in South Carolina. Just before leaving Columbia, we learned that we may receive a grant of money for research. Although it is only a modest sum in comparison to other grants, it is a help. Since I am now going ahead in any case, you might like to have the article which we had originally planned, and I would benefit by the $50. plus a bit of expense money. Frankly, I could not guarantee the Nov. 1 deadline, but would see that you received the article as soon as it is complete. You might consider this to your advantage.

So, I hope that you will reconsider your decision. In any case, I send you my best wishes and kindest regards.

Very sincerely,

John H. Gauntlett

John H. Gauntlett

P.S. I received your check, $17.65.

8-28-61
sent: MA

Judy → K

Jessie O. Thomas
"Ga's Divided"
Education
(25)

524-1829 —

220 Griffin St.
N.W.

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

✓ Column 5--Question 1A

Race	No.	%
0--White		
1--Negro		
2--Other		
Total		

Column 6--Question 1B

Sex	No.	%
0--Male		
1--Female		
Total		

Column 7--Question 2

Age	No.	%
0--No Answer		
1--21-29		
2--30-39		
3--40-49		
4--50-59		
5--60-69		
6--70-79		
7--80 and Over		
Total		

Column 8--Question 3

Marital Status	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Married		
2--Single, Separated Divorced		
Total		

Column 9--Question 4

Children	No.	%
0--NA		
1--None		
2--1		
3--2		
4--3		
5--4		
6--5		
7--6		
8--7		
9--8		
10--9		
X--10 over		
Total		

✓ Column 10--Question 5

Education	No.	%
0--NA		
1--None		
2--1-4		
3--5-8		
4--9-10		
5--11-12		
6--College, 1-2		
7--College, 3-4		
8--Post Graduate, 1 year		
9--Post Graduate, 2-4 year		
R--Post Graduate, 5 yrs. or over		
Total		

Column 11--Question 6

Religion	No.	%
0--NA		
1--None		
2--Lutheran		
3--Methodist		
4--Baptist		
5--Presbyterian		
6--Episcopalian		
7--Catholic		
8--Jewish		
9--Other		
R--Protestant		
Total		

Column 12--Question 7

Church Attendance	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Regularly		
2--Often		
3--Seldom		
4--Never		
Total		

Column 13--Question 8

Residence	No.	%
0--NA		
1--City in South Carolina		
2--City in South		
3--City in North		
Total		

Column 14--Question 9

Residence Time	No.	%
0--Less than one yr.		
1--One to two yrs.		
2--3-5 yrs.		
3--6-10 yrs.		
4--11-15 yrs.		
5--16--20 yrs.		
6--Over 20 yrs.		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

✓ Column 15--Question 10

Registration	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

✓ Column 16--Question 11

Family Income	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Under $1,000.		
2--$1,000-1,999.		
3--$2,000-2,999.		
4--$3,000-3,999.		
5--$4,000-4,999.		
6--$5,000-7,499.		
7--$7,500-9,999.		
8--$10,000 & over		
Total		

✓ Column 17--Question 12

Regular Occupation	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Unemployed		
2--Retired		
3--Skilled Labor		
4--Unskilled Labor		
5--Professional		
6--Agricultural Worker		
7--Housewife		
8--Clerical		
9--Small Business		
Total		

✓ Column 18--Question 14

Union Member	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Column 19--Question 15A

Newspaper Reader Regularly	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Columns 20-22--Question 15B

Newspapers Read	No.	%
0--Local (In State)		
1--Out of State		
2--Negro		
Total		

Column 23--Question 16A

Magazine Reader	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Column 24--Question 16B

News	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes (Time, Newsweek, U. S. News)		
Total		

Column 25--Question 16B

Negro	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes (Jet, Ebony)		
Total		

Column 26--Question 16B

Picture	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes (Life, Look, Ebony)		
Total		

Column 27--Question 16B

General	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes (Post, Readers Digest)		
Total		

Column 28--Question 17

T. V. Set	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Column 29--Question 18

T. V. Viewers	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Often		
2--Occasionally (At least once a week)		
3--Rarely or never		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

Column 30--Question 19 Radio Listeners	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Often		
2--Occasionally		
3--Rarely or Never		
Total		

✓

Column 31--Question 20 Own or Rent	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Rent		
2--Own		
3--Living with Relatives		
4--Boarding		
5--Other		
Total		

Column 32--Question 21 Own Telephone	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Column 33--Question 22 Organization Membership	No.	%
0--NA		
1--None		
2--Religious		
3--Social		
4--Business		
5--Political		
6--Other		
Total		

Columns 34-35--Question 23 Most Constructive Organization	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Order of American Mechanics		
02--Garden Club		
03--Salvation Army		
04--Junior Chamber of Commerce		
05--Lions		
06--Charity Groups		
07--Chamber of Commerce		
08--League of Women Voters		
09--Teachers Council		
10--County Delegation		
11--City Council		
12--Church		
13--Recreation Association		
14--Eastern Star		
15--YMCA-YWCA		
16--NAACP		
17--Fraternity		
18--Shriners		
19--Masons		
20--Community Council		

Continued--Question 23 Most Constructive Organization	No.	%
21--Phyllis Wheatley		
22--Women's Council		
23--Ministerial Alliance		
24--Progressive Democrats		
25--Men's League		
26--Palmetto Voters Assoc.		
27--P. T. A.		
28--Board of Health		
29--Voters' League		
30-- League of Women Voters		
31-- Negro Citizens Committee		
32-- Civitan		
33-- Ku Klux Klan		
34-- Elks		
35--Labor Union		
Total		

Column 36--Question 24 Community Activities	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Very Active		
2--Somewhat Active		
3--Somewhat Inactive		
4--Very Inactive		
Total		

Column 37--Question 25 Opinion of City	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Excellent		
2--Very Good		
3--Good		
4--Not Very Good		
5--Poor		
Total		

Column 38--Question 26 Party Orientation	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Republican		
2--Democrat		
3--Independent		
Total		

Column 39--Question 26A Degree of Membership	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Strong Democrat		
2--Not Very Strong Democrat		
3--Not Very Strong Republican		
4--Strong Republican		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

Column 40--Question 26B Switched Parties	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Column 41--Question 26C Orientation if Independent	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Closer to Republican		
2--Closer to Democrat		
3--No, Neither		
Total		

Column 42--Question 26D Independent's Previous Affiliation	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Republican		
2--Democrat		
3--None		
Total		

Column 43--Question 27A 1956 Presidential Vote	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Ike		
2--Adlai		
3--Didn't Vote		
Total		

Column 44--Question 27B Why Voted As Such in 1956	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Preferred Candidate		
2--Disliked other Candidate		
Total		

Columns 45-46--Question 27C Precise Reason for 1956 Preference	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Best Man		
02--Disliked Stevenson		
03--Better for South		
04--Broad mined, Scholarly		
05--Party's Choice		
06--Opposed to Truman		
07--Would Improve Things		
08--Strong Leader		
09--His Platform		
10--For all the People		
11--Liked His Methods		
12--Wanted a Change		
13--Military Record		
14--He Helped the Negro		
15--Liked Plentiful Money		
16--Liked His Speeches		
17--Stronger on Civil Rights		

Continued--Question 27C Precise Reason for 1956 Preference	No.	%
18--Liked His Previous Record		
19--Felt He Would Win		
20--Liked His Personality		
21--His Knowledge of World Affairs		
22--Man of Integrity		
23--Carry on Roosevelt's Program		
24--More Liberal		
25--Favored Laboring Class		
26--Influenced by Friend		
27--Opposed to Ike		
28--Opposed to Republican Policies		
29--Liked Ike		
30--Choose Good Assistants		
31--Helped Unemployed		
Total		

Column 47--Question 28A 1952 Presidential Vote	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Ike		
2--Adlai		
3--Other		
4--Didn't Vote		
Total		

Column 48--Question 28B Why Voted As Such in 1952	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Preferred Candidate		
2--Disliked other Candidate		
Total		

Column 49-50--Question 28C Recise Reason for 1952 Preference	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Felt Him Best Man		
02--Broad Minded, Scholarly		
03--Military Record		
04--Popularity		
05--Against Truman		
06--Party's Choice		
07--Strong Leader		
08--His Platform		
09--Liked His Talks		
10--Made Many Home Loans		
11--He Favored the Negro		
12--Stronger on Civil Rights		
13--Was Sought by both Major Parties		
14--Felt He Would Win		
15--Need For A Change		
16--Liked His Personality		
17--Man of Integrity		
18--His Knowledge of World Affairs		
19--Appealed to Common Man		
20--Because of Korea		
21--Opposed to Byrnes		
22--Make Money More Plentiful		
23--Disliked Other Candidates		
24--Influenced by Family		
25--Stronger for States Rights		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

Continued--Question 28C

Precise Reason for 1952 Preference	No.	%
26--Opposed to Republican Policies		
27--Good Background		
28--Opposed to Ike		
29--Better for the South		
30--Didn't Think His Health Would Hold Up		
Total		

Column 51--Question 29A

1948 Presidential Vote	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Truman		
2--Dewey		
3--Wallace		
4--Thurmand		
5--Didn't Vote		
6--Other		
Total		

Column 52--Question 29B

Why Voted As Such in 1948	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Preferred Candidate		
2--Disliked Other Candidate		
Total		

Column 53-54--Question 29C

Precise Reason for 1948 Preference	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Best Man		
02--Better for South		
03--Associated with F. D. R.		
04--Party's Choice		
05--From South Carolina		
06--Liked Him		
07--Disliked Truman		
08--Lesser Evil		
09--Appealed to Common Man		
10--Liked Platform		
11--Good Foreign Policy		
12--Civil Rights Plank		
13--Housing		
14--Feared Depression		
15--Previous Experience		
16--Better Race Relations		
17--Better For Negros		
18--Time for a Change		
19--Good Leader		
20--Man of Integrity		
21--Disliked other Candidates		
22--States Rights		
Total		

✓ Column 55--Question 30A

Registration for 1958	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Columns 56-57--Question 30B

✓ Why Didn't Register in 1958	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Don't Know		
02--Not Interested		
03--Poor Health		
04--Couldn't get off Work		
05--Not Well Enough Informed		
06--Insufficient Residence		
07--No Transportation		
08--Too Old		
09--Too Young		
10--Too Tired After Work		
11--Didn't Take Time		
12--Can't Read		
13--Was Away		
Total		

Column 58--Question 31

For Which Party in 1960	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Democratic		
2--Republican		
3--Don't Plan to Vote		
Total		

✓ Column 59--Question 32

For in First Primary in 1954	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Bates		
2--Timmerman		
3--Didn't Vote		
Total		

✓ Column 60--Question 33

For in First Primary in 1958	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Russell		
2--Johnston		
3--Hollings		
4--Didn't Vote		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

✓Columns 61-62--Question 34 Reason for in First 1958 Primary	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Hollings has open Countenance		
02--Not so Rich as Russell		
03--Family Man		
04--No Good Opposition		
05--Experienced in State Government		
06--Would Bring Business to State		
07--Kiked Him Best Greenville		
08--Knew Family		
✓09--Best of Two Evils 2 2 1 2 4		
10--Has Common Sense		
11--President of U. S. C.		
12--Helped Boys Get Education		
13--More Mature		
14--Liked His Stand		
15--Better Qualified Spartanburg Columbia Charleston		
16--Because of His Youth		
17--Ambitious		
18--Better Educated		
19--Devoted Man		
20--Straight Politician		
21--Good Man for Job		
22--Stand Against Barnwell Ring		
23--Stand Against Whiskey		
✓24--Stronger for Segregation		
✓25--Weaker on Segregation 5 1 2 3 0		
✓26--More Liberal 3 0 5 1 2		
27--Because of His Record		
28--Liked His Speeches		
29--Previous Experience Darlington		
✓30--Better Understanding of People		
31--More Honest		
32--Personal Contact		
✓33--Would Help Negro Race 1 0 5 0 4		
34--Appeals to Common Man		
35--Party Candidate		
36--Didn't Like Other's Personality		
✓37--Megroes Supported Him 0 0 1 1 2		
38--More Intellignet		
39--Better for Business in State		
40--Duty as Citizen		
41--Good Leader		
42--Less of a Politician		
43--Church Man		
44--Wide Contacts		
45--Liked Olin D.		
46--Friend to Working People		
47--Heard More About Him		
48--Husband's Choice		
49--Would Help My City		
Total		

✓Column 63--Question 35 For in 1958 Run-Off	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Russell		
2--Hollings		
3--Didn't Vote		
Total		

✓Columns 64-65--Question 36 Reason for in 1958 Run-Off	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Hollings has Open Countenance		
02--Not so Rich as Russell		
03--Family Man		
04--No Good Opposition		
05--Experienced in State Government		
06--Would Bring Business to State		
07--Liked Him Best		
08--Knew Family		
09--Best of Two Evils		
10--Has Common Sense		
11--President of U. S. C.		
12--Helped Boys Get Education		
13--More Mature		
14--Liked His Stand		
15--Better Qualified		
16--Because of His Youth		
17--Ambitious		
18--Better Educated		
19--Devoted Man		
20--Straight Politician		
21--Good Man for Job		
22--Stand Against Barnwell Ring		
23--Stand Against Whiskey		
24--Stronger for Segregation		
25--Better for Negro		
26--Opposed to Dry State		
27--More Intelligent		
28--Liked His Speeches		
29--Previous Experience		
30--Better Understanding of People		
31--More Honest		
32--Weaker on Segregation		
33--Personal Contact		
34--More Liberal		
35--Less of a Politician		
36--Hollings Member KKK		
37--Against Mudslinging		
38--Party Candidate		
39--More Dignified		
40--Away from City		
41--Better for Business In State		
42--Wide Contacts		
43--Potential Senator		
44--Didn't Like Other's Personality		
45--Knew He Would Win		
46--Husbands Choice		
47--Would Help My City		
48--Heard More About Him		
Total		

✓Column 66--Question 37 Did Vote in 1958 Run-Off	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ______________

✓Columns 67-68--Question 38
✓Why Did or Did Not Vote Run-Off No. %
00--NA
01--Wanted to See Candidate Elected 4 12 328
02--Always Vote
03--Poor TV Appearance
04--Couldn't Get Off Work 2 0 1 0 1
05--Not Registered 0 15 2 5 4
06--Couldn't Make Up Mind
07--Poor Health
08--Against Mudslinging
09--Not Interested 0 2 2 3 4
10--Wanted to Make My Vote Count 2 0 0 5 1 9
11--Out of Town
12--Duty as Citizen 8 3 1 8 1 2 0
13--No Choice 1 0 1 5 1 3
14--Was My Right to Vote
15--Lost Registration Certificate
16--Interested in Good Government
17--Help Negroes
18--Counteract Negro Vote
19--Disappointed in Statements Before Last Election
20--Wouldn't Do Me Any Good
21--Let Off From Work
22--Influenced by Friends

Total

Column 69--Question 39
Influenced Vote in 1st 1958 Primary No. %
0--NA
1--No One
2--My Associates
3--My Party
4--My Friends
5--Personal Contact
6--Palmetto Voters Assoc.
7--Family
8--Platform
9--My Boss
R--Union

Total

Column 70--Question 40
Influenced Vote in 1958 Run-Off No. %
0--NA
1--No One
2--My Associates
3--My Party
4--Friends
5--Russell
6--Platform
7--Family
8--My Boss

Total

Column 71-74--Question 41
Order of Importance in Influencing Gubernatorial Vote No. %
00--NA
71--Newspaper
72--Radio
73--Television
74--Meetings

Total

✓Column 75--Question 42
Did Vote for Negro Candidate for Legislature (Richland and Charleston Counties) No. %
0--NA
1--Yes
2--No

Total

✓Columns 76-77--Question 43A
Why Voted for Negro Candidate No. %
00--NA
01--To Be Well Represented
02--Knew Him
03--Because He is a Negro
04--Negroes Are Citizens
05--Good Leader
06--Would Help Negro
07--For a Better Democracy
08--His Educational Background
09--Because He Was Qualified
10--Religious Man
11--Influenced by Another Person
12--Personal Contact
13--Liked Speeches
14--Followed Spouse's Vote
15--Best Candidate
16--Platform

Total

✓Columns 78-79--Question 43B
✓Why Did Not Vote for Negro Candidate No. %
00-NA
01--Did Not Know Them
02--Hold Grudges Against Whites
03--Don't Think Negroes Should Hold Office
04--Don't Like Them
05--Don't Think Negroes "Up To It" yet
06--Not Best Man
07--I am White
08--Negro Misrule after Civil War
09--Opposed to Integration
10--Not Registered
11--Could Not Be Elected
12--Out of City
(Cont. Next Page)

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ______________

Columns 78-79--Question 43B
Continued

Why Did Not Vote for Negro Candidate	No.	%
13--No Confidence		
14--Might Take Over		
15--Not Educated		
16--Not Interested in Negro		
17--Would Not Represent Me		
18--Did Not Represent the Race		
19--Sick		
Total		

Column 80--Question 44A

Have Heard of Negro Voters' Association in S. C.	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Card Two Next

Question 44A
Column 32

Have Heard of Political Assocs. In South Carolina	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Question 44B
Columns 33-48

Which Political Associations	No.	%
33--Progressive Democrats		
34--Palmetto State Voters Assoc.		
35--PAC		
36--Lincoln Emancipation Club		
37--Core		
38--State Democratic Party		
39--State Republican Party		
40--White Citizens Councils		
41--CIO-PAC		
42--KKK		
43--NAACP		
44--ADA		
45--Barnwell Ring		
46--Young Democrats		
47--Other		
48--NA		
Total		

Question 45
Column 49

Phone Call or Talked to By Organization Member	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Question 46A
Column 50

Wish to Specify	No.	%
0--NA		
1--State Democratic Party		
2--State Republican Party		
3--Progressive Democrats		
4--Palmetto State Voters Assoc.		
5--Core		
6--White Citizens Councils		
7--CIO-PAC		
8--Barnwell Ring		
9--KKK		
R--NAACP		
X--Other		
Total		

Question 46B
Column 51

Influence by Organization	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Usually vote for organization supported candidates		
2--Always vote for organization supported candidates		
3--Usually vote against organization supported candidates		
4--Makes no difference		
5--Never know the names of candidates supported by any organization		
Total		

Question 47A
Column 52

Vote for Lieutenant Governor	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Maybank		
2--Sims		
3--Watson		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ____________

Question 47B
Columns 53-54

Why Voted For Lieutenant Governor	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Political Advertisement		
02--Liked His Father's Record		
03--Personal Acquaintance		
04--Better Qualified		
05--From Same City		
06--Religion		
07--Worked for Teachers		
08--Knew Family		
09--Because of Army Record		
10--Best Candidate		
11--Lesser of Two Evils		
12--Past Record		
13--After Reading News		
14--Influenced by Friends		
15--Better for Negroes		
16--More Honest		
17--Disliked Other Candidates		
18--More Experienced		
19--Platform		
20--Thought He Would Win		
21--More Liberal		
22--Heard More About Him		
23--My Husband Influenced Me		
24--Best Speaker		
25--Didn't Know Anything About Others		
26--Name on List		
27--It Didn't Seem Like An Important Office		
28--Husband's Choice		
Total		

Question 51A
Column 55

Receive Political Literature	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Question 51B
Column 56-60

For Which Candidate	No.	%
56--NA		
57--Hollings		
58--Russell		
59--Johnston		
60--Others		
Total		

✓ Question 52
Column 61

For Negroes to Run For Legislature	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

✓ Question 53
Column 62-63

Why Or Why Not	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Don't Believe in Mixing Races		
02--Provided are Qualified		
03--To Keep Whites Alert		
04--Don't Think Negroes Should Hold Offices		
05--Negroes Hold Grudges		
06--Don't Like Negroes		
07--Negroes As Good As Whites		
08--Negroes Deserve Representation		
09--Negroes Not Educated Enough		
10--Negroes Not Equal to Whites		
11--Negroes Will Take Over		
12--Need To Run Africa		
13--Negroes Big Headed		
14--Not Time Yet		
15--They Would Help Negroes		
16--They Need to Grow Strong		
17--Can Better Lead Their People		
18--Couldn't Win		
19--Make Country or State Better		
20--Negroes are Citizens		
21--Negroes Could Know More About Government		
22--Because They Understand All People		
23--To Get Better Jobs for Negroes		
24--Better Race Relations		
25--Could Win		
26--Separate Representation		
27--Not Qualified		
28--Not Customary		
29--Racial Friction		
30--Makes Them Feel Equal		
31--Would Demonstrate Futility of Their Running		
32--Doesn't Matter		
33--So North Will Think They Have Liberty		
34--Soner or Later Will Get Office		
35--Doesn't Concern Me		
Total		

✓ Question 54A
Column 64

For Negroes to Run For City Council	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Yes		
2--No		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ______________

✓Question 54B
Columns 65-66

Why or Why Not City Council	No.	%
00--NA		
01--Don't Believe in Mixing Races		
02--Provided He is Qualified		
03--Keep Whites Alert		
04--Don't Think Negroes Should Hold Office		
05--Wouldn't Vote For Them		
06--Don't Like Negroes		
07--Why Not?		
08--Negroes Deserve Some Representation		
09--Negroes Should Stay in Place		
10--Might Take Over		
11--Insufficiently Educated		
12--Negroes Hold Grudges		
13--Negroes Big Headed		
14--That Would Help Negroes		
15--Don't Have Any Voice		
16--Not Right Time		
17--Couldn't Win		
18--Make Country or State a Better One		
19--Negroes Are As Good As Whites		
20--Negroes Are Citizens		
21--Negroes Could Learn More About Government		
22--Separate Representation		
23--Not Qualified		
24--Racial Friction		
25--Makes Them Feel Equal		
26--Would Demonstrate Futility of Their Running		
27--So North Will Think They Have Liberty		
28--A Lot of Negroes With Good Ability		
29--Doesn't Concern Me		
Total		

✓Question 55
Column 67

No Say What Government Does	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Agree		
2--Disagreee		
3--Don't Know		
Total		

Question 56
Column 56

Voting Decides How Run	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Agree		
2--Disagree		
3--Don't Know		
Total		

Question 57
Column 69

Very Interested In Political Campaigns	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Very Interested		
2--Somewhat		
3--Not Much		
4--Don't Know		
Total		

✓Question 58
Column 70

Makes Difference Who Won State Election	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Makes Great Deal of Difference		
2--Won't Matter Too Much		
3--Don't Know		
Total		

Question 59A
Column 71

Influences Your Voting Most	No.	%
0--NA		
1--Employer		
2--Co-workers		
3--Family		
4--Friends		
5--Not Influenced		
6--Other		
7--Don't Know		
Total		

Question 59B
Column 72

Employer White or Negro	No.	%
0--NA		
1--White		
2--Negro		
3--Other		
Total		

Question 60
Column 73

Whites More Ambitious Than Negroes	No.	%
0--NA		
1--More Ambitious		
2--Less Ambitious		
3--Same		
4--Don't Know		
Total		

Ward ________ City ________ Nos ____ Classification ________________

Question 61
Columns 74-79

Order of Importance in Preference 1-6	No.	%
(0--NA)		
74--Better City Services		
75--Better Job Opportunities		
76--Lower Taxes		
77--Integrated Schools		
78--Better Housing		
79--Segregated Schools		
Total		

Question 62
Column 80

Favor of Strict Segregation	No.	%
0--NA		
1--All		
2--Most		
3--About Half		
4--Less Than Half		
5--Don't Know		
Total		

SOUTH CAROLINA SURVEY
D
NEGRO

3.	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
1-A	101	93	140	98	98
5.					
0-NA	0	0	4	0	1
NONE	2	4	1	3	0
1-4	13	7	5	9	3
5-8	27	30	17	21	24
9-10	9	17	20	14	24
11-12	21	16	24	26	29
COLLEGE 1-2	6	5	8	5	1
COLLEGE 3-4	18	11	46	17	15
POST-GRAD 1 YR.	8	0	9	1	0
POST-GRAD 2-4 YRS.	1	2	6	2	1
POST-GRAD 5 & OVER	0	1	0	0	0
	101	93	140	98	98
15A.					
NA	0	0	0	3	0
YES	88	75	128	75	87
NO	13	18	12	20	11
	101	93	140	98	98
15B. NEWSPAPERS READ	101 RESPONDENTS	93 RESPONDENTS	140 RESPONDENTS	98 RESPONDENTS	98 RESPONDENTS
LOCAL	70	69	113	70	66
OUT OF STATE	4	5	7	4	13
NEGRO	4	3	0	1	0
DON'T READ					
LOCAL	31	24	27	28	32
OUT OF STATE	97	88	133	94	85
NEGRO	97	90	140	97	98
16A. MAGAZINES READ					
(NA) NO ANSWER	1	4	2	6	1
YES	72	54	112	6	60
NO	28	35	26	36	37
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

NA = NO ANSWER

	GREENVILLE	SPARTANBURG	COLUMBIA	DARLINGTON	CHARLESTON
16 B. NEWS					
NA	91	84	111	86	81
YES	10	9	29	12	17
	101	93	140	98	98
NEGRO					
NA	76	80	118	85	82
YES	25	13	22	13	16
	101	93	140	98	98
PICTURE					
NA	61	60	71	72	63
YES	40	33	69	26	35
	101	93	140	98	98
GENERAL					
NA	81	68	111	71	90
YES	20	25	29	27	8
	101	93	140	98	98
17.					
NA	0	1	1	0	1
YES	89	74	112	79	86
NO	12	18	27	19	11
	101	93	140	98	98
18.					
NA	11	16	20	12	11
OFTEN	55	57	71	59	75
OCCASIONALLY	32	18	40	20	9
RARELY	3	2	9	7	3
	101	93	140	98	98
20.					
NA	2	0	14	10	3
RENT	39	52	63	39	67
OWN	57	39	62	47	25
LIVING WITH RELATIVES	0	1	0	1	3
BOARDING	0	0	0	1	0
OTHER	3	1	1	0	0
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

	GREENVILLE	SPARTANBURG	COLUMBIA	DARLINGTON	CHARLESTON
30-A.					
NA	14	2	4	4	4
YES	78	54	112	80	74
NO	9	37	24	14	20
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
30-B					
00	97	69	126	88	85
01	2	7	7	6	3
02	0	3	1	0	0
03	0	4	1	2	1
04	1	1	0	0	0
05	0	0	0	0	0
06	0	0	0	0	0
07	0	0	1	0	0
08	0	0	0	0	0
09	0	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	2
11	1	7	0	1	5
12	0	1	3	0	0
13	0	1	1	1	2
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
32.					
NA	19	3	5	13	3
BATES	35	31	72	42	24
TIMMERMAN	15	5	4	7	29
DIDN'T VOTE	32	54	59	36	42
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

	GREENVILLE	SPARTANBURG	COLUMBIA	DARLINGTON	CHARLESTON
33.					
NA	14	1	4	9	2
RUSSELL	48	28	52	18	16
JOHNSTON	15	6	37	23	6
HOLLINGS	10	14	4	17	51
DIDN'T VOTE	14	44	43	31	23
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
34.					
00	51	63	72	71	46
01					
02					
03					
04					
05				1	2
06					
07	13	1	4	2	9
08			1		1
09	2	2	1	2	4
10					
11	1	1	3		1
12					
13	1		1		
14	3	3	1	2	4
15	4	5	10	5	10
16	1				
17					
18	4		6		
19					
20					
21		3		1	1

⑤

	GREENVILLE	SPARTANBURG	COLUMBIA	DARLINGTON	CHARLESTON
22					
23					
24					
25	5	1	2	3	
26	3		5	1	2
27	1				
28	6	2	5	2	1
29	2		6	1	2
30	1	1	1		
31	1		1		
32	1	2	2		
33	1		5		4
34		1	4	2	1
35		1	1	2	
36			1	1	
37			1	1	2
38					1
39			1		
40			2		
41			1		
42			1		
43			1		
44			1		
45					
46		1			1
47		1			5
48					
49					1
50		5		1	
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
35.					
NA	34	38	46	35	30
RUSSELL	45	26	74	23	11
HOLLINGS	11	17	12	30	55
DIDN'T VOTE	11	12	08	10	02
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
36.					
00	66	70	78	81	53
01					
02					
03					
04					1
05			1	1	2
06					
07	7	3	5	3	4
08			1		
09	2	2	5	3	3
10					
11	1	1			1
12			1		
13	1				
14	3		1	3	3
15	4	7	11	3	11
16					
17					
18	5		7		
19					
20					
21		3			1
22			1		

⑨

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
23					
24					
25	5				4
26	1				
27	1		1		
28	2	2	3		2
29	1		6	1	
30		2	2	1	2
31	1				1
32	1		3		1
33		1			1
34			5	1	2
35			2		
36			1		
37			1		1
38			1		
39			1		
40					
41			1		
42			2		
43					
44					
45					
46					
47					1
48					4
49		2		1	
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
37.					
NA	30	23	32	26	16
YES	47	41	78	53	62
NO	24	29	30	19	20
	101	93	140	98	98

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
38.					
00	69	54	99	62	38
01	4	12	3	2	8
02					
03					
04	2		1		1
05		15	2	5	4
06					
07		1	2		1
08	1				
09		2	2	3	4
10	2			5	19
11		2	6	4	14
12	8	3	18	12	
13	10	1	5	1	3
14	3	1	1	1	
15	1				
16	1			1	1
17			1	1	
18					
19		1			1
20		1		1	1
21					2
22					1
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
42.					
NA	101	93	42	98	23
YES	0	0	84	0	66
NO	0	0	14	0	9
TOTAL	0	0	140	98	98

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
43-A.					
00	101	93	74	98	39
01			25		16
02			3		1
03			8		10
04			3		1
05			6		3
06			7		4
07			1		1
08			1		1
09			8		14
10					
11			2		
12			1		1
13			1		2
14					1
15					2
16					2
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
43-B					
00	101	93	130	98	84
01					2
02					
03					1
04					1
05			2		
06			1		
07					
08					
09					1

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia ⓒ	Darlington	Charleston
10			3		4
11			2		
12			1		
13			1		1
14					
15					
16					2
17					1
18					
19					1
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
52.					
NA	4	9	15	9	2
YES	88	84	119	82	86
No	9	0	6	7	10
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
53.					
00	19	20	34	29	14
01			5		
02	12	19		5	5
03					
04	1			1	
05					
06					
07	6	3	2	1	8
08	9	10	56	23	29
09					
10	1				
11					
12					
13					

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
14	1		1		
15	15	5	11	10	7
16	1			1	1
17	2		4	1	1
18	3	5	4	2	4
19	2		1	3	3
20	26	21	15	16	13
21	1	2	3	2	
22	1				2
23	1				1
24		1	1		
25		1	1		1
26		4	2	4	5
27					
28					
29		1			2
30					1
31					
32		1			
33					
34					1
35					
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
54-A					
NA	6	10	22	11	6
YES	87	71	114	79	82
NO	8	12	24	8	10
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
54-B					
00	31	24	57	36	23
01					
02	12	16	1	4	4
03					1
04				1	1
05					
06					
07		1		1	
08	6	11	49	17	27
09					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14	16	5	7	13	6
15	2	1	2	1	
16	1		1		
17	3	6		2	2
18	1	2	5	4	4
19	5	2	2	1	4
20	24	21	9	14	15
21			3	1	7
22		4	2	2	
23			1		
24			1		2
25				1	1
26					
27					
28					1
29					
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

	Greenville	Spartanburg	Columbia	Darlington	Charleston
55.					
NA	6	2	9	6	2
AGREE	21	15	30	15	62
DISAGREE	61	58	89	58	17
DON'T KNOW	13	18	12	19	17
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98
58.					
NA	5	0	7	2	0
IT MAKES GREAT DIFFERENCE	57	42	80	44	51
WON'T MATTER	29	39	38	31	38
DON'T KNOW	10	12	15	21	9
TOTAL	101	93	140	98	98

①

4.a.

1-B.

Percentage Male

		x	x^2
Greenville	38.6	13.2	174
Spartanburg	55.	4	16
Columbia	54.26	3	9
Darlington	57	6	36
Charleston	52	1	1
	257 $m = 51,$	27.2	236

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{236}{5}} = 47.2$$
$$= 6.856$$

percentage Registered

		y	x^2	
Greenville	77	3	9	$xy = 39.6$
Spartanburg	58.06	16	256	$xy = 64$
Columbia	80	6	36	$xy = 18$
Darlington	81.6	7.6	57.7	$xy = 45.6$
Charleston	74	0	0	$xy = 0$
	371 $m = 74$	32.6	358.7	167.2

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{358.7}{5}} = \sqrt{71.74} = 8.485$$

$$r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{N \sigma_x \sigma_y}$$

$$r = \frac{\Sigma\, 167.2}{5 \times 6.856 \times 8.485} = \frac{\Sigma\, 167.2}{290} = .576$$

(see next page) (a marked relationship)

236
358.7
84,653.2

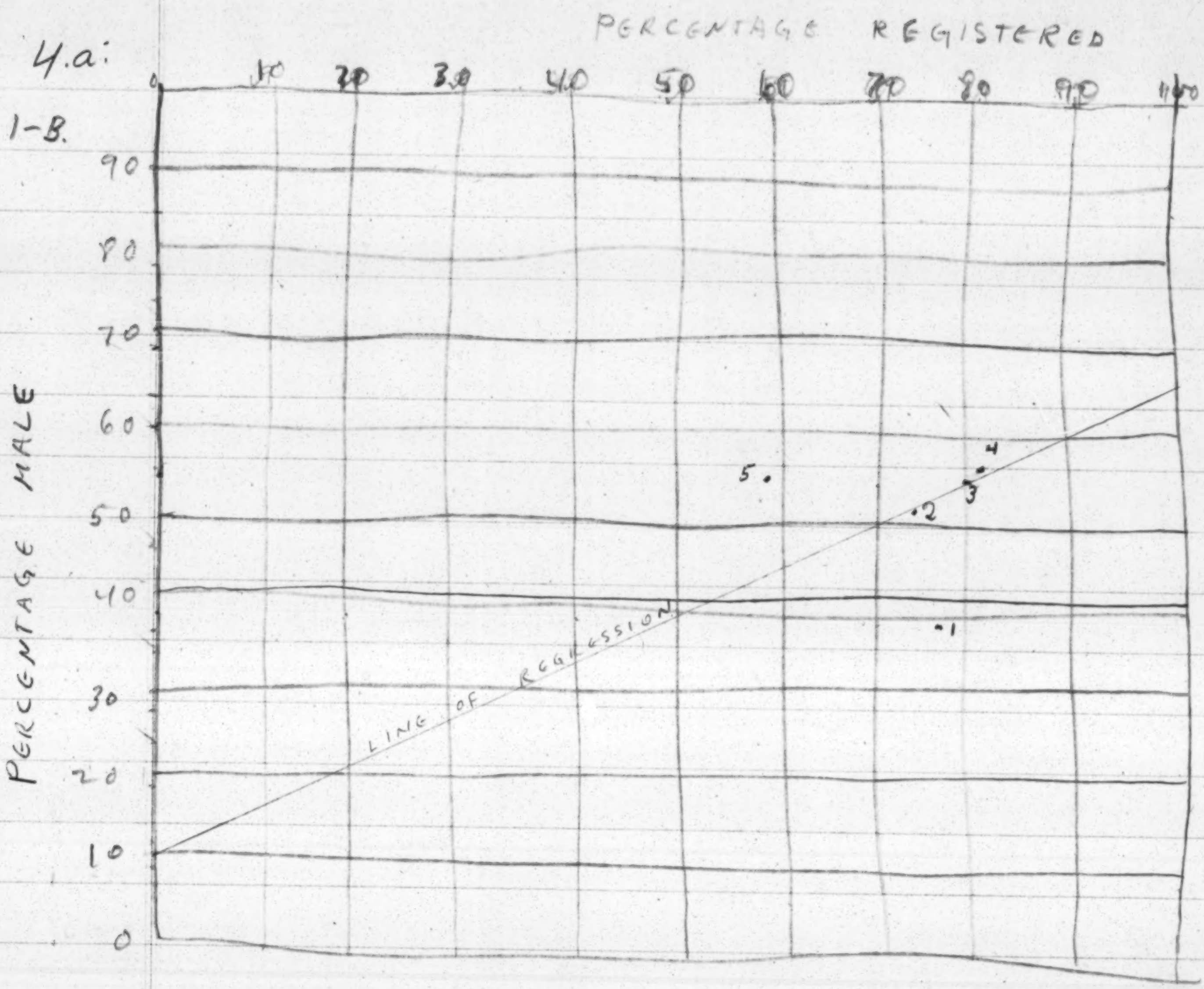
29.086

$$r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 \times \Sigma y^2}}$$

$$r = \frac{167.2}{290.8} =$$

4.a:

1-B.



1 - Greenville
2 - Spartanburg
3 - Columbia
4 - Darlington
5 - Charleston

$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma}{5}}$

σ = standard deviation

$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma x^2}{N}}$

$\sigma = \sqrt{47.2}$

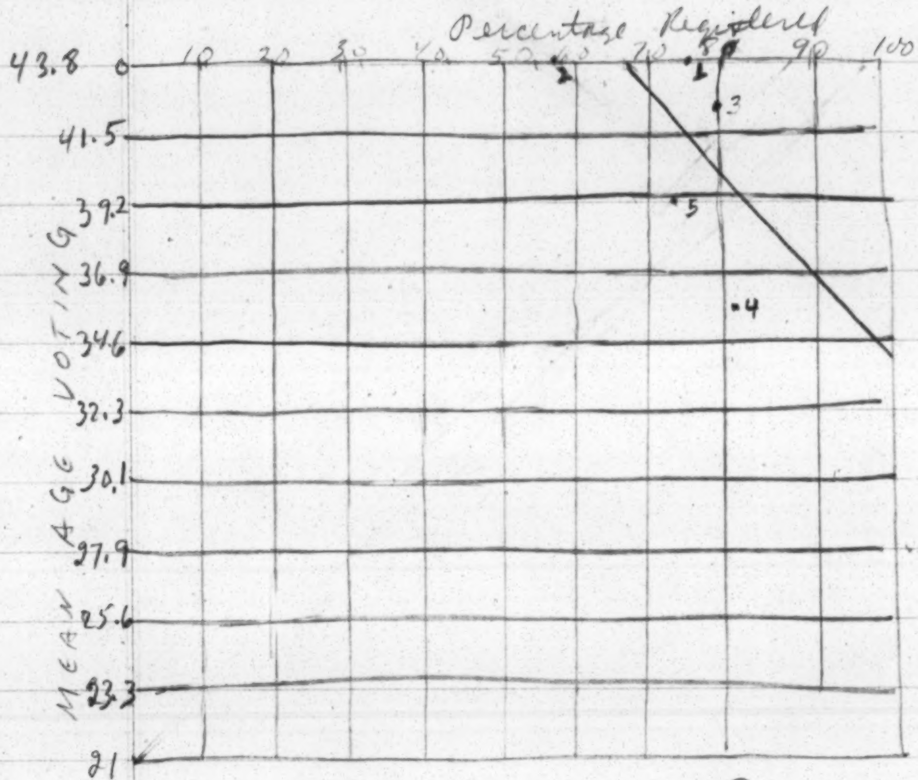
σ 6.856 Percentage Male.

σ 8.485 Percentage Registered

$r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{N \sigma_x \sigma_y}$

$r = .576$ coefficient of correlation (a marked relationship between percentage of males and percentage registered.)

2. 1 Greenville - mean age voting 43.8 yrs.
2 Spartanburg - " " " - 43.9 yrs.
3 Columbia - " " " 42.16 yrs.
4 Darlington - " " " 36. yrs
5 Charleston - " " " 39 yrs



X = percentage registered voters
Y = mean age (by ward)
x = diff. from mean
y = diff. from mean

Formula $r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 \times \Sigma y^2}}$

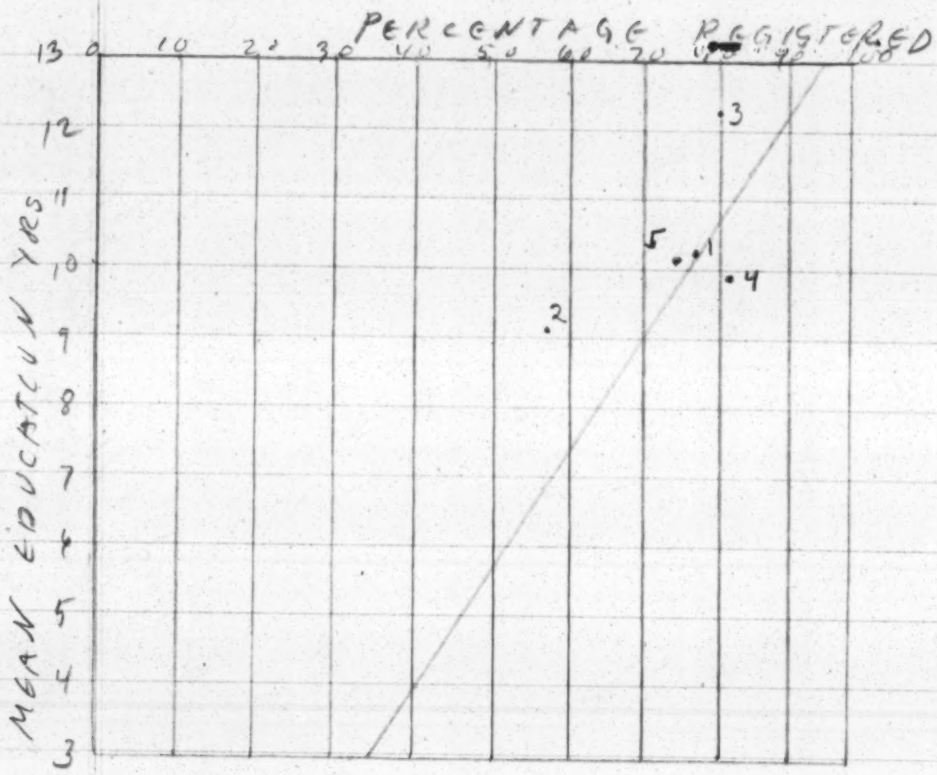
	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	43.8	+3	+.8	2.4	9	.64
Spartanburg	58.06	43.9	-16	+.9	-14.4	256	.81
Columbia	80	42.16	+6	-.84	-5.04	36	.7056
Darlington	81.6	36	+7.6	-7	-53.2	57.76	49
Charleston	74	39	0	-4	0	0	16
	371.	214.8			-70.24	358.76	67.16

mean X = 74 mean Y = 43

$$r = \frac{-70.24}{\sqrt{358.76 \times 67.16}} = \frac{-70.24}{\sqrt{24094}} = \frac{-70.24}{155.24}$$

r = -.45 (negative correlation between age and voting)
(Substantial relationship)

5.	Greenville	– mean age education –	10.33 yrs.
	Spartanburg –	" " " –	9.15 "
	Columbia –	" " " –	12.31 "
	Darlington –	" " " –	9.92 "
	Charleston –	" " " –	10.19 "



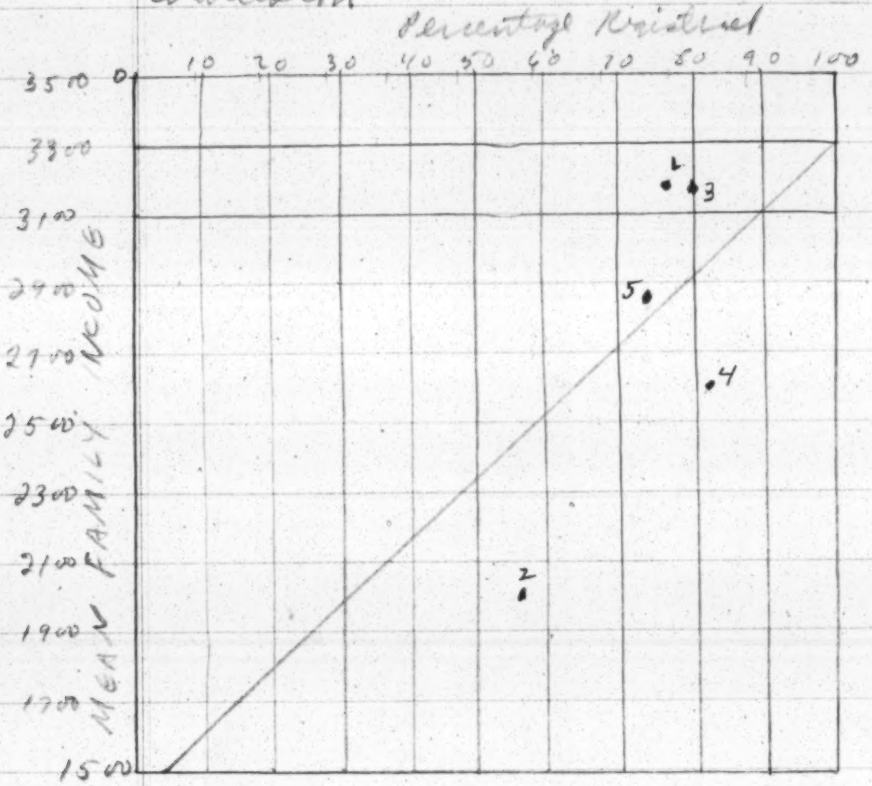
	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	10.33	+3	0	0	9	0
Spartanburg	58.06	9.15	−16	−1	+16	453	1
Columbia	80	12.31	+6	+1.25	+7.50	36	1.56
Darlington	81.6	9.92	+7.6	−.50	−3.80	57.76	.25
Charleston	74	10.19	0	−.21	0	0	.04
	371	51.9			+19.70	636.76	2.85
mean X =	74	10.4					

$$r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 \times \Sigma y^2}} \qquad r = \frac{19.7}{\sqrt{636.76 \times 2.85}} = \frac{19.7}{\sqrt{1814.8}}$$

$$r = \frac{19.7}{42.4} = .465$$ (marked relationship between years education and registration)

16.

	Mean Family Income
Greenville	3,192
Spartanburg	2,082
Columbia	3,180
Darlington	2,662
Charleston	2,872



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	3192	+3	+395	+1185	9	156,025
Spartanburg	58.06	2082	-16	-715	+11,440	256	511,225
Columbia	80	3180	+6	+383	+2298	36	146,689
Darlington	81.6	2,662	+7.6	-135	-1026	57.76	182,250
Charleston	74.	2,872	0	+75	0	0	5,625
	371	13,988		3	13,897	358.76	1,001,814

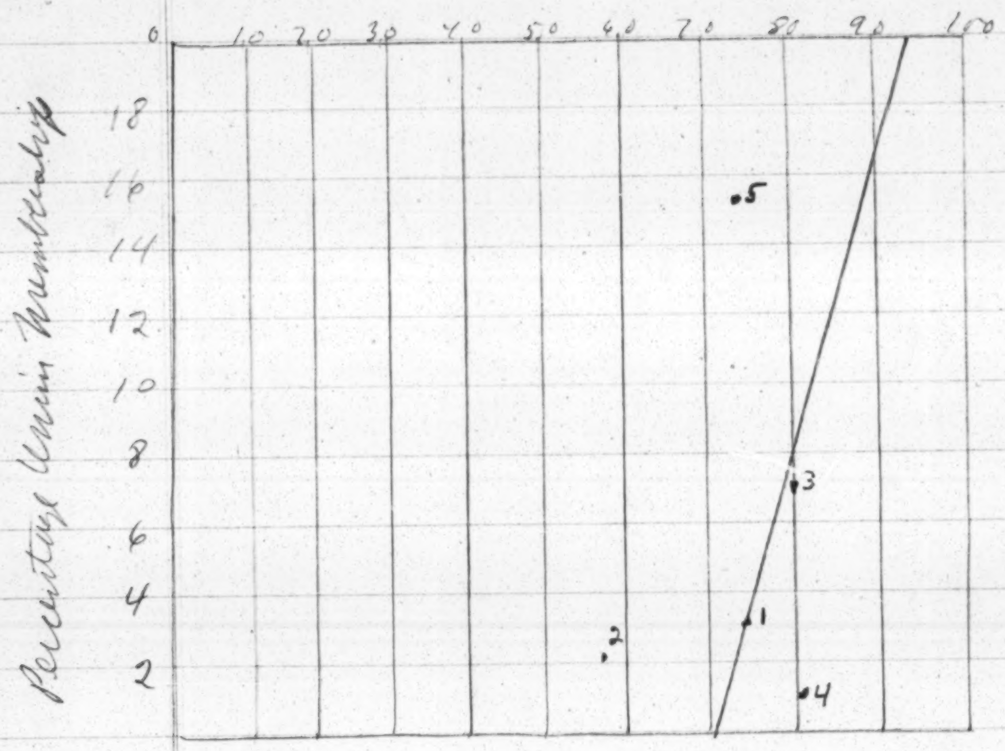
Mean X = 74 Mean Y = 2797

$$r = \frac{13897}{\sqrt{358.76 \times 1,001,814}} = \frac{13897}{\sqrt{359,410,790}}$$

coefficient of correlation $r = \frac{13897}{18,947} = .73$ (a very high correlation between percentage registered and mean income.)

18.. Percentage Union Membership

Greenville	3.12
Spartanburg	2.15
Columbia	7.46
Darlington	1.07
Charleston	15.62



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	3.12	+3	− 2.76	−8.28	9	7.62
Spartanburg	58.06	2.15	−16	− 3.73	+59.68	256	13.91
Columbia	80	7.46	+ 6	+ 1.58	+ 9.48	36	2.5
Darlington	81.6	1.04	+ 7.6	− 4.84	− 36.78	57.76	23.43
Charleston	74	15.62	0	+9.74	0 0	0	94.87
		29.39					
		mean Y = 5.88		−0.01	24.1	358.76	142.33

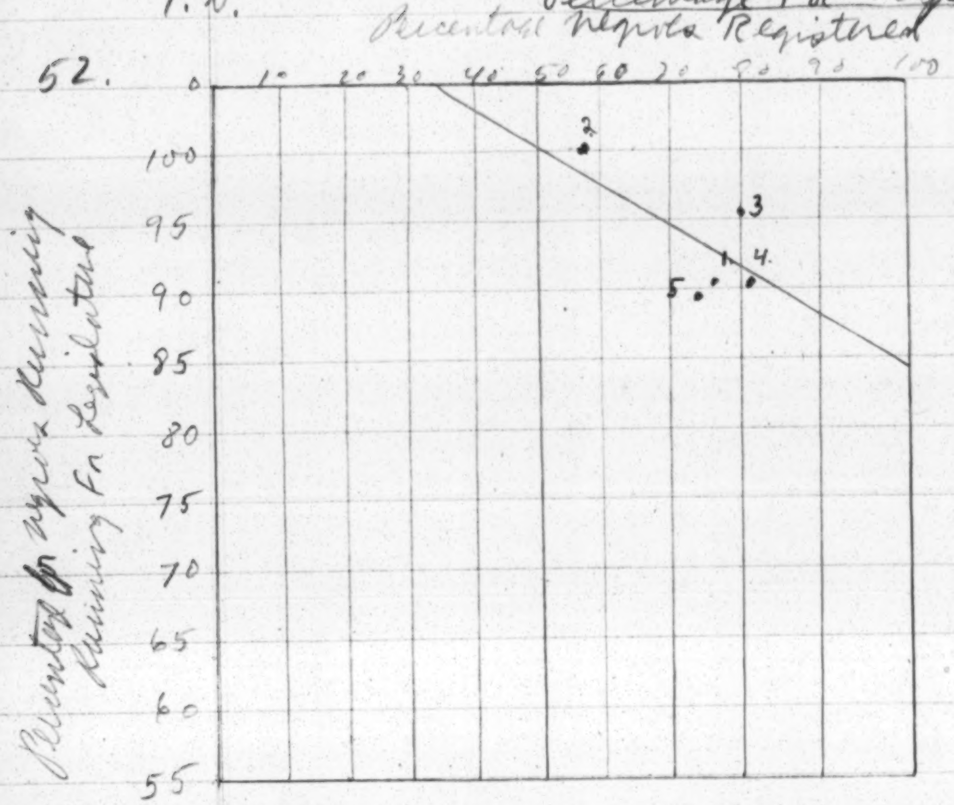
$$r = \frac{\Sigma\ xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma\ x^2 \times \Sigma\ y^2}} = \frac{24.1}{\sqrt{51,062}} = \frac{24.1}{226.05}$$

$r = +.11$

⑦

4. b. **Percentage For Negroes Running for Legislature**

52.



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	90.72	+3	−2.4	−7.2	9	5.76
Spartanburg	58.06	100	−16	+6.88	−110.	256	47.33
Columbia	80	95.2	+6	+2.08	+12.48	36	4.33
Darlington	81.6	90.1	+7.6	−3.02	−22.95	57.76	9.12
Charleston	74	89.58	0	−3.54	0	0	
		465.6		0.0	−127.67	358.76	66.54

mean Y = 93.12

$$r = \frac{-127.67}{\sqrt{358.76 \times 66.54}} = \frac{-127.67}{\sqrt{23,870}}$$

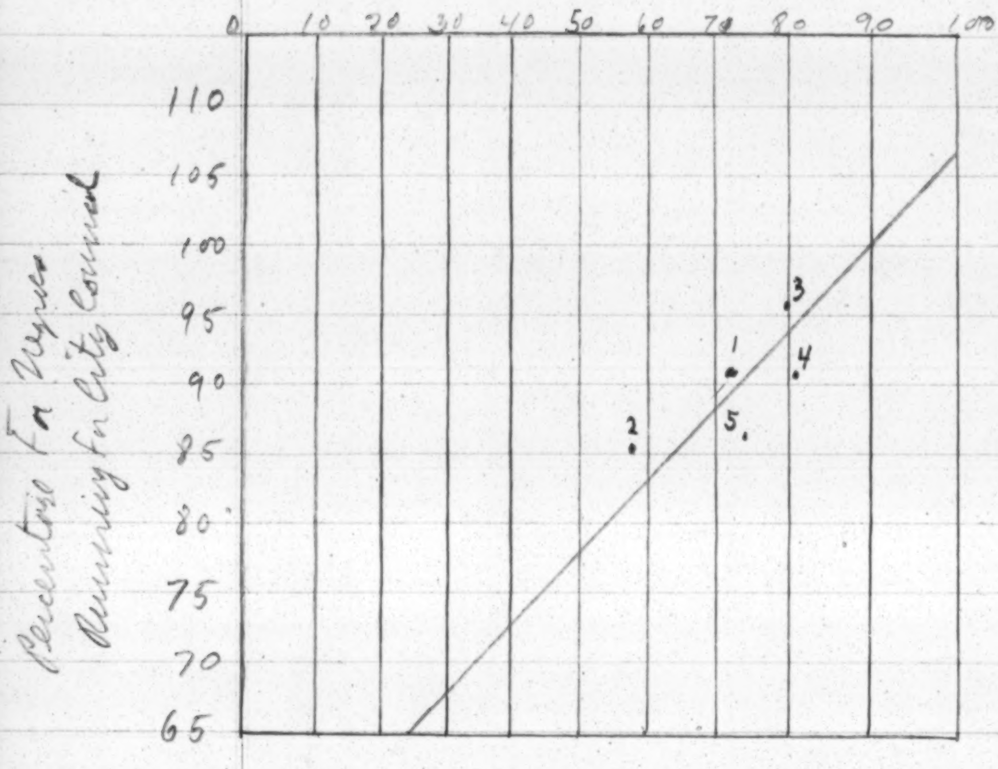
$$r = \frac{-124.67}{154.6}$$ = −.81 (a very high negative correlation between percentage Negroes registered and those wanting Negroes to run for the state legislature.)

(8.)

48.
54-A.

Percentage For Negroes Running for City Council.

Percentage Negroes Registered



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	91.6	+3	+ 1.26	+3.78	9	1.59
Spartanburg	58.06	85.5	-16	- 4.84	+77.44	256	23.43
Columbia	80	96.6	+6	+ 6.26	+37.56	36	39.19
Darlington	81.6	90.8	+7.6	+ .46	+34.96	55.76	.22
Charleston	74	87.2	0	- 3.14	0	0	9.86
		451.7		0.	+153.74	358.76	74.29

Mean X=74 Mean Y= 90.34

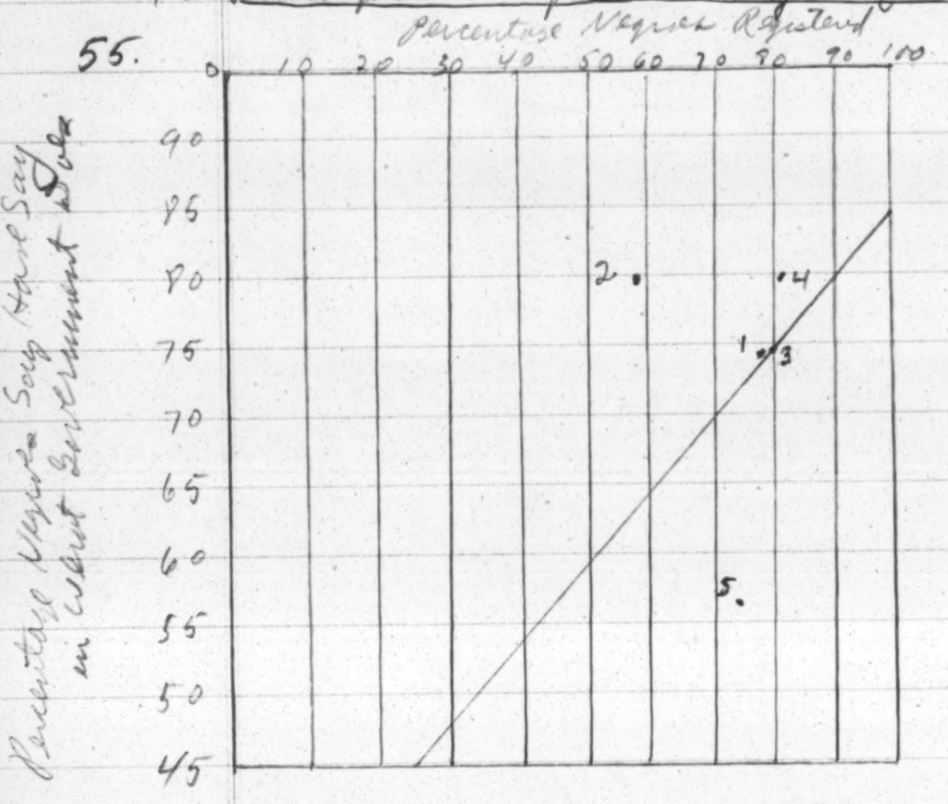
$$r = \frac{\Sigma xy}{\sqrt{\Sigma x^2 \times \Sigma y^2}} = \frac{153.74}{\sqrt{358.76 \times 74.29}} = \frac{153.74}{\sqrt{26,652}}$$

$$r = \frac{153.74}{163.1} = +.942$$ (a very high positive correlation between percentage for Negroes running for city council and for percentage Negroes registered.)

⑨

4e Percentage Maintain Negroes "Have Say" in What Government Does

55.



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	74.39	+3	+1.35	+4.05	9	1.82
Spartanburg	58.06	79.45	−16	−6.41	+102.56	256	41.1
Columbia	80	74.78	+6	+1.74	+10.44	36	3.03
Darlington	81.6	79.45	+7.6	+6.41	+48.71	55.76	41.1
Charleston	74	57.14	0	−15.9	0	0	252.81
		365.21		−12.81	+165.76	358.76	339.86

Mean X = 74 Mean Y = 73.04

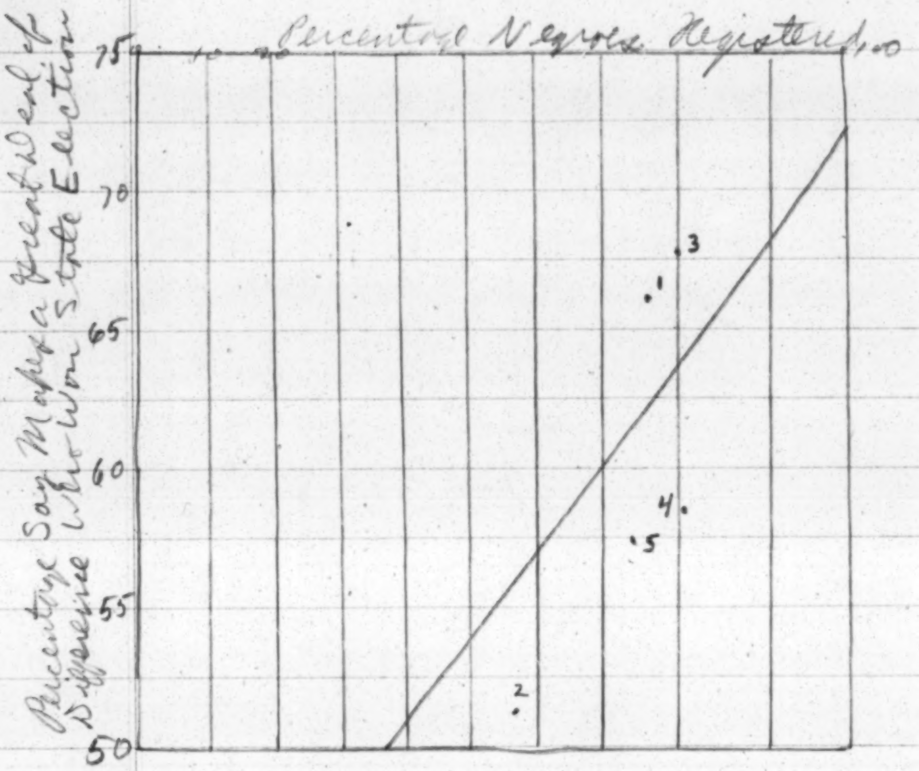
$r = \frac{+165.76}{\sqrt{358.76 \times 339.86}}$ $\frac{165.76}{\sqrt{121,928}} = \frac{165.76}{348}$

$r =$ .48 (Percentage Maintain Negroes "Have Say" in What Government does is strongly correlated with Negro Registration.)

(10.)

41. Percentage Say Makes Great Deal of Difference Who Won State Election

58\.



	X	Y	x	y	xy	x^2	y^2
Greenville	77	66.28	+3	+ 5.9	+17.7	9	34.81
Spartanburg	58.06	51.85	-16	- 8.53	+136.48	256	72.76
Columbia	80	67.79	+6	+ 7.41	+44.46	36	54.9
Darlington	81.6	58.66.	+7.6	- 1.72	-13.07	55.76	2.96
Charleston	74	57.3	0	- 3.08	0	0	9.49
		301.88					
Mean X = 74		Mean Y = 60.38			+ 185.57	358.76	174.92

$$r = + \frac{185.57}{\sqrt{62,754}} = \frac{185.57}{250.4} = +.74$$

(a high correlation between percentage saying makes great deal of difference who won State election and percentage Negroes registered.)

May 3, 1960

Mr. J. O. Thomas, President
Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

This is in reply to your letter of January 25 requesting that we undertake for you a study of the equality of educational opportunities provided for white and Negro youth by the State of Georgia. We are now in a position to assure you that the work will, within the near future, be begun and finished. We shall need the advice, from time to time, of you and Mr. Pitts, and will accordingly stay in close communication with you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Mr. L. H. Pitts

File

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

May 4, 1960

OFFICERS

Jesse O. Thomas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Mattie M. Dingle, *Co-Chairman*
Dr. Julia F. Jackson, *Secretary*
W. H. Odom, *Assistant Secretary*
Charles W. Greene, *Treasurer*

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Reference is made to your recent communication, bringing us up to date on the current status of our research project. It is very encouraging to get this progress report. I believe it would be helpful if you could secure from the person an estimate of the cost involved, based somewhat upon the time consumed, and other factors touching on the overall cost of the project.

With this information in hand, Mr. Milton, the chairman of our budget committee could intelligently prorate the amount of money he would request each of the participating organizations to contribute.

As soon as I hear from you in this connection, the information will be relayed to Mr. Milton.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas

Jesse O. Thomas

JOT:ecc

cc Mr. L. H. Pitts
Mr. L. D. Milton

June 7, 1960

Mr. Jesse O. Thomas, Chairman
Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I have delayed making a definite reply to your letter of May 4 until I could feel secure in our estimate of the cost. Work is now progressing steadily on the project. As is usual with these things, I suspect the job will take a little longer than I had anticipated, but I am still confident that we can have it in print (or mimeographed, as you wish) before the end of the Summer--which, I would think, might be very good timing. At this stage, we estimate that the cost, including printing and distribution, will not exceed $3,000.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Mr. L. H. Pitts

PCR

MA. file

ATLANTA CHAPTER
THE FRONTIERS OF AMERICA, INC.
A National Service Club

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
JESSE O. THOMAS
220 GRIFFIN STREET, N.W. ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA JAckson 5-2338

JESSE O. THOMAS
President
REV. PHENIZEE F. RANSOM
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Recording Secretary
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THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE OFFICERS AND
DR. H. A. BOWEN
R. R. MOTEN
DR. X. L. NEAL

MEETINGS ON TUESDAY
5:00 - 6:30 P.M.
HOLIDAY ROOM
JOE'S COFFEE BAR
200 AUBURN AVE., N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Advancement
Through
Service

June 30, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for your letter of June 7, and the information it contained. I hope it might be possible as soon as Mr. Pitts returns from the teachers convention in California for the person who is doing research you, Mr. Flemmings, Mr. Pitts, Mr. Milton, and me to have a preliminary conference to which the Researcher may make a progress report.

At the same time we might sensitize Mr. Milton with respect to the need of getting the funds organized so that when the research program is completed and the report comes off the printing press, the money will be available to satisfy all of the financial demands.

It will be most helpful if you would become the social engineer at this point in bringing the parties together above referred to on as nearly a date as convenient.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas, President

JOT:mej

cc: L. H. Pitts

August 23, 1960

Mr. J. O. Thomas
Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I am glad that we had an opportunity yesterday to discuss fully with you and and Mr. Pitts the status and some of the findings of our analysis of Negro and white schools in Georgia. As I told you then, we shall have the work ready for the printers by September 15. I talked this morning with the printer and he believes that it will be possible, on this schedule, to have some books ready by the end of the month.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

NEWS RELEASE
Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia
Phone: 5241829

FOR RELEASE:
Thursday P. M. Paper
November 17, 1960

Georgia's Schools still are "separate, but unequal."

This statement is borne out in a report released today by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities.

Meeting in Atlanta, the Conference noted that "one of the most frequent objections to integrated schooling is the claim that Negro students are below the achievement levels of white students."

If this is true, the Conference said, the explanation could be found in the pages of its pamphlet, GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. "As long as Georgia provides inferior facilities for its Negro citizens, it hardly can complain, fairly, that they are less well educated," the group maintained.

The pamphlet is concerned with differences in educational opportunities for white and Negroes in such areas as pupil expenditure, building maintenance, school accreditation, teacher training and salaries, library books, and expenditures in higher education.

The pamphlet is based on reports of local school superintendents for the 1958-59 school year, the latest published reports. Discrepancies in each area are based on the following: state averages; the eight most populous counties; 30 other counties, selected to represent all population levels from small to large in two-unit and four-unit vote counties; and 19 other counties of heavy Negro population, 13 of which has more than 50% Negro population.

In regard to expenditures per pupil based on average daily attendance record, the report showed the state average was $36.64 higher for each white child as compared to that for the Negro pupil. The discrepancy ranged from $29.04 in Sample I, or the eight most populous counties, to a difference of $72.37 in Sample III, counties with a high percentage of Negro population. Expenditure figures include instructional, administrative, transportation, and maintenance and operation.

The Conference noted that discrepancies in purely instructional expenditures are smaller than those which exists in total expenditures, but pointed out the state average in instructional expenditures is $15.22 higher for each white pupil than for the Negro. The difference ranged from a low of $12.08 in Sample II, the 30 counties representing a wide degree of population difference, to $33.95 in Sample III.

The Conference also noted that more money, in proportion to the average daily attendance record, has been spent for construction of Negro than for white schools since the State School Building Authority was established in 1951. However, this was necessary, it said, because the needs of the Negroes were far greater.

And "unless there are adequate allotments for maintenance and operation... the money spent to build the new schools was in a large part wasted," the Conference claims. Its figures show that only 21.2% of the maintenance and operation expenditures for the state go to the Negro schools. This was also the figure spent for Negro schools in Sample I, in Sample II it was 15.7%, and in the counties where the Negro population is highest, 28.5% of the maintenance went to Negro schools.

In school accreditation, Negro schools again fell far below those of whites. In Sample I, only 57.5% of the Negro schools were accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. This compared to 76.6% of the white schools. In other areas, Negro and white schools both fell substantially in respect to accreditation; but Negro schools fell far below those of the white. In Sample II and III, accredited white schools were 43.4% and 41.3% of the total compared to only 16.7% and 11.1% of Negro schools.

"Obviously," the Conference said, "less than half the high schools in Georgia are good enough to meet the Southern Association's modest requirements. And any given Negro pupil has a considerably poorer chance of going to an accredited high school in his district than any given white pupil."

Although Negro teachers averaged higher than white teachers in the number of years of teacher training in Georgia, salary-wise, their average was lower. The average state salary for a Negro teacher was $199.53 lower than the average white, with sample area discrepancy figures ranging from $118.59 to $246.16.

The pamphlet noted discrepancies in other areas of distribution; such as, library books, instructional supplies, textbooks, guidance personnel, and attendance personnel.

The Conference also pointed out the disproportionate provisions made for white as constrasted to those for Negroes in state-wide schools for handicapped and colleges and universities. The state maintains 25 such state-wide schools. Negroes, the report showed, can only attend five of these.

"Discrimination," the Conference said, "is cumulative."

And it concluded, "if Georgia were truly to 'equalize' Negro schools and undo the damage already done by providing Negroes for decades with inferior schools, she would have to provide better schools for the Negro children than for white. Instead, she is still providing them with inferior schools."

PURPOSES OF THE GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

To provide for constant negotiations with public officials in the government and leaders in Public education in an effort to secure adequate education for all of the children of the state, but more particularly for those underprivileged and forgotten children of the minority ethnic group of the state.

To cooperate with any and all agencies interested in maintaining and promoting public education for all without regard to race, creed, or religion.

PURPOSES OF THE GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

To inform the general public of facts regarding the inequities in the educational program in the state, in an effort to arouse wide-spread interest in the promotion of educational opportunities for all the children of Georgia.

To survey the potential opportunities which are apparent, resulting from the moving of industry into the State.

To provide another voice in the appeal for the elimination of discriminatory differentials in the provision of and administration of public education.

To direct attention, through publication and consultation, to those circumstances, concepts and attitudes which limit the maximum development of our Human Resources.

To provide for constant negotiations with public officials in the government and leaders in Public education in an effort to secure adequate education for all of the children of the state, but more particularly for those underprivileged and forgotten children of the minority ethnic group of the state.

To cooperate with any and all agencies interested in maintaining and promoting public education for all without regard to race, creed, or religion.

NOTE: Any citizen interested in the conservation of our most precious possession, our children, is eligible in this non-dues pay conference.

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED IN THE OFFICE OF
G. T. E. A.
NOV 21 1960

November 18, 1960

OFFICERS

Jesse O. Thomas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Mattie M. Dingle, *Co-Chairman*
Dr. Julia F. Jackson, *Secretary*
W. H. Odom, *Assistant Secretary*
Charles W. Greene, *Treasurer*

Mrs. D. E. Reynolds
201 Ashby Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Reynolds:

I am sending the names of certain persons, including officials representing four or five newspapers whom I am asking if you will send a copy of our report.

In each instant I am saying to the person in question that under separate cover he will receive this report:

Carter W. Wesley, Editor
Houston Informer
2418 Leeland Avenue
Houston 1, Texas

C. B. Young, Sr., Editor
Norfolk Journal & Guide
719 E. Olmey Road
Norfolk 1, Virginia

Carl Murphy, Editor
Afro-American
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

P. P. Prattis, Managing Editor
Pittsburgh Courier
Center at Francis Streets
Pittsburgh 30, Pennsylvania

Also, send one please to:

Bishop W. R. Wilkes
557 Mitchell Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas

JOT:TPB

November 30, 1960

Mr. J. O. Thomas
Georgia Conference on Education Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Attached is a copy of the printer's bill for Georgia's Divided Education.

The final expenses of this project are as follows:

Services,		
Miss Pamela Coe	$999.96	
Dr. C. H. Parrish	161.00	
Dr. D. R. Green	128.00	
		$1,288.96
Printing		2,273.58
Total		$3,562.54

All bills have been paid by the Council, and we would appreciate your reimbursement. Expenses for supervisory and editorial services and overhead have been absorbed by the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

CC: Mr. L. D. Milton
Mr. L. H. Pitts

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

December 21, 1960

OFFICERS

Jesse O. Thomas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Mattie M. Dingle, *Co-Chairman*
Dr. Julia F. Jackson, *Secretary*
W. H. Odom, *Assistant Secretary*
Charles W. Greene, *Treasurer*

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Please fill the enclosed request for Georgia's Divided Education, booklet (100).

Yours truly,

L H Pitts

L. H. Pitts

12/22/60

CURRENT
177 East 71 Street New York 21
YUkon 8-7900

December 13, 1960

Mr. Jesse O. Thomas
Chairman
GEORGIA CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
P.O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Thank you for your letter of December 7th.

As we are extremely interested in listing your publication, "Georgia's Divided Education," in CURRENT, we would like to take advantage of your offer of copies, even though the number you mention would not begin to cover all our requests for your pamphlet. However, we are asking people to list their Readers Service selections in order of preference, and if we cannot get more than 100 copies, we will supply your pamphlet only to those subscribers who indicate a high priority interest in it.

However, if it does turn out that you have more copies available than you anticipate at present, I would greatly appreciate it if you could increase the size of your shipment to us. Our mailing office is located at 905 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York, and I would be grateful if you could send the pamphlets there.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am

Yours sincerely,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:es

MEMORANDUM February 14, 1961

To: LWD

From: PA

Re: Suggested Budget for 8-State Study of School Facilities.

The following budget has been prepared on the assumption that the Project would run for a period of approximately twelve months; three months to organize the Project, select personnel in the states involved, and secure the cooperation of local citizens in each state; six months for the actual fact-finding and preparation of the report; and, three mohths for the printing, distribution, and follow-up of the study.

The Project would require a full-time director and a skilled clerical person in the central office and at least one skilled, part-time consultant in each of the eight states.

In order to secure serious interest and cooperation within the states and to insure an adequate use of the results, it might be well to require that local citizens raise a modest amount of the cost involved. This amount might be set at $500 or $1,000 -- and, of course, the amount raised would lower proportionately the total amount to be secured from a single source.

PROPOSED BUDGET

(For 8-State Study of School Facilities)

SALARIES:		
Project Director	$8,500	
Clerical Assistant	4,500	
State Consultants (8 @ $600 each)	4,800	$ 17,800
ADMINISTRATIVE:		
Office rent, supplies and other expenses	2,400	
Postage, telephone and other communication costs (@ $100 month)	1,400	
Equipment and furniture rental	600	
Travel	4,000	
Miscellaneous and unforeseen expenses	800	$ 9,200
PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION OF RESULTS	18,000	18,000
TOTAL		$ 45,000

February 14, 1961

Mr. J. O. Thomas
Georgia Conference on Education Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Enclosed is an estimated budget for an eight-state study similar to Georgia's Divided Education. This has been prepared persuant to your recent request.

As you well know, many factors enter into the final cost of the project and it is extremely difficult to estimate costs until one actually begin to plan the work. The project also can be tailored to varying degrees of comprehensiveness; I am sure that a good bit more than is indicated on the enclosure could be spent on this project and it possibly could be done for less.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure
Suggested Budget for 8-State Study

#F
PA
MA-file

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 22, 1961

OFFICERS

Jesse O. Thomas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Mattie M. Dingle, *Co-Chairman*
Dr. Julia F. Jackson, *Secretary*
W. H. Odom, *Assistant Secretary*
Charles W. Greene, *Treasurer*

Mr. L. W. Dunbar
Research Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge with appreciation receipt of the proposed budget which you suggested for a research project to cover eight southern states.

When our charter has been granted and a tax exemption status has been established, this suggested budget will be submitted to the foundation under consideration.

Gratefully yours,

Jesse O. Thomas
Chairman

JOT:rbe

April 25, 1961

Mr. Jesse O. Thomas
Chairman
Georgia Conference on Educational
   Opportunities
P. O. Box 4844
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear J.O.:

After several weeks of fruitless searching, I am beginning to think you may have something when you commented in your letter of April 11 about the difficulties I would face in recruiting a new research director. Despite your suggestion, I don't want to be two-in-one.

Many thanks for your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mf

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities

P. O. Box 4844

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 11, 1961

OFFICERS

Jesse O. Thomas, *Chairman*
Mrs. Mattie M. Dingle, *Co-Chairman*
Dr. Julia F. Jackson, *Secretary*
W. H. Odom, *Assistant Secretary*
Charles W. Greene, *Treasurer*

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
c/o Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I hasten to congratulate you on your being elected to the headship of the Southern Council on Human Relationship. I do so with somewhat mixed emotions. I think it is easier to get an executive director of the Council than it is to get a competent research expert.

I take some consolation to the fact that it is possible for one man to be both. On the ground, therefore, that you may be two-in-one, I repeat my congratulations.

D

Sincerely yours,

Chairman

rbe/

May 28, 1959

Rev. Walter Cowart, Executive Director
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Cowart:

For our own office purposes we are preparing summary reports on each of the states. These are intended not to be descriptive of everything that has happened but to embody enough material to characterize the state's present stance and its progress, or lack of progress, toward integration. It occurs to us that you might find a copy of our Georgia summary useful in your program, so I am enclosing a copy. This work was done by Miss Marge Manderson of our research staff and represents, we think, a very adequate picture of Georgia at the present time.

Any corrections or suggestions of additional material you may have will be much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Enclosure: Georgia; Segregation-Desegregation

8-14-63

Politics

Jobs There --But Not The Skills

By REG MURPHY
Constitution Political Editor

Trouble for politicians and people alike generally begins with unemployment and its ills.

Reg Murphy

That's why there was such vital significance in a report on job training released by the State Labor department Monday.

The man who conducted the basic study, Dr. John Fulmer of Georgia Tech, said the state is not producing half enough skilled, technical and clerical workers.

Analysis And Comment

The study showed there are plenty of jobs open now and there will be more in the next few years:

Almost 1,000 carpenters are needed a year, nearly 400 auto mechanics are needed, more than 100 production planners are in demand. Jobs beckon for 400 sheet-metal workers right now, and for 1,075 electricians. Over 200 maintenance mechanics could be placed now, and 400 machinists could find jobs.

LINES STILL FORM

Yet the jobs are not filled while the lines still form at the unemployment offices. Why?

Basically, the reason is that nobody has really offered the kinds of training needed to get the people and the jobs together.

Instead, we keep pouring out funds for training our high school youngsters to be farmers, where jobs don't exist.

POLITICAL DANGERS

It would seem reasonable that State School Supt. Claude Purcell and other responsible officials would sense the political dangers in this imbalance between training and jobs.

But what did Purcell do? He said plaintively that if only Congress would change the laws something could be done about it.

That, dear reader, is precisely where states' rights becomes just two words, instead of a noble philosophy.

MATCHING FUNDS

It is the job of the State Department of Education to shape its programs to the realities. If there are federal matching funds, fine. If there are not such funds, the state still must do the job.

And so the state is reaching a point where one type of political power (the entrenched agriculture interests) crashes against another kind of power (unrest among the unemployed and their families).

Fulmer noted that technology has doubled in the past decade. That calls for totally new forms of education.

To the credit of Purcell and other politicians, they have started a series of technical training schools around the state to begin to get youngsters ready for new jobs.

But why waste more of our funds teaching kids to be unemployable?

Atlanta Metropolitan Herald 10-2-63 (weekly)

South's Racial Problems Differ From Other Areas Student Told

1913 *Edgewater Road*
St. Paul 12, *Minnesota*
September 23, 1963

Dear Mr. Maugans,

I am a student at Mounds View High Schol here in Minnesota.

We are studying the racial problems of the South and are required to make a report on it, but before I begin, I would like to get both sides of the situation and choose my report on the information I gather from the two. I realize that there is a certain amount of prejudice involved on both sides.

Would you please send me a copy of one of your editions containing articles concerning this problem? It need not be a recent one and I am willing to pay for the edition.

Could you mail it as soon as possible, please?

Thank you very much.

Very Truly Yours,
Linda Elhardt

The publisher of the Herald received the following letter the other day. We print it, in full, together with our effort to satisfy Linda's interest.

Dear Linda:

You are to be commended in wanting 'both sides' of the "racial problems—of the South" However, Linda, let me assure you that what you call "racial problems" are not confined to the South. No, Linda, the real "racial problems" are all around you, even up North.

The main difference is the South long ago worked out most of its problems and the two races, black and white, lived pretty happily and peacefully, perhaps even closer than did the folks in the northern part of the country, until outside agitators and people with questionable motives moved in to agitate and aggravate the situation.

You cannot have too much racial friction Linda, in a section where one race overwhelmingly outnumbers the other such as is the case in your own State of Minnesota. By sheer weight of the majority, any hopes or ambitions of the minority race are throttled. True, you have complete integration of a sort in Minnesota. True too, we of the South have never had much or any integration other than that forced upon the people, black and white, by court rulings of recent years.

But Linda there are many angles to the picture. Down South there is, and always has been, a large degree of sincerity existing in the feelings of the two races toward each other.

Before the days of social security, old age benefit and unemployment insurance, there was a recognized obligation of the 'white folks' to see that their colored friends were protected from undue and unreasonable persecution or prosecution by unscrupulous whites. There was also an unwritten understanding that when a colored person or his family ran into hard luck or needed help, financially, morally or spiritually, it would be forthcoming from 'his folks'.

Linda, many of the people living in the North do not actually know or understand members of the opposite race. You know, and I know, that there is intense fear and mistrust of one another in your area, which really does not exist in most of the South. Oh it is true that in some areas of the South where unscrupulous, agitating troublemakers moved largely by the hope of financial reward, there has been much overpublicity.

For instance, it has not been unusual for the propagandists to "stage" pre-arranged clashes between the races. Eastern newsmen and cameramen have been known to 'pose' pictures, giving the impression that students were worked up into a frenzy and the resulting pictures, showing individuals with expressions of violence on their faces have been rushed to the four corners of the earth.

This too, Linda, is easily explained. Many previously unknown, unrecognized writers and newscasters have 'hit the jackpot' financially by rushing out news stories reportedly telling of open violence and disorder in previously quiet, peaceful small Southern neighborhoods. Thus they have, as the saying goes, "been able to line their pockets with gold", as a result of their 'stories'.

Much of today's coverage of race friction, both north and south, is of questionable intent. Who, and I am sure not even your classmates, wants to see our country torn asunder by what is tabbed "demonstrations" when Negroes parade, destroy property and ignore all existing laws in the South and called "riots" when Negroes attack police in Detroit, storm neighboorhoods, beat innocent victims on the streets of Washington, Chicago, Philadelphia, New York and other northern metropolises.

Actually, Linda, the life of the Negro is much happier, much freer, much more natural and much more desirable from the colored man's standpoint in the South than in the North.

It isn't generally known, either, that while your state at the last census had only 42,261 Negroes out of a total population of 3,413,864 in the five Deep South States of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, one of every three residents were colored.

No Linda, there are many things which the sensation-seeking reporters do not tell you and your friends. They do not tell you for instance that in Georgia, there is no salary differential between white and Negro school teachers. They do not tell you that the Negro segment of Atlanta controls more business than that headed by colored people any place else in the world. They do not tell you Linda that there are actually more colored pupils in Atlanta's elementary public schools than white nor that the white residents of Georgia pay 90% of all the taxes the state collects and that while over 50% of the State's income is spent on education, only ten per cent comes from the colored taxpayers.

Actually Linda, the feeling toward colored people in the South is more natural, more cordial and more understanding than in any other place in the world. The two races accept each other for what they are, the ambitious, substantial, intelligent Negro is given every 'break' and is respected by his white friends. Likewise, the unreasonable, ignorant white (and believe me they are in the minority) is looked upon with disrespect and disgust by the Negro.

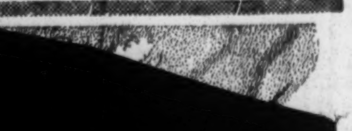
How, Linda, if you wanted to tear your country apart and create disorder and open revolt, would you go about it? The ways best recognized both here and in Communist countries, is to 'force unwanted association' on the people, appropriate their property, mistreat their children and attack recognized authority and law.

Just as do the fish in the sea swim together in segregated schools, keeping apart from others by species, the Trout in one school, the Bream, the Whiting, the Pike, etc., so do the birds, the animals and PEOPLE. Nature made us that way, be we birds, beasts or humans.

Therefore, when colored people seek to force their way into previously all-white residential areas, and other previously all-white areas of life, friction is bound to come, be it in Dayton, Ohio, Detroit, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Birmingham or Oxford, Miss.

This Linda, is what the people of the North, white and colored, have not yet realized, mainly because of the predominately heavy majority of whites in your area.

In closing, Linda, the average white Southener wants for all Negroes as much and more than he deserves by his efforts to share his part of the social, economic and tax loads. Only the unbiased, open minded traveler who takes time to become a part of the way of life in the South can realize the Negro DOES NOT want intermingling to the extent that the happiness in his life be hindered by having to live in a world of constant make-believe, belief that Nature is not what we all know it to be.



Trademark No Longer Primitive Politics

By EUGENE PATTERSON

BEING A NATIVE of South Georgia, this writer often has been nettled and stung by people who believe that piney region is some kind of fated citadel for primitive attitudes in politics.

The county unit system did produce a lot of primitive politicians from South Georgia. But that always was more the fault of the arithmetic, which loaded the county units into the courthouses of that region, than of the people, who were never much better or worse than any other cross section of Georgians. Death of the unit system freed them of the political sapsuckers as it did everybody else.

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

But the myth of South Georgia backwardness persists with some, so it is time to smite it a blow.

The South Georgia city of Valdosta received, this month, some visitors from allegedly enlightened Atlanta. The Valdosta Times identified them as Lester Maddox, a restaurant keeper and itinerant office-seeker, and Jack Callaway, president of the Atlanta Citizens Council.

A MISSION

They had come on a civilizing mission to help benighted Valdosta organize a segregationist council like their own. Their Valdosta host said he had invited about 1,000 people. He deplored the low attendance, for only about 40 South Georgians had bothered to show up at the rally to honor the distinguished visitors from the north.

But the show went on.

Asserting that it is the freedom to discriminate that made America great, Mr. Maddox stated in his inspirational address: "We need a George Wallace in Georgia and in the nation's capital."

Mr. Maddox did not have many nice things to say to the South Georgians about his own hometown of Atlanta. Advocating some Boston Tea Parties in this country, he said, "We could use one in Atlanta." He assured the audience that back where he came from the segregationist side of things is being covered up by the Atlanta news media (which print his own indelicate advertisements faithfully).

Well, if Atlanta's visitors to Valdosta thought they were going to find a bunch of rubes there, they must have been sorely vexed. Those among the 40 present who wished to join the Citizens Council were asked to stay for a short join-up session after Mr. Maddox's speech, whereupon about 20 got up and left.

ANOTHER SPEAKER

"On the same evening," writes the respected Valdosta publisher, June Norwood, "Dr. Pierce Harris, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Atlanta, spoke to the Valdosta District Conference in session in Valdosta. Among other things he spoke on the brotherhood of man and he spoke to a packed church.

"It gives me great pleasure to report that Valdostans, for the most part, have a very fine sense of values and over the years when the occasion has called for a choice they have invariably chosen the high road."

Perhaps this report will be instructive to those who are not familiar with the quality of mind and the critical judgment of South Georgia's people.

It looks as if any primitive politics down there is now having to be imported all the way from Atlanta.

OUR WORLD TODAY

Georgia Turns More and More Cosmopolitan

By RAYMOND PAYNE
Department of Sociology, University of Georgia

Georgia and the South long stood outside the main stream of national and world affairs. But now the situation is changing.

OUR
WORLD
TODAY
Sponsored by
The Atlanta Journal
"Covers Dixie Like the Dew"

An agricultural economy—with over-dependence upon cotton as a cash crop—tied Georgia to earlier better days while the North and East were rapidly industrializing and urbanizing. The great Depression of the 1930s intensified the South's troubles. When people could not migrate to jobs elsewhere, they piled up on the land and in the small towns, experiencing underemployment and low levels of living. Everything encouraged the development of general pessimism and frustration.

World War II broke the trend. Georgia is still an exporter of people, but since the early 1940s the state has moved away from policies of isolation from national participation.

Georgia is reaping great rewards from the changes. Her voice is relatively stronger in national and world political circles; she is receiving greater consideration in national programs; she is getting an ever-larger share of industrial development and expansion; her levels of living and education are rising.

ACCOMPANYING these developments—partly as cause and partly as result—has been an increasing cosmopolitanism in the Georgia community. More different kinds of people with different backgrounds, beliefs, and attitudes are living and working together; new knowledge and values are being introduced locally by several means.

In addition to the overwhelming effects of radio, television, and other mass media, other factors have combined to change the Georgia community. For instance, the establishment and continued operation of military bases in Georgia has brought untold thousands of service men and their families to the state. Local people have interacted with them, learned from them, and have been changed by them. Many service men married into Georgia families, and some settled in Georgia.

THOUSANDS of young Georgians were sent throughout the world during World War II and the Korean conflict. When they returned, they brought with them new ideas, knowledge, attitudes, and even spouses, thereby contributing to the increasing local cosmopolitanism.

Expanding industries called for workers during and after the war. By 1960, 1,397,000 persons who had been born in Georgia were living in other states. Their letters and visits to families and friends back home have brought attitudes into the local system, changing local ideas and feelings about things beyond the state's borders.

PERHAPS of greater significance for increasing cosmopolitanism is the fact that of every five persons living in Georgia in 1960, one had been born outside the state. In all there were approximately 700,000 such persons. The largest portion of these (486,701) had been born in other Southern states, but over 82,000 had come from the North Central states, 71,000 from the Northeast, and 22,000 from the West. More than 25,000 were foreign born. This is a small figure, but it is characteristic of the South in that relatively small portions of recent immigrants into the United States have settled in the South.

Among the foreign-born residents of Georgia in 1960, the largest number, 6,690 (almost a fourth of the total) reported English as their mother tongue. German was the mother tongue of 5,637, and Spanish, 1,334. No other mother tongue was represented by more than a thousand individuals.

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MOST OF THOSE who come to Georgia to live are connected with industry, business, education, or the military. Unlike out-migration, the rates of in-migration are higher for whites than for non-whites; also, the whites come from greater distances.

Development of the tourist trade brings people into Georgia. Although they may not stay long, they interact with many people while here.

GROWTH of the conference and short course functions of colleges and universities draw adults from their local settings to meet each other and interact with faculty members. The college system itself is pulling foreign and out-of-state faculty and students into the local scene.

More than half of Georgia Tech's students are from outside Georgia; the University of Georgia has 123 foreign students from 47 different countries. From those students we learn about differences and similarities between them and ourselves.

MORE AND MORE of our own young people finishing high school are going to college, and the educational experience is broadening. Cosmopolitanism is fostered by the travel connected with going away to college, with attending school in other than one's own home community, and in taking senior, band, patrol, and other sponsored trips in public school.

The effect of education is felt in yet other ways, such as increased reading and usage of library facilities and attendance at lectures.

The net effect of all these developments and influences is a noticeable trend toward decreased provincialism of attitude and behavior at the state and local level in Georgia, and an increased knowledge of, appreciation for, and feeling of involvement in national and world affairs of our day.

EDITOR'S NOTE: Questions on this special article in the Our World Today series and a current events quiz will be published in Thursday's Atlanta Journal. Answers will be published in Friday's Atlanta Journal.

RALPH
McGILL

12-18-63

41 Million Under 10 Years

There are thousands of American men and women in late middle life today who recall knowing and talking with veterans of the Civil War.

When that war began, in 1861, the population of the United States was but little more than 31,000,000. (The official 1860 census figure was 31,443,321. In 1870, five years after General Lee's surrender at Appomattox, the national census counted 38,558,371.)

This introduction serves to underscore the meaningful fact that we now have in the United States more than 41,000,000 children under 10 years of age. The Department of the Census, the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labor and the Department of Education are all aware of the presence of these children and the impact they will have on employment, education, and commerce.

Two Years Hence

In a little more than two years from now it is estimated by the Bureau of the Census that slightly more than half the population will be under 25 years of age. We rapidly are becoming a country of the young and the old — with a substantial, though diminishing, segment between the ages of 35 and 45.

These facts explain why magazines appear devoted to the teen-age population and why magazines and periodicals traditionally attuned to "adults" now are trying to be eager and nimble jacks, jumping over candlesticks in an attempt to win young eyes and minds. The statistics also reveal the growing market in the consumer goods and durables for teen-agers and children — fashions, cosmetics, cars, clothing, hobbies, books, cigarets, and so on. A considerable amount of advertising is directed at the ages below 25. Some of the traditional values of life take a buffeting in the rush to cash in on the "teen market." Much that is shabby, greedy, cheap, vulgar, and dirty is involved in the new gold rush. But it is with us — and will be, increasingly.

It is a really big market. Count it:

There are about 41 million under 10 years of age.

There are about 27 million between 10 and 18.

There are about 17 million between 18 and 25.

The total is around 85 million. And these are the age groups that are rapidly increasing.

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Thunder of Feet

As we cup ear to the noise that time makes and try to read its meaning, the school people hear no patter of little feet — but a thunder of them. We are far behind in classrooms. The future demands of education in the area of physical plant alone are beyond the ability of all but a few communities to meet them. The teacher shortage will worsen. A vast federal program already is imperative. It will need to offer scholarships in medicine, psychiatry, the sciences. We must understand that when we help our children to be educated trained citizens we are helping our nation to be stronger, not merely in wages and buying power, but in those things that make up a life of integrity and purpose. What a folly it is to cry out against such sensible social planning as being socialistic.

Organized religion, along with education and most departments of our public lives, has failed to comprehend the meaning of our new social structure. Youth programs attract a fraction of the youthful; every parish has a large share of persons who are not hostile to religion but find it sterile and, at times, a hypocrisy as it conforms faithfully to local demands to retain the status quo. With more than half our population soon to be 25 years old and under, the dead or palsied hand of the past is too heavy on too many of our institutions.

A good rule always is to try and stand on top of today and attempt to look into day after tomorrow. The revolutions of industrial science and population are in motion.

Antitrespass Law Upheld by Court

1-30-64

By The Associated Press

The Georgia Supreme Court Thursday upheld the 1960 antitrespass law used widely to curb Negro sit-in demonstrations throughout the state.

Related stories on Page 11.

The unanimous opinion, written by Chief Justice W. H. Duckworth, held that the statute does not violate the equal rights provisions of the U.S. Constitution.

The decision upheld the conviction several months ago of 18 Negroes who were arrested when they refused to leave segregated lunch counters and soda fountains. All were fined and given jail sentences.

Attorneys for the Negroes had announced when the case was argued two weeks ago that they would turn to the U.S. Supreme Court if the state court rejected the appeal.

THE LAW, passed without fanfare by the General Assembly when the sit-in movements started in the South, provides that failure to leave private property at the request of the owner or proprietor is a misdemeanor.

The statute makes no mention of race. There was no discussion in the Legislature of sit-ins when it was passed and signed into law by former Gov. Ernest Vandiver.

Illegal for Dental Association to Exclude Negro, Court Rules

The Georgia Dental Association's statutory right to nominate members of certain state boards makes it unconstitutional for it to exclude Negroes from its membership, according to a federal court ruling.

U.S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper did not order the association to do anything, but stated in a denial of the association's motion to dismiss a suit by Atlanta Negro dentist R. C. Bell that excluding Negroes "seems to be a clear violation of the equal protection clause" of the Constitution.

"Except for the acts of the Georgia Legislature," which require that appointments to the State Board of Health, the Board of Dental Examiners and the Hospital Advisory Council be made from nominees submitted by the dental association, . . . "the Georgia Dental Association and the Northern District Dental Society would have the undoubted right to admit only such persons as they desired and could, without violating any law, exclude Negroes from membership," according to Judge Hooper's ruling.

"The Georgia Legislature, however, by giving to the dental association the right to nominate members of the three state agencies above referred to, made it an agency of the state of Georgia," he declared.

This denies Negro dentists equal protection of the laws because they are thereby deprived of the right to vote on the members of the association who, as board members, set up rules under which they practice and pass on licensing of dentists.

He originally signed an order Jan. 21 denying the dental association's motion to dismiss the suit. At the request of the association, and with the concurrence of the plaintiffs, he later voided that order and issued another, with the same conclusions, but specifying that it could be appealed to the Fifth Circuit on interlocutory appeal.

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2-11-64 Journal

DENTISTS PLAN APPEAL ON RULING

The Georgia Dental Association and the Northern District Dental Society will appeal Federal Judge Frank A. Hooper's recent overruling of a motion to dismiss an integration suit against them, the president of the GDA said.

Dr. Wesley A. Carr made the statement in a speech before the NDDS at Druid Hills Golf Club Monday night.

In his ruling, Judge Hooper said the dental association's statutory right to nominate members of the State Board of Health, the Board of Dental Examiners and the Hospital Advisory Council made it unconstitutional for the organzation to exclude Negroes from its membership.

DR. R. C. BELL, Atlanta dentist, and others brought the suit.

On another matter, Dr. Carr said the dental profession is prepared to combat new moves in the federal medicare program.

The program would provide for extended medical benefits, paid for by Social Security taxes, for elderly persons.

Dr. Carr said opposition is necessary "to maintain dental practice as we know it today, enjoying our individual freedom and private initiative."

Coverage of Court Held Inadequate

By JOE DABNEY 2-20-64
Atlanta Journal State News Editor

ATHENS, Ga., Feb. 20—The nation is expecting too much of the Supreme Court by thrusting all of its most difficult problems into its lap, a veteran columnist told Georgia newspaper editors here today.

Max Freedman, syndicated Washington writer, made his assertion in an opening day address at the 36th annual Georgia Press Institute.

Freedman questioned whether the issues of reform imposed on the highest tribunal were reconcilable with the court's traditional role as guardian of the country's heritage.

One of the major problems of the court, the speaker said, has been the misinterpretation of its decisions. He charged that news reporting of decisions was woefully inadequate and declared only two newspapers—the Washington Post and the New York Times — were adequately represented by staff writers.

"No wonder the idea has taken hold that the court has banished prayer in public schools," he said.

EARLIER, a veteran wire service reporter predicted 1964 would see more "sound and fury" racial developments but that newsmen should seek out and report the full story of the region's race relations progress.

"It's a more difficult story to obtain," said Al Kuettner of United Press International, "because it is not so obvious."

Commenting on demonstrations which have plagued Atlanta in recent weeks, Kuettner noted that some young Negroes had turned to activities that offend decency.

"Not only white people but responsible Negroes consider them inexcusable," the newsman said. "But I must say this parenthetically. Before I heard of one of the indecent acts by racial demonstrators in Atlanta, it was done by a white person in another state.

"The fact is that man—black or white—turns animal when bitterness, hatred and frustration take possession of his mind and heart."

KUETTNER said although the "image" of Atlanta had been shattered by street crowds with their interlocking arms and legs, that actually the city has a constructive program of permanent worth in race relations going on all the time.

"It has its flaws and its hypocrisy—as I suppose events always will have in the hands of imperfect men," he said, "but this program is gradually bringing about a change in customs and attitudes that will be lasting."

The newsman, who has covered all the racial flareups in the South, called for self-examination by the press corps in its manner of covering these events.

THE MERE SIZE of the press contingent, he said, has caused newsmen themselves to become at times a major part of incidents.

"It is not uncommon for 300 (reporters) to turn up," he said. "Such a crowd gets like a swarm of bees. Everybody pursuing his particular angle. . . . People who are responsible for what's going on find themselves hit by all these pressures."

Kuettner said he would never resist a fair restriction imposed by responsible officials to keep the press from getting in the way of the real news.

The Georgia editors were welcomed to the institute Wednesday night at a traditional dinner sponsored by the Athens Rotary Club.

University President O. C. Aderhold reported that the 10,500-student school is making rapid strides in physical and scholarly development. He cited the fact that the university's School of Pharmacy this week is moving into its new facilities and that the ultramodern coliseum will be opened for its first game Saturday night.

But the most important progress President Aderhold emphasized was the significant increase in graduate and research work bolstered by what he described as a stable and sound faculty and increasing research facilities.

3-11-64

Russell Far Behind Times, Jenkins Says

Police Chief Assails Senator For '1910-Era' Battle on Rights

By DICK HEBERT

Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins took a slap at Sen. Richard Russell Tuesday night for trying to turn back time on the civil rights issue.

"It appears that he is trying to stop the calendar by holding on to the status quo and traditions of 1910," Jenkins commented. "And as much as most of us would like to, we can't."

Russell is leader of the Southerners in the Senate fight against a new civil rights bill.

Jenkins made his comment in an address to the Buckhead Exchange Club. After a brief discussion of crime and crime prevention in Atlanta, he concentrated on "things that must be said" about race relations in the city, and the role of the Police department.

"I subscribe one hundred per cent" to the public accomodations aims of local and national leadership, he said. "I believe the time is coming when a man operating a business under a government license cannot operate on a segregated basis."

He said the current racial calm in Atlanta is caused principally by the failure of conservative Negro leadership in the city to give wholehearted support to the recent flare-up of demonstrations that resulted in mass jailings.

Jenkins said he expects passage this year of the public accomodations bill and that it will solve much of the problems now existing in Atlanta, "but not all of them."

Discussing Atlanta crime, Jenkins said everyone is guilty of compounding the problem by not seeing that property is secured safely against theft.

He admitted: "Recently my pistol was stolen from the glove compartment of my car because I had neglected to lock it."

He said auto manufacturers could greatly curtail car thefts in the country by making their product more theft-proof, such as through the use of steering wheel locks. He charged they could also make their cars physically unable to exceed prevailing speed limits, but are not interested.

6 THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Wednesday, Mar. 11, 1964

White Schools To Accept More Negroes Here

By HAL GULLIVER

The number of Negro students attending previously white city schools will increase sharply this fall, Atlanta school officials said Tuesday night.

The increase is expected whether or not the U.S. Supreme Court orders a speed-up in Atlanta's grade-a-year desegregation plan, said Superintendent of Schools John W. Letson.

Letson met with Board of Education members and the board's attorneys for more than three hours in executive session Tuesday night.

The U. S. Supreme Court will hear arguments March 30, urging an acceleration of desegregation in Atlanta schools. School board attorneys will defend the grade-a-year plan.

"That's the essential point. We are maintaining the grade-a-year approach. It's our feeling that this is best for the community," Board Chairman Oby T. Brewer Jr. said after the closed-door meeting.

But for the first time next fall, school officials said, Negro pupils wishing to attend previously white schools will not be required to transfer from one school to another.

The grade-a-year plan will affect students just entering high school in 1964.

HIGH SCHOOL CHOICE

These students, now in the seventh grade, will be asked "fairly soon" to indicate their choice of high school, Letson said.

"It would mean they could attend a formerly all-white school or a formerly all-Negro school," the superintendent continued.

Proximity to the school will also be a factor, Letson said, especially if more students choose a school than that particular school can accommodate.

"We recognize that next year for the first time there will very likely be a large additional number of Negro students assigned to predominantly white schools," Brewer said.

In response to a question, Letson said it was "quite possible" that there will be twice as many Negro students in previously white schools next fall as there are now. No exact estimates are possible at this point, he said.

ORDERED BY COURT

"The Atlanta school system and board of education have proceeded in accordance with court orders. We will continue to follow this policy," the superintendent stated.

Brewer noted that "the Supreme Court may change this radically" after an explanation of the current plan to allow seventh graders to choose their schools next fall.

The board met as a committee of the whole in executive session, Brewer said, because of the "attorney and client relationship" in a detailed discussion of the pending March 30 arguments before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference sent Brewer a telegram expressing disappointment that the board "is fighting a speed-up in the desegregation of the public schools. . . ."

4-5-64

18 The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION

Human Relations Group Hits Albany

Albany, the racially troubled southwest Georgia city which has been in and out of national headlines for more than two years, was sharply criticized Saturday by the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

The council, an interracial organization with headquarters in Atlanta, published a pamphlet entitled "Albany Georgia: Police State?" The cover of the document is illustrated with a drawing of a policeman's billy club.

The pamphlet charges that "the white community of Albany, however good or bad its intentions, has cast itself in the role of the oppressor. And the Negro community is thus cast, willy-nilly, into the role of the oppressed.

"Perhaps more important than individual episodes of brutality is to understand the attitudes of the white majority—attitudes which permitted police and city officials to abridge or violate the basic constitutional rights of citizens to freedom of expression, assembly, worship and sufferage."

THE PAMPHLET recalled the city administration's complaints against "outside agitators" and declared "that the presence of Negro and white sympathizers from other parts of the country is in direct response to the wishes of Albany leaders; that the bus boycott and demonstrations could not have been arranged by outsiders since it requires day by day commitment to bring them off."

"The 'outsider' gambit reached its outer limits when the Albany Herald labeled President Kennedy as one, and Georgia's two senators concurred, warning him not to 'interfere' where he didn't belong. Only in an Alice-in-Wonderland dream could the president of the United States be called an outsider in his own country."

The council charged that while the "chief illusion" in Albany is that Police Chief Laurie Pritchett acted to preserve law and order, "the truth is that many of these arrests have been made when no threat to the public safety existed, when no disturbance was imminent, when no violence was present."

"THE ONLY THING the chief preserved," the pamphlet said, "was the segregated status quo." The council then went on to cite as "unjustified" the arrest of Negroes in small groups who were engaged in protest demonstrations.

"The ugly fact is that the Albany Police Department has conducted a successful, thorough-going campaign to abridge, deny and violate the basic constitutional rights of American citizens to freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the right to picket—indeed every form of freedom of expression."

Four ministers who "spoke out moderately on race relations" have now left Albany, the council said, and other ministers have confessed that they are afraid.

4-16-64

Eugene Patterson

Racial Tempo Is Changing

The gears are shifting for the Negro as well as for the white at this point in the drive for racial rearrangement. The white shift into a higher, smoother gear was obvious last week; Lt. Gov. Peter Zack Geer and Sen. Herman Talmadge made personal appearances before the assembled Negro schoolteachers of Georgia.

Such things were not thought possible for white politicians a short while ago, silly as that seems. Schoolteachers of any color are among the most valuable citizens Georgia possesses; they always have been. White leaders are only now emboldened to say so.

It's not entirely because fast-registering Negro voters now represent 15 per cent of Georgia's electorate, either. It's because white Georgians themselves have tired of trying to drive forward in reverse and have shifted to a higher gear. Fair play for the Negro is coming to be accepted by the white.

* * *

On the Negro's part, a changing challenge thus is fast arising. An Atlanta Negro student wrote in his high school paper recently of the need for more "study-ins" in the wake of the sit-in era.

John D. Rockefeller III dedicated a new fine arts building at Spelman College Sunday with a call for more Negro students to "progress beyond protest" and qualify themselves now to capitalize on the new opportunities protest has brought.

Advocating passage of the civil rights bill, he went on to observe that its removal of legal barriers will be "only a first step."

Next comes the factor of "education—the key to the future of the American Negro."

"Jobs for qualified Negroes are opening at a rate that those close to the situation would not have believed possible just a year ago," Mr. Rockefeller said. "But there is an irony that must temper optimism: The jobs are opening faster than Negroes can be found or prepared to fill them."

This situation, in truth, is a bigger factor than the filibuster in making the FEPC section the weakest part of the civil rights bill. The question is being asked: Do we need legislation to open up jobs when major corporations are already opening up jobs faster than they can find Negroes trained to fill them?

* * *

This, clearly, is the time for the Negro to shoulder his part of the gear-shifting. The white adjustment is proceeding rapidly when Rep. Phil Landrum of Georgia can say, as he did in Washington, that it only intensifies his enthusiasm for the anti-poverty bill when he is told it will help Negroes.

It is an enormous challenge now to ask the Negro to close the gap which the years of educational deprivation opened between his masses and the white. But that is the challenge, and the Negro alone—no less than Mr. Geer and Mr. Talmadge—can decide how he will meet it.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Friday, May 1, 1964 21

Sanders' Aides Jolted by News of Rights Show on Television

By O. P. HANES
Associated Press Writer

The news that Gov. Carl E. Sanders will join two leading figures in the civil rights controversy on a national television discussion next month sent chills down the spines of some of his Capitol crew Thursday.

Sanders will appear on a Columbia Broadcasting System show the night of May 13 with Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The title is "After 10 Years—the Court and the Schools." And the discussion will center on the status of school desegregation 10 years after the U.S. Supreme Court ordered it.

Neither Kennedy nor Wilkins would place very high in a political popularity contest in rural Georgia, the politicos agree.

The governor accepted the invitation Monday to appear on the panel show and it was announced in New York Wednesday by the network.

Sanders hadn't told some of his aides about his plans. They learned about the show in reading morning newspapers and then the buzzing and whispering started.

"How is this going to affect Carl politically?" the aides started asking each other and the newsmen who wandered in during the day.

There were all kinds of answers.

Sanders seemed to be enjoying it all. Halted by a group of newsmen in a hallway, he talked at length on why he is to be a panelist.

"I am going to tell story of what responsible people in Georgia and the South have done in the field of race relations," he said. "I want to present the real feeling of the people in this area on the subject."

He said Southerners believe that every citizen is entitled to civil rights. The South, he added, is making more progress in race relations than other sections.

Sanders said federal civil rights legislation would not be a panacea for race problems.

"It is going to take responsible leadership looking at the problem of human relations before we will be able to calm the turbulent feelings that now exist," he said. "What must be done is to develop a human relationship that will be acceptable to all."

The governor said he hoped "people in other parts of the nation who are now engaged in an agonizing experience with this problem will be equally as responsible as we have been in Georgia and the South."

The format of the show does not call for a Sanders-Kennedy-Wilkins debate of questions and answers.

5-2-64 ga

Eugene Patterson

Why Not Brag On Georgians?

When Gov. Sanders decided to appear May 13 on a national television show to talk about civil rights, some of his friends got jumpy. Why? He's in touch with what's going on in Georgia.

He's aware that reasonable Georgians may be getting weary of not having their story told to the nation.

Georgia has probably moved further than any other Deep South state toward fair play for the Negro.

Why shouldn't the Negro know it? Too many Americans still think Georgia is a hotbed of lynching bees, night riders, bigoted nitpickers and demagogue politicians. We who live here know we aren't perfect, but we resent that false image. The people are the ones who have made the progress.

* * *

Yet some politicians quake when they learn that Gov. Sanders proposes to counter the false image by simply telling the truth about Georgians.

It's getting to be a curiosity that any politician still thinks that requires courage.

It's about time political leaders did stand up and recite the solid accomplishments that are building up Georgia, instead of letting the state be torn down any longer while they keep a fainthearted silence or else make such dogeared old denials of the obvious that they comfort the state's condemnors.

"I am going to tell the story of what responsible people in Georgia and the South have done in the field of race relations," Gov. Sanders says.

"I want to present the real feeling of the people in this area on the subject."

Civil rights legislation is no panacea, he notes. "It is going to take responsible leadership looking at the problem of human relations before we will be able to calm the turbulent feelings that now exist. What must be done is to develop a human relationship that will be acceptable to all."

* * *

Responsible leadership from the governor's office right down to the city councils of many towns and cities is making strides toward such a relationship in Georgia. This isn't easy. It is hardest for the people directly involved. But they are making noble efforts in Georgia and the efforts are yielding great progress, both in attitudes and actions.

What the people of Georgia are doing ought to be told proudly to the people of America. By and large they have only been told what we have not done.

Gov. Sanders' effort to set the picture of Georgia right represents praiseworthy leadership. His friends of frail faith who are frightened by his boldness should upgrade their respect for the common sense and rightheartedness of most of Georgia's people, with whom Carl Sanders is, we think, in accurate touch.

Medical Association Pushes For Admittance of Negroes

5-6-64

By EDWINA DAVIS
Atlanta Journal Science Editor

MACON, Ga., May 6—The Medical Association of Georgia ended its 110th annual session here Wednesday after passing a resolution requesting all component county medical societies to "voluntarily admit qualified Negro physicians" to membership and honoring a method developed by Atlanta physicians in which a piece of skin used for grafting goes farther.

The resolution concerning Negro physicians says, "Membership in a county medical society is a contributing factor in elevating the quality of the practice of medicine in any community."

MANY county medical societies in Georgia, including those in Cobb, Fulton, Chatham, Bibb, Richmond, Daugherty and Polk, already admit Negroes.

Drs. J. C. Tanner Jr. and Jacques Vandeput of Atlanta received first place in the scientific exhibit contest. Their display was on a method of splitting the skin used for grafting. The skin is placed in a cutter and cut so that on extension the skin is shaped like wire mesh. Their exhibit was entitled "The mesh skin graft."

The doctors said that the method enables them to cover several times the amount of body area as would be possible with an uncut skin graft. They said it had been used successfully to cover burns on a number of patients.

Drs. Joel P. Smith, James T. King, Nathan I. Gershon and William R. Fisher of Atlanta, received a second place with an exhibit on a drug used for relief of pain after tonsillectomy.

Drs. John S. Turner Jr. and John H. Per-Lee and Julia Williams, of Emory University won third place with an exhibit on diagnostic aids in hearing disorders.

THE ASSOCIATION adopted resolutions calling for replacing the office of county coroner with that of medical examiner. The resolutions stated that, "The medical system would better serve the public than the coroner system."

The General Assembly at its regular 1964 session passed measures abolishing the coroners' offices in Fulton and Cobb counties, the resolution noted. The measures are subject to approval as constitutional amendments in the November, 1964 general election.

The association also resolved to continue its efforts to extend insurance coverage for mental illness.

It voted an honorary membership in the association to Herman Jones for "outstanding service . . . over the years as director of the state crime laboratory."

THE ASSOCIATION adopted a resolution honoring Rep. Carl Vinson "for his untiring efforts in behalf of good, representative government. . . ."

Augusta is the site for next year's meeting. It will be held May 2-5, 1965.

5-14-64 Journal

20 Pct. Negro Vote Seen in State's Future

A Negro spokesman said Thursday Negroes will be in a position to cast about 20 per cent of the vote in future Georgia elections.

J. H. Calhoun, chairman of a statewide registrative drive for Negroes, said approximately 275,000 members of his race had registered when books closed May 2 for the September Democratic primary and the November general election.

The estimate of registered Negroes given by Calhoun would be an increase of more than 118,000 over the number registered in 1956.

THE LAW now does not require a breakdown of white and Negro registrants. Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office reported total registration for 1962, the latest figure available, shows 1,364,988 Georgians eligible to vote.

Calhoun said a statewide, nonpartisan group sponsored by the Georgia Voters League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference conducted citizenship clinics in eight cities. The clinics, he said, held workshops on "bread and meat" objectives and how to get out the vote.

CLINICS were held in Columbus, Griffin, Greensboro, Waycross, Moultrie, Savannah, Cedartown and Macon.

Committee volunteer and field workers were active in more than 75 of the 159 counties this year, Calhoun said.

Democrats will nominate candidates for 10 congressional seats, members of the legislature, justices of the state supreme court and circuit court judges in the September primary. The next race for governor and U.S. Senator will be in 1966.

A Negro, C. B. King, is a candidate for Congress in the 2nd Georgia District where six white candidates are running.

Another Negro, Donald L. Hollowell, has offered as a candidate for judge in the Atlanta judicial circuit. He is opposing Judge Durwood T. Pye, incumbent, and attorney Paul Webb Junior.

State Faces Up to Race Issue, Sanders and Wilkins Agree

Gov. Carl E. Sanders told the nation Wednesday night that Georgia has met the school integration problem responsibly and the day of the racist political candidate is passing.

Two of the country's strongest advocates of equal rights for Negroes agreed that Georgia has faced up to its racial problems.

Sanders appeared with U.S. Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy and Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on a nationally televised CBS news report entitled "After 10 Years — The Court and the Schools."

Sanders said, "We in the South think some progress has been made."

He explained that the South had been operating schools prior to 1954 under the U.S. Supreme Court's "separate but equal" ruling. The court's integration ruling created a new concept for education, he said.

"Since that time," said the governor, "the people of my state have realized we are a people of law. . . . "

Sanders said the question got down to whether public schools were to be kept open or closed.

He said the State Legislature, when he was a member of the Senate, had to decide whether to meet the "issue head-on."

"We have met the issue," declared the governor.

NO SCHOOLS CLOSED

Sanders added, "We are proud in Georgia we have never had a Little Rock or New Orleans. We are proud of the fact that we've never closed a school. We're proud of the fact that we've never had troops come into our state."

When questioned about the future in the South for such political leaders as segregationist Ross Barnett of Mississippi, Gov. Sanders offered an explanation to his homefolks why he was appearing on a television program analyzing the school racial problem.

He replied to the question: "I can't answer for someone else. But the only way I can approach a problem is to participate in it . . . . that's why I'm here tonight to explain my state's position."

Sanders, who defeated staunch segregationist former Gov. Marvin Griffin in the 1962 gubernatorial race, added:

"I think the day has gone when a man . . . ran for election on the basis of how he stood as between the races and how they would be educated, and how they would be provided job opportunities.

SEEK LEADERSHIP

"I find that most people today are looking for leadership that will stand for progress . . . and not individuals who are trying to pit one group of people against another, or one section of the state against another."

Atty. Gen. Kennedy said of school integration, "I think there has been progress. I think it has been difficult. It has been difficult in the South and difficult in the North."

He said the issue faced "massive resistance" in the South and in the North "you have de facto segregation which I think is as bad or worse."

He said in some areas the North have been criticizing the South while not working on their own racial problems.

Gov. Sanders said he believes the South will meet the issue more responsibly in the future if the North will face up to its problems rather than take the position of "Do as we say, don't do as we do."

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STERLING EXAMPLES

Wilkins said Negroes are dissatisfied with integration of schools during the past 10 years.

However, he said there are some "pretty sterling examples, some of them in Gov. Sanders, state."

Speaking of Georgians, the NAACP leaders said, "They're discussing the issue." He pointed out that Georgia held public hearings before television cameras on the open-versus closed-school debate.

Wilkins said he thinks integration advocates should be afforded the opportunity to speak at Alabama universities since that state's governor, George Wallace, has been given the chance to espouse his segregation views on some of the leading campuses in the North.

Wilkins said he thinks Negroes have been "generous with the way white people have wrestled with the problem" and called for faster school integration within the next decade.

FARTHER TO GO

The Negro leader said the North has racial problems but does not have as far to go as the South.

When the North criticizes segregation in the South, Wilkins said, "They're not hypocrites. Maybe 85 per cent hypocrites, but not 100 per cent."

The attorney general said education is at the heart of the problem and there is no getting around that Negroes have less chance at success in any area excepting unemployment—where it is twice as great.

A "major effort" at the local level is needed to deal with the problem," said Kennedy.

"If we don't do that, and if we don't have that kind of cooperation and that kind of effort," he declared, "I don't care whether it's Georgia or Massachusetts, it's Mississippi or Illinois, you are not going to find a solution to the problem."

Gov. Sanders Gives Moderate Example

By CHARLES POU
Atlanta Journal Political Editor

Gov. Carl Sanders told a nationwide television audience Wednesday night he believes the old-fashioned, race-baiting demagogue has had it in the South.

Appearing on a CBS documentary on school desegregation, the young Georgia governor himself presented a good image of what it takes for a modern-day Southern politician to appear on such a TV show and continue to win elections back home.

At least many observers came to that conclusion after watching Gov. Sanders review, with co-stars Bobby Kennedy and NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, what has happened since the U.S. Supreme Court turned loose its famed May 17, 1954, school de-segregation decision.

GOV. SANDERS said Georgia has followed a moderate (sort of middle of the road) course, and that was the course he followed in the relating of it Wednesday night.

"We are proud of the fact," he said, "that we've never had a Litle Rock . . . a New Orleans-type situation. . . . We've never closed a school."

Gov. Sanders made his point about demagogues when asked for a comment on former Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi.

He said he wouldn't talk about another man in another state but observed he thinks "the day is gone when a man can run on how he stood on the races."

IN GEORGIA at least, he added, citizens now are more interested in what the candidate may bring them in the way of prosperity, progressive government and better schools.

The commentator said at one point there was living proof at least some progress had been made on the explosive integration problem in the ten years—since the Deep South governor was able to sit there and discuss the issue with the attorney general and the NAACP leader, presumably without getting scarred up politically back home.

Perhaps in the latter connection, Gov. Sanders observed: "The word 'integration' is not a word that is popular in Georgia, and it never will be." But, he said, "In my state, the legislature, which I happened to be a member of at the time (of desegregation confrontation) stood up and took the position that we had to meet the issue head on."

MR. WILKINS said that in the 10 years since the court's decision there have been "some pretty fine, sterling examples" of how desegregation should be handled, "some within Gov. Sanders own state."

He added: "Let's make the next 10 years accelerated progress for all the children of the South and of the North. . . . We have some stubborn ones in the North as well."

Mr. Kennedy urged "a major effort at the local level to deal with this problem, which is not centered just in the South."

De facto segregation of some schools in the North, he said, "is bad or even more extreme than in the South."

The attorney general said sending troops to enforce school integration decisions is "a most distasteful event" and one which his late brother, President Kennedy, found most difficult.

Are Fifth of State's Votes, Negroes Say

By The Associated Press

A Negro spokesman said Thursday Negroes will be in a position to cast about 20 per cent of the vote in future Georgia elections.

J. H. Calhoun, chairman of a statewide registrative drive for Negroes, said approximately 275,000 members of his race had registered when books closed May 2 for the September Democratic primary and the November general election.

The estimate of registered Negroes given by Calhoun would be an increase of more than 118,000 over the number registered in 1956.

The law now does not require a breakdown of white and Negro registrants. Secretary of State Ben Fortson's office reported total registration for 1962, the latest figure available, shows 1,364,988 Georgians eligible to vote.

Calhoun said a statewide, nonpartisan group sponsored by the Georgia Voters League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference conducted citizenship clinics in eight cities. The clinics, he said, held workshops on "bread and meat" objectives and how to get out the vote.

Clinics were held in Columbus, Griffin, Greensboro, Waycross, Moultrie, Savannah, Cedartown and Macon.

Committee volunteers and field workers were active in more than 75 of the 159 counties this year, Calhoun said.

Democrats will nominate candidates for 10 congressional seats, members of the Legislature, justices of the State Supreme Court and circuit court judges in the September primary. The next race for governor and U.S. senator will be in 1966.

A Negro, C. B. King, is a candidate for Congress in the 2nd Georgia district where six white candidates are running.

Another Negro, Donald L. Hollowell, has offered as a candidate for judge in the Atlanta judicial circuit. He is opposing Judge Durwood T. Pye, incumbent, and attorney Paul Webb Jr.

Staff Photo—Guy Hayes

GEORGIA CIVIL RIGHTS ADVISORY COMMITTEE CHIEF MAPS PLANS
(L-R) Sylvan Meyer With William Taylor, Eugene Patterson

Committee Schedules Forum To Explain Civil Rights Act

By PAUL VALENTINE

The Georgia Civil Rights Advisory Committee is mapping plans to bring state law enforcement officials and private business operators together in a forum to discuss interpretation and implementation of the new Civil Rights Act.

Committee member Sam Massell, vice mayor of Atlanta, said Tuesday the date for the meeting has been tentatively set for Aug. 11. It will "probably be in Atlanta," although the committee is still discussing the possibility of holding it in a south or central Georgia city.

The committee met Monday afternoon and evening in the Americana Motel here with three staff members of the U.S. Civil Rights Commsision.

Also on hand was Atlanta Constitution editor Eugene Patterson who has recently been nominated to serve as one of the six national commissioners. When his appointment is confirmed by the U.S. Senate, probably later this month, he will serve as vice chairman of the commission.

THE STATE ADVISORY committee is a 15-member body serving without compensation as a fact-finding and informational

by about dozen Ku Klux Klan members. They carried signs variously inscribed with "Civil Rights Commission Go Home" and "Don't Trade Here — This Business Surrendered To Race Mixers."

Calvin Craig, Georgia Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, joined his men in front of the motel. "I hope Sylvan Meyer and all his Communist sympathizers are picketed in every city they hit," said Mr. Craig.

In describing the proposed meeting of law officials and business operators, Mr. Massell said the advisory committee must first try to contact business associations around the state "to ask them how we can best help them" in presenting factual information and interpretations of the new civil rights law.

"THE COMMITTEE wants to

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

LOCOMOTIVE HAS TO LET STEAM OFF

SEAFORD, England, July 7 (AP)—Locomotive 61210 shunted into a siding and her whistle blew.

It blew and ble-e-w and ble-e-e-e-e-w—for 90 minutes nonstop while the townspeople were trying to get to sleep.

Station master Leonard Rook apologized. Something went wrong with the whistle, he explained, and nothing could be done until 61210 ran out of steam.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Justice Department attorneys, would attend the meeting and offer interpretive information.

In a dinner address to about 50 Atlanta area civil rights leaders Monday night, Mr. Patterson emphasized that neither the U.S. Civil Rights Commission nor the state advisory committee has enforcement power in inated to serve as one of the six national commissioners. When his appointment is confirmed by the U.S. Senate, probably later this month, he will serve as vice chairman of the commission.

THE STATE ADVISORY committee is a 15-member body serving without compensation as a fact-finding and informational appendage of the national commission. All 50 states and the District of Columbia have such committees. Sylvan Meyer, editor of The Gainesville Daily Times, is Georgia committee chairman.

The civil rights meeting was picketed briefly Monday night

meeting of law officials and business operators, Mr. Massell said the advisory committee must first try to contact business associations around the state "to ask them how we can best help them" in presenting factual information and interpretations of the new civil rights law.

"THE COMMITTEE wants to serve in the best way possible, but it has to have the pulse of the state first before it can firm up its program," he said.

Representative organizations that may be invited to the proposed Aug. 11 meeting would include the Georgia Municipal Association, Association of County Commissioners, Association of Police Chiefs, Georgia Restaurant Association, Hotel-Motel Association, School Superintendent Association, Association of Hospital Administators, Georgia Bar Association, Theatre Owners Association, Associated Industries of Georgia, various labor organizations and the state Chamber of Commerce.

Participants in the meeting first would convene in a general session, then break up into various workshops where individual interest groups—such as movie operators or hospital administrators—could discuss the affect of the new bill with a panel of experts conversant in their specific field.

The committee envisions that a number of experts, such as Justice Department attorneys, would attend the meeting and offer interpretive information.

In a dinner address to about 50 Atlanta area civil rights leaders Monday night, Mr. Patterson emphasized that neither the U.S. Civil Rights Commission nor the state advisory committee has enforcement power in implementing the civil rights law.

He said the bill empowers the commission to act as "fact-finding agency" and "clearing house of information," as well as to investigate vote fraud.

THE COMMISSION has subpoena power, he said, but only to obtain facts and "not to prosecute." The advisory committee has no subpoena power, no funds and no staff.

He said the commission, through its respective state advisory committees, gathers information on compliance and non-compliance with existing civil rights laws and regulations. The commission then presents these facts, with legislative and executive recommendations to Congress and the President.

He reiterated it is "not our purpose merely to hunt down complaints." He said, "Despite the present difficulties and acts of violence . . . , we are also seeing one of the most massive efforts to comply with this new law. We must not be concerned only with chasing the violators but also with helping those who want to comply."

In his effort, he said, the commission is empowered to give the general public interpretive information on the new law. Only the Justice Department is authorized to enforce the law, he said.

WILLIAM TAYLOR, general counsel for the national commission, told the gathering that state antitrespass laws are now "clearly inoperative" under the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill if they are used to exclude persons from business establishments because of their race.

Sam Simmons, state advisory committee division director from the national commission, said data on local trends and prevailing practices in civil rights will be gathered by the commission from "traditional sources," such as the various human relations organizations throughout Georgia.

Carl Holman, commission information director, said he hopes to get publication of a "civil rights digest" started for dissemination of civil rights news and information to those persons immediately interested in or affected by the new law.

Both Mr. Holman and Mr. Myer stressed that broad distribution of information concerning successful instances of compliance with the new law will encourage other, more reluctant, interests to comply.

7-20-64 Journal

Georgia Crime Rate Nears National Increase of 10 Pct.

Atlanta Journal Bureau
1426 G Street, NW

WASHINGTON, July 20—The increase in serious crime in Georgia almost kept pace with the national increase last year, the FBI's annual report showed Monday.

The nationwide upswing was 10 per cent. Georgia's rate was just a shade under that.

The report showed 45,803 offenses in Georgia in the seven categories the FBI classifies as serious, compared with 41,798 in 1962.

Nationally, the total went up from 2,050,624 to 2,259,081. Sectionally, the increases were 12 per cent in the South, 13 per cent in the Northeast, 6 per cent in the North Central states and 10 per cent in the West.

The 10 per cent increase and a high percentage of criminal repeaters prompted Director J. Edgar Hoover to renew his call against what he called excessive leniency which tends to "ignore the victim and obscure the right of a free society to equal protection under the law."

CRIME HAS increased five times faster than the national population since 1958, the FBI said in its annual report. Hoover said the cost of crime now is conservatively estimated at $27 billion annually.

In 1963, there was a murder every hour, a forcible rape every 32 minutes and an assault every four minutes.

Crimes against property were primarily responsible for the crime rate increase, jumping by 11 per cent.

Suburbs showed the biggest upswing, with 13 per cent. Cities had a 10-per-cent rise and rural areas 6 per cent.

OF FOUR Georgia metropolitan areas reported on, Savannah had the highest crime rate in 1963 at 1,909 crimes per 100,000 population.

The rate per 100,000 for the other Georgia metropolitan areas was: Atlanta, 1,781; Macon, 1,363, and Columbus, 1,068.

The national crime rate was 1,198 per 100,000 population.

The state's record showed the number of crimes by categories as follows: Murder, 390; rape, 396; robbery, 1,410; aggravated assault, 4,148; burglary, 19,400; larceny ($50 and over), 11,461, and auto theft, 8,598.

By locale, the report broke down Georgia's 45,803 crimes in 1963 this way: Metropolitan areas, 30,911; other cities, 6,292, and rural areas, 8,600.

GEORGIA'S murder rate of 9.4 per 100,000 population was the third highest in the United States. Ahead of it were Alabama with 10.2 and South Carolina with 10. The national rate is 4.5 per 100,000.

Atlanta's murder rate of 10.6 per 100,000 was the seventh highest among metropolitan areas in the nation. Ahead of it were Gadsden, Ala., 16.9; Amarillo, Tex., 12.7; Durham, N.C., 11.2; Charlotte, N.C., 11; Birmingham, 10.9; Chattanooga, 10.7.

For comparison, here are the murder rates in some other metropolitan areas: New York, 5.2; Washington, 6; Chicago, 6.7; Dallas, 10.1; Los Angeles, 4.7; Miami, 8; Boston, 2.3.

7-8-64.

Four Atlanta Businessmen Accept Posts

Four Atlanta businessmen have accepted positions offered by President Johnson to serve on a citizens' civil rights committee.

They are C. R. Yates, of Yates and Milton drug stores; architect Cecil Alexander; insurance agent T. M. Alexander (no kin), and Jesse B. Blayton, certified public accountant.

They acknowledged Wednesday receipt of invitations, which they said they had accepted.

Citizens' groups in each state would serve in an advisory capacity to the Community Relations Service formed by the recent civil rights law and headed by former Florida Gov. LeRoy Collins.

8-3-6

59,119 Negroes in Georgia Qualify to Vote Since 1962

A total of 59,119 Negroes have registered to vote in Georgia during the past two years—keeping pace with the rest of the South during these years of greatly increased activity, the Southern Regional Council said Sunday.

Total Negro registration has reached 1,937,982 in the 11 Southern states because of an increase of 551,328 during the last two years, the SRC added.

Wiley A. Branton, director of the Voter Education Project, said the totals were kept through April 1 and that Negro registration now is probably past the two million mark.

"If the presidential election is a close one within the Southern states, the increased Negro vote could have great significance," Branton said.

He used an example in which the Republican candidate won Florida by 46,766 votes four years ago and noted that Negroe registration has increased by 53,441 since then.

The heaviest increase in registered Negro voters has come in Texas, where a total of 375,000 Negroes can now vote. The smallest increase was in Mississippi, with a total of 28,500 Negro voters.

Despite all the efforts in Mississippi, the SRC estimated that only 3,773 new registrants had been accepted by April 1.

Across the South, the council figured that 38.6 per cent of the Negroes who meet the age and other qualifications for registering have gotten onto the voter lists.

That ranges from a low of 6.7 per cent of those eligible in Mississippi through 39.1 per cent in Georgia on up to 67.2 per cent in Tennessee.

Aside from Mississippi, the lowest figures were found in Alabama and Virginia. Only 21.6 per cent of the eligible Negroes are registered in Alabama and only 27.7 per cent are on the lists in Virginia.

Working with the Voter Education Project in getting the Negroes registered were these groups: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In contrast to the Negro registration of almost 2 million, white registration in the Southern states was placed at 13,600,000. The Negro-white ratio is almost one to six. The SRC said about one-fourth of the South's voting age population is Negro.

The Voter Education Project for the last two years eclipsed Negro registration for the entire decade, a total of not more than decade, total of not more than 350,000 Negroes were registered, as compared to more than 550,000 during the last two years.

38 THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Friday, December 11, 1964

Georgia Rights Strides Lauded

GAINESVILLE, Ga. (AP)—Several communities in Georgia have a story to tell in the field of human relations, Sylvan Meyer, chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, said Thursday.

Sylvan Meyer

"Such progress has been made in Brunswick, Atlanta and Gainesville in this field that I think the nation should take note," he said in an interview.

Meyer said these communities have looked at the problem of human relations from the standpoint of the entire community rather than as individuals.

"This is what our committee is attempting to do in the way of public hearings we hope to hold in various sections of the state," he said.

The advisory committee holds a public hearing at Augusta Friday. Meyer has headed the committee since it was created in 1957.

Although three major reports from the Georgia committee have been forwarded to the U.S. Commission, this will be the first public hearing of the group in Georgia.

Several persons have said they would appear before the committee, including Negro civil rights leaders.

Meyer emphasized that his committee is an advisory group to furnish suggestions to the U.S. Commission.

"We are not an activist group," he said. "We have no program to push. In fact, we are trying to avoid a program of implementation."

"We hope to involve not only the civil rights people, but political leaders and church and civic leaders," he said of the community meetings.

8-11-64 D

Fall to See More Schools Desegregated

Almost one-fourth of the 2,256 public school districts in the South will be racially desegregated to some degree this fall, according to a Southern School News survey.

The report, released by the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tenn., said the survey embraces the 11 states generally considered as the South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Within this area, 525 school districts will be desegregated. Of that number, 81 will be desegregating for the first time this fall, some on court order, some voluntarily.

Thus on a district-wide basis, the South is approaching 25 per cent desegregation 10 years after the U.S. Supreme Court's historic school decision.

At this point—with 75 per cent of the districts still totally segregated and the remainder only partially integrated—federal courts are being asked by integrationists whether the South's performance in the last decade has shown "good faith" and whether it has proceeded with "deliberate speed" as required in the 1954 decree.

MANY SCHOOLS within desegregated districts are sill segregated. This is true of the Atlanta system, for example, which has been using a grade-a-year integration plan for four years now. Federal Judge Frank Hooper recently ruled the grade-a-year procedure is adequate. Integrationists contend the plan—which would take 12 years to complete—does not accord with "deliberate speed."

Desegregation of a school district can take on a wide variety of definition, too: it may mean one Negro is attending one formerly all-white school in a multischool district; or, it may mean several hundred Negroes are attending several white schools, as is the case in Atlanta.

Here, some 800 Negroes out of a citywide total of about 15,000 will be going to formerly white schools in the fall. Half of them will be going to one

---

Put Negroes On Board, State Asked

12-8-64
Const

Some of Georgia's leading Negro educators urged Gov. Carl Sanders Monday to appoint Negroes to the State Board of Education and to eliminate discriminatory practices.

The delegation also called for the hiring of Negroes in higher echelon positions within the State Department of Education, noting there are now none in higher administrative jobs and only a "negligible number" employed in lower positions.

A spokesman said after the meeting with the governor that Sanders "made no commitments," but listened "with an attentive ear" to the Negroes' requests.

The educators said in a statement that "persons who are to be served by laws or policies should have an opportunity to participate on bodies that formulate these policies."

On another matter, the delegation called for the "immediate passage" of a legislative amendment to change the board of trustees of the Teachers Retirement System, which now excludes Negroes.

They explained to Sanders that at least one-third of the $200 million in assets presently held by the retirement system belongs to Negroes.

Those participating in the meeting were Dr. H. E. Tate, executive director of the Georgia Teachers and Educational Association; Jesse O. Thomas, president of the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities; Mrs. Blanche Baldwin, president of the Georgia Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers; Frederick D. Browne, president of the GTEA; James Hawes, vice president of GTEA; Charles Butler, director of the National Education Association for Georgia; J. T. Brooks, executive secretary of the American Teachers Association for Georgia, and Dr. I. E. Washington, director of the American Teachers Association for Georgia.

Here, some 800 Negroes out of a citywide total of about 15,000 will be going to formerly white schools in the fall. Half of them will be going to one white school, thus creating about one-third of that school's enrollment, while the others will be spread more thinly among a few other schools.

One definition that desegregation does not usually have is the transfer of white pupils to Negro schools. Except in a few instances, it has always been the other way around.

Although the overall desegregation figure for school districts now stands near 25 per cent, the percentage is much smaller in the deep South states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina. The bulk of desegregation has occurred in Texas, Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina.

UP TO THIS year, only four districts in Georgia — Atlanta, Chatham, Glynn and Clarke—had embarked on any kind of integration procedure. Four more — Bibb, Muscogee, Richmond and Dougherty—will join the ranks of desegregation this fall, bringing the state total to eight. The total number of systems in the state, is 196. The eight integrated systems thus account for about 4 per cent of the total.

All eight desegregated systems are related with metropolitan areas. Several of them—especially Muscogee, Dougherty, Bibb and Richmond—also serve federally impacted areas with large concentrations of military personnel. They depend on sizable federal supplements to their budgets.

In Dougherty County, for example, 15 per cent of the school budget is provided by the federal government. The figure is 13 per cent in Muscogee, 9 per cent in Richmond, 8 per cent in Bibb.

ALL TOLD, Georgia receives $43 million annually in federal funds for school budgets. The new Civil Rights Act gives federal authority for withdrawal of that money in the event a school system does not comply with desegregation requirements.

Many school officials say the new law has prodded some of the systems in the South to move ahead voluntarily with desegregation plans, rather than waiting for a court order as has been the general pattern up to this year.

The State Department of Education says the average daily attendance for 1964-65 will be about 1 million in Georgia. Of that number, some 30 per cent are Negroes. The Negroes are spread irregularly throughout the systems.

Fifty of the state's 196 systems have enrollments comprised of 50 per cent or more Negroes.

October 9, 1964

Mr. Charles D. Randall
Griffin Rotary Club
International Service Committee
P. O. Box 55
Griffin, Ga.

Dear Mr. Randall:

I overlooked one of the Negro colleges when writing you on October 7th. Please correct the state Negro colleges to Georgia Negro Colleges: 4; 3 state; 1 private; 1963 enrollment 3,337.

Savannah State is the one I overlooked, not realizing at the time that it is a predominantly Negro college.

I might also mention that my source for enrollment is the 1964 World Almanac. Source for integrated schools is news clips; source for Negro income is *1960 U. S. Census of Population*, General Social and Economic Characteristics: Georgia, Table 65.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Ga.

October 7, 1964

Mr. Charles D. Randall
Griffin Rotary Club
International Service Committee
P. O. Box 55
Griffin, Ga.

Dear Mr. Randall:

In reply to your letter requesting information on race relations in Georgia for the Rotarians in Stockholm, Sweden, we can give your answers to some of your questions. Data by race is not available for others.

1) Number of predominantly Negro colleges in Atlanta-- 6
    (all are private, none state) 1963 enrollment: 3,780
    in Georgia--~~3~~ 4; ~~2~~ 3 state; 1 private; 1963 enrollment: ~~2,298~~ 3,337

2) No. integrated formerly white colleges: 13
    (8 public; 5 non-public)
    High Schools: approx. 28 with about 600 Negro students
    Elementary schools: 6

3) Wealth of Negroes in higher income brackets:
    Negroes with income over $15,00 but under $25,000: 331
    Negroes with income over $25,000: 73
    Median state income for Negroes: $2,188; whites: $5,027

You may find one or two of our publications useful in replying to the Swedish Rotarians; we are mailing them under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
The Economic Status of Negroes
Employment Study: Atlanta
Publications list

P. O. BOX 55
GRIFFIN, GEORGIA 30223
U. S. A.

GEORGIA ROTARY STUDENT FUND, INC.
OF
DISTRICTS 690 AND 692 R. I.

October 2, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Griffin Rotary Club has received a letter from a Rotarian in Stockholm, Sweden concerning race relations in Georgia, and being of a somewhat critical, but friendly nature, we would like to reply to same in a constructive manner.

This Rotarian in Stockholm indicated he is studying this matter with view of developing a "program" to enlighten his Stockholm Rotary Club on this situation.

We are gathering data for a reply from various sources and would like information from you concerning the facilities available in Georgia for the education of Negroes, both segregated and integrated:

The number of predominantly Negro Colleges in Atlanta and Georgia and enrollment. 9 - (only 2 are state; other private) 8 public 5 non public

The number of integrated formerly white colleges, high schools and elementary schools in Georgia. 6 - (10 & 12) Atl - 12 other - 16 / 28

If you have any information, or could secure same on: approx 600 -

Negro ownership of homes and farms -
Negro ownership of automobiles -
Wealth of Negroes in the higher economic brackets.
Negro organized and operated businesses, etc.

Any other information you would care to submit suitable to include in reply to our correspondent would be appreciated.

Most sincerely,

Griffin Rotary Club
International Service Committee

C D Randall
Charles D. Randall,
Member
P. O. Box 55, Griffin, Georgia

CDR:mr

U. S. Census of Population, 1960
General Social and Economic Characteristics: Georgia

From Table 65: Income in 1959 of Families and Unrelated Individuals by color for the state, urban and rural: 1960

Median income:	white and Negro:	$4,208
" "	white only:	5,027
" "	Negro only:	2,188
Total income over$15,000, and under $25,000	white and Negro:	19,048
	white only	18,717
	Negro only	331
Income over 25,000 ~~and~~ ~~under~~	white and Negro:	7,604
	white only	7531
	Negro only	73

City	High schools	no Negro students	Elementary schools
✓✓ Atlanta	11 -	430	
✓ Americus	1	3	
✓ Albany ✓✓ Athens	4	26	
Bibb Co. - ✓ Macon -	3	16	
Chatham Co. ✓✓ Savannah -	2	59	
Clarke Co	1	5	2
✓ Marietta	1	2	
(Dougherty Co - stay		36	
Glynn Co	1	17	
✓ Brunswick	1	19	
(Houston Co. (to deseg. Jan 1965)			
Muscogee Co. ✓ Columbus	2	4 ~~4~~	
Richmond Co ✓ Augusta	1	10	4
	28	561 est. 1,000	

February 18, 1964

Mrs. Frank W. Spencer
P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia 31402

Dear Mrs. Spencer:

It is very difficult to get figures on employment and unemployment, and on job-training programs, since government agencies no longer keep figures by race. We have the same difficulty that you have had in your local state employment office.

The Henderson pamphlet you mentioned will be helpful to you if you really want state-wide figures; however, the questionnaire seems to me to be for your own community--Savannah. Statewide figures would not adequately reply to the questions asked. I should think the state league office would receive and reply to such questions. The table on cities in Dr. Henderson's report (Distribution of Income by Families...by Color, 1960, p. 23) does not include Savannah, but you could get figures from the same source.

I am sending you two other publications, both of which concern Atlanta, but which may give you ideas on what to look for and where to look in your city.

I have looked through the U. S. Census of Population 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics: Georgia and picked out a few statistics which may be helpful to you. If you want to use the Henderson table(s), with Chatham County or Savannah figures added underneath, you will need to go through a copy of this at your library, noting the proper figures and working out the percentages. I did not do this, as it would take a great deal of time and it did not seem to me to answer the questionnaire.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
  Statistics on Chatham County and Savannah
Mailed separately:
  The Economic Status of Negroes
  Plans for Progress: Atlanta survey
  Employment Studies: Atlanta

INFORMATION ON CHATHAM COUNTY AND SAVANNAH

1. Population. Source: General Population Characteristics: Georgia
U. S. Census, 1960

Table 25. Characteristics of the Population, For Census, County Divisions: 1960
Chatham County: Savannah Division
Total population - 149,245
White - 95,987; Negro 53,035; Other 223

Table 77. NONWHITE Population - Social Characteristics and Employment Status, For Selected Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, Urbanized Areas, and Urban Places of 10,000 or more: 1960

Savannah

All workers (includes armed forces)		17,587
Median school years completed		7.1
Employment Status		
Male, 14 yrs. & over		15,446
Employed		10,125
Unemployed		870
Female, 14 yrs. old & over		19,535
Employed		7,732
Unemployed		604
Total experienced unemployed		1,398 (persons 25 yrs. & over)
Median income:	[illegible] State	
families	$2,708	
Families and unrelated individuals	$2,164	
Male	2,160	
Female	774.	

Table 85. Income in 1959 of Families & persons, for Counties: 1960 - Chatham
(Negro and White)

Median Income, Families one earner		
Husband and wife and 2 children under 18		$5,783
Income of Persons		
Male, Total	60,107	
Total w/income	53,907	
Median income	$3,469	
Female, Total	67,523	
Total w/income	36,589	
Median income	$1,005	

Table 87. NONWHITE Population, Social Characteristics and Employment Status, For Selected Counties: 1960 - Chatham

Nonwhite Population	64,177	
All workers (includes armed forces)	20,656	
Median school yrs. completed	7.0	
Employment Status		
Male, 14 yrs. old and over, total		19,009
Employed		11,908
Unemployed		1,011
Female, 14 yrs. & over, total		23,042
Employed		9,038
Unemployed		768

Table 88. NONWHITE Population - Occupation Group, Industry Group, and Income in 1959 For Selected Counties: 1960 - Chatham

Family income in 1959	
Median income, families	$2,704.
Median income, families & unrelated individuals	2,128
Median income, per person	1,176
Male	2,126
Female	753

- -

Schools: desegregated 1963 by court order Source: Southern School News
Statistical Summary 1963-64

Negroes BRCL: w/whites 21
schools 2
grades high

Chatham County enrollment: white 24,013 Negro 15,336

Parochial schools desegregated beginning Fall 1964

Recreation facilities: voluntary deseg. of gold courses and parks (except swimming pools); playground Summer 1963 by court order; 3 downtown theatres 1963.

Restaurants: 10-2-63: 2 motels, 2 hotels

Biracial committee formed by Mayor
Also unofficial Council on Human Relations, biracial and volunteer

February 18, 1964

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frances:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter I wrote to Mrs. Spencer and the information I sent her. I have also copied the blank she sent me, from the League. If they get good response from all over the country, and publish results, this could be a very interesting and valuable study!

Frances, I did not suggest to her that it would be a fine thing if they did a survey and got up all this information and passed it along to us. I decided that if this is done, it would come better from you, a personal friend. Certainly the questions asked should be answered by the local Human Relations Council and a long time member ought to know most if not all of them.

I guess it is rather flattering that all these people think SRC can reply to any questions on any community, and possibly a better job could have been done if I had taken time to go through all the files and assemble information more carefully--but this would have taken a full week. We just don't have that much time to spend on one letter unless it is exceptionally important.

Hope you can work things out there, but I know it is just one of many of your problems and that you, too, have to ration your time in accordance with the demands and the importance of each.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright
Research Associate

P. O. Box 136
Savannah, Georgia 31402
February 13, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Local Leagues of Women Voters throughout the United States have been asked by the National Board to consider making a "Know Your Community in the Field of Race Relations" survey. The Savannah League has been working on such a survey for several weeks. We feel that the Southern Retional Conference can assist us in searching for some of the facts regarding discrimination in: Schools, Housing and Jobs.

Would you, for example, have figures on the unemployment of Negro adults and youth in Georgia compared with the whites? We have conferred with our local State Employment office and secured some figures for 1960, which is the last year they separated their records on the basis of race.

Atlanta Employment
Plans for Progress

In the matter of on-the-job training and apprenticeship we know that there is discrimination, but it is difficult to learn exactly the degree of discrimination. I notice that in NEW SOUTH for July-August 1963 you list under SRC Publications: The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South by Vivian W. Henderson. Would this publication have any up-to-date information that we could use in our survey?

I am enclosing a copy of the type of survey we are attempting to do. The results will be used to inform our membership and possibly other sectors of the community. Yout help will be greatly appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Lillian Spencer

Lillian W. Spencer (Mrs. Frank W.)

League of Women Voters of the U.S.
1026 - 17th Street, N.W.
Washington 36, D. C.

July 1963

Know Your Community in the Field of Race Relations

1. What is the population of racial minorities in your community?

In percentage figures? 38%.

What discrimination is there in the following fields:

Parochial schools, Fall 1964

Schools? Housing? Jobs? voluntary deseg. of golf courses & parks (except swimming pools) playground - by court order

w/ enrollment

Chatham Co. - 24,013 15,336

Transportation? Recreation facilities? Restaurants? 10-2-63 ~~some~~ Motels, 2 hotels, 3 down town theatres

Is there local ordinance or state law covering public accommodations? No.

Other?

2. Are there barriers to voting in your community? What is being done to break them down?

3. If there are no racial minorities in your community is this because there are barriers to their coming?

If so, what are they?

Zoning? Restrictive convenants? Yes Lack of employment?

4. Is there a Council of Human Relations in your community? Yes - two biracial Committee

If so, is it broadly representative of the community? Appointed by the Mayor

By whom was it appointed? ~~one that~~ other official; a biracial organization

What are its functions?

Where is it making progress?

What are the roadblocks to progress?

Does it issue an annual report? To whom?

If there is no Council on Human Relations do you see a need for one in your community? Who in the community might be interested in working to have such a commission set up?

Negroes w/white	Brcl. Schools	Grades	Date deseg.
21	2	High	1963-court order

9719 Philip
Detroit, Mich. 48224
April 20, 1964

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The freshman geography class of Dominican High School was assigned to write for information concerning a state of their choice.

Georgia was my choice because it ranges from fertile costal land to mountanious regions. Because of this the people of Georgia must have varied interests and opinions influencing not only their occupations but also their political convictions.

U.S. News & World Report of April 27, 1964 states that your council keeps tabs on racial developments in the South. From the information I have been able to obtain it seens Georgia is a state that is takeing great steps forward to eliminate discrimation.

Would you be kind enough to furnish me with further information regarding the civil rights program in Georgia?

The information you send will make me and my classmates more aware of the part Georgia plays in our government. Thank you.

Yours truly,

Paula Hirzel
Paula Hirzel

SERS - Schools - Ga.

Mailed separately: Albany
Employment: Atlanta

Deseg —
Ga.

May 22, 1964

Miss Paula Hirzel
9719 Philip
Detroit, Michigan 48224

Dear Miss Hirzel:

We think Georgia has taken some steps to eliminate racial discrimination; opinions would differ as to whether these are great steps. It has, of course, made much more progress than Alabama or Mississippi and with less violence. We do have the advantage of a moderate governor and some good mayors in Georgia cities; we have a business climate that doesn't believe in closing schools or in allowing violence when it can be avoided (this is general--in some places this is not true).

Attached is some information on the degree of desegregation in Georgia. The information on schools is from the Statistical Summary, 1963-1964, of Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tenn. The information on cities is from news clips and personal reports received by SRC. This may not be complete, but it is the best we can do at the present time; all questionnaires have not been returned. ALL the desegregation achieved, even that termed "voluntary" (i.e., not by court order) came about after demonstrations, marches, some going to jail and some violence, followed by negotiations.

Under separate cover we are mailing you two pamphlets which will give you an idea on the employment situation and on what happens in a city when the officials will not negotiate. I would also like to refer you to two articles in The Nation, Feb. 3 and 17, by Pat Watters of SRC on Atlanta. This will give you a complete picture of what happens when a city does negotiate.

Good luck to you and the freshman class on your program of information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

DESEGREGATION IN GEORGIA - 5-20-64

State Action: Aug. 1, 1963 - 1st Negro admitted to National Guard since 1905.

Albany - June, 1963 - city sold swimming pool and tennis court rather than desegregate.
Unofficial meeting of 40 businessmen with Negro leaders arranged by Justice Dept. negotiator.
Library integrated on standup basis in late Summer.

Athens - July 30 - 1 theatre admitted Negroes. Aug. 2, two restaurants and two hotels desegregated. Some churches admitted Negroes. library

Grady Hosp. emergency clinic

St. Joseph's Hospital. incl. nursing school

Atlanta - May 1963 - Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want ads, and amusements. Night club desegregated.
June 10-city swimming pools integrated. June 20 - 14 hotels and motels desegregated and some churches admitted Negroes.
June 25 - another 45 restaurants began desegration; later some resegregated after picketing by whites. Oct. 1 - most drive-in theatres desegregated. Nov. 13 - Negro leadership met with Chamber of Commerce and Board of Aldermen. Chamber issued statement urging end to discrimination in business and employment. Nov. 19 - Retail merchants Asso. endorsed voluntary end to segregation in public accommodations; aldermen did not pass resolution of endor~~e~~sement.
16 major industries have agreed to hire Negroes.
More motels and hotels desegregated in Feb. and March, 1964.
All municipal recreational facilities - by court order; libraries, buses, parks

Augusta - Park, except pool desegregated June 29. July 14 - Chronical-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax supported facilities, equal civic and county employment. Mayor appointed biracial committee in late Summer. Parks and library integrated; Negro bus driver hired. In late Sept. merchants began hiring Negroes in non-traditional jobs. Oct. 9-polling places integrated for first time.
Lunch counters desegregated; also ~~parks~~ buses, and municipal auditorium. Some desegregation at two hotels; theatres deseg. Jan. 1964.

Brunswick - During Summer of 1963 an advisory biracial committee was active.

library
Calhoun - Aug. 10, 1963 - first Negro policeman hired.

Canton - library

Clarkesville library

Columbus - June 25, 1963 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres had agreed to desegregation in Fall of 1963. July 17 - County school board announced public library and school deseg, probably 1964. July 22, 1963 - City Commission created biracial committee. Aug. 21- full library desegregation announced for Sept. 1, 1963; integrated Sept. 2. Sept. 4 - 25 member biracial committee named by Commission. During October movies were integrated. Lunch counters, buses, theatres are desegregated; 12th grade will be in Sept. 1964.

Cordele - July 16 - City's first Negro policeman hired.

Decatur - During October Municipal Recreation Center integrated. Three department stores deseg. lunch counters and two private colleges are integrated. June 1, 1964 - 2 Negro policemen hired. Library

DeKalb County - Nov. 12 - unofficial biracial study committee formed.

Macon - July 1, 10 establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, bookstore, and shopping center, signed contracts with federal grovernment to operate businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis. Sept. 22 - Baptist church admitted Negro member. During October some Negroes were employed in mercantile jobs. Library recently integrated. Buses, parks, and golf courses already desegregated, most lunch counters.

~~Mxxxxxx~~

Marietta - by mid-May 1963 reported to have biracial committee; during 1963 five shops and two variety stores desegregated lunch counters.

Milledgeville - May 18, 1964 - 5-man biracial committee formed.

Rome - Library integrated in late Summer 1963. Parks, buses, municipal auditorium desegregated; trade school pened to Negroes.

Savannah - June 14 - city announced some restaurants, theatres, & hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4 three movies desegregated for few hours but resegregated after protest by whites.) Mayor has been meeting with biracial committee.
July 1 - school desegregation plan announced, to begin with 12th grade in Fall 1964.
Aug. 1 - accord reached over Oct. 1 desegregation of some motels, hotels, bowling alleys, and theatres.
Oct. 2 - desegregated: 2 motels, 2 hotels, 3 downtown movies.
13 shops and department stores, three variety ~~s~~stores desegregated; one college. Eleven major industries, employ Negroes.
Municipal golf courses + parks (except pools); library

Tifton - library integrated late Summer 1963.

Valdosta - Sept. 5 - mayor appointed biracial committee. Library desegregated, some new employment opportunities for Negroes.

July 9, 1964

Miss Gloria Wise
708 Avenue N
Greenwood, Miss.

Dear Miss Wise:

We do not have the kind of detailed city-by-city desegregation compilation you requested for Georgia (or any state); things change so from week to week. I am sendingyyou a photo-copy of city-by-city desegregation that we know about in Georgia; the more recent desegregation includes dates.

With the passage of the civil rights bill, there has been daily desegregation (you may check news items in your local paper or in the New York Times at your library) and this will no doubt continue. There may be a few places, such as the Pickrick in Atlanta and the Heart of Atlanta Motel which either refuse or file suit to delay desegregation; there will undoubtedly be difficulties in the rural areas and small towns. But since both Governor Sanders and U. S. Senator Talmadge have said the civil rights bill is legal and urged peaceful compliance, and in Atlanta and elsewhere various civic and church groups have also urged compliance, there is reason to believe that there will be compliance in most places. Some swimming pools have been closed, and others may be later.

Most professional organizations are now integrated.

Regarding schools, see the list re colleges and universities. In Atlanta some private schools (secondary) remain segregated. Bibb County (Macon) and Muscogee County (Columbus) will desegregate in September 1964. In Dougherty County (Albany) 81 Negro children indicated a choice of attending white schools; assignments are to be made by proximity, school capacity, and transportation by fall. Savannah and Brunswick desegregated in the Fall of 1963. Parodial schools in North Georgia desegregated in 1962 and 1963; in South Georgia in 1963. Not all are in fact desegregated; there are not many Negro Catholics outside the larger cities.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

708 Avenue N
Greenwood, Miss.
July 6, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a selected delegate from Georgia who will attend the Seventh Student Seminar on Human Relations sponsored by the National Student Associations which will be held in Minneapolis, Minnesota this month.

I shall be held responsible for completing a state survey of my state - Gerogia. In order that the survey is completed, if it is possible, please send the information which will aid in answering the questions on the following page.

If there is need for a reference person, please contact Hayes Mizell or Pat Knight, 41 Exchange Pl., Atlanta.

Thank you in advance.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Gloria Wise

(Miss) Gloria Wise

1. In Georgia, which of the following are desegregated and to what degree: elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities, private and parochial schools?
2. Was desegregation voluntary or court order? was it peaceful or violent?
3. Which of the following are desegregated and to what degree: transportation, hotels, restaurants, theaters, parks, libraries, churches, housing, hospitals? When did they become desegregated? Are there segergated professional organizations?
4. Please include a history of the council.

May & June 1964 - Ga.

~~May - 1 - 2 cafeterias - peacefully after demonstrations~~

May - 18 - ~~Perry~~ -
Milledgeville - 5 ~~man~~ biracial Committee formed

June - Decatur - 2 Negro policemen hired

program highlights

GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS - 5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA

November, 1964

JEKYLL ISLAND CONFERENCE

More than 150 members, friends and distinguished guests attended the Georgia Council on Human Relations annual meeting on Jekyll Island October 23-25. Here are some of the highlights of that highly successful conference.

On Saturday morning Dr. Herman Long, president of Talladega College interpreted the title of his keynote address "Where Are We in the Fight for Freedom?" as "Where Are We in Race Relations?" He pointed out that the last 10 years have brought the demise of a number of segregationist "lost causes":

a. Massive resistance;

b. The myth of the virtues of "gradualism";

c. The myth of the efficacy of techniques, that in the long run it is not strategy or timing or "gimmicks" that bring victories. We have found that success rests not upon where you begin or how but on the honesty of intentions of those involved.

Charles Morgan, who made headlines when he spoke out against violence in Birmingham, graphically illustrated the price a community pays when the good people are silent. Our Saturday luncheon speaker Mr. Morgan is now Southeast Regional Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Sunday we listened to the beautiful music presented by the Risley Chorus and then heard from several of the students who had desegregated high schools in Americus, Macon, Brunswick and Savannah. The character and poise of these students as they told their stories was beautiful and inspiring to see and hear. Georgia's future looks bright with young men and women like these to lead the way. From a thank you letter from one of the students: "I think that the conference and everything about it was great...I wish there were more times like that".

REPRINTED FROM THE VOICE OF AMERICUS...

Five students from Americus High School were honored at the state-wide meeting of the Georgia Council on Human Relations at Jekyll Island Sunday, October 25. The five were David Bell, Robertina Freeman, Dobbs Wiggins, and Jewel Wise all of Americus, and Greg Wittkamper of Koinonia. They were presented with certificates for their service to all Georgians in their conduct in the desegregated school. David Bell then addressed the group.

Bell described both the progress and the problems the students have seen. He told of harassments from some other students, and of his desire to meet and talk with them without the atmosphere of fear and tension that seems to divide him from them. He also stated that he and his companions intended to continue going to Americus High because they felt their main purpose -- getting a better education -- was being accomplished. This is the reason that other Negro students intend to transfer next fall from Sumter, which is badly overcrowded. Some of these have already begun preparations to insure that they will be able to go to Plains and Union high schools next fall. Bell felt that this is to the advantage of every one in Sumter County. "After all," he said, "if I am better educated and can get a better job, it helps me and my family to live better, it helps the businessmen we buy from, and it helps the city and county because we will pay more taxes."

If you wish to subscribe to The Voice of Americus and S.W. Georgia, subscription rates are $1.25 for six months or $2.00 per year. Send subscription to: The Voice of Americus, % Collins McGee, Route # 2, Americus, Georgia 31709.

DO YOU KNOW...

What the employment office is like in your town? Can a Negro get the job he is qualified to hold? Mr. Phenizee Ransom of the U. S. Employment Security, in addressing Jekyll Island Conference, says citizens should check their local offices to see if they are functioning properly. Georgia Council on Human Relations office will be glad to consult with local councils in how to improve the employment services offered in your area.

WELCOME TO OUR NEWEST COUNCIL...

The Statesboro Council on Human Relations voted on October 21 to affiliate with us. New officers are: Mr. Gordon DeWolf, chairman; Reverend John C. Livingston and Mr. John Lawton, vice-chairmen; and Mrs. Albert Roesel, secretary-treasurer.

WHO SPEAKS FOR THE SOUTH? is a new book by James McBride Dabbs, former president of the Southern Regional Council, and currently a member of its Executive Committee. The book focuses on the forces which shaped the South's concepts and traditions. Out of the explosive issues of today, the author forges a hopeful prophesy for the South's future. Funk and Wagnalls is the publisher, and the release date is October 27.

ROME COUNCIL

The Rome Council has collected approximately $150 for the education fund for the children of Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn who was murdered this summer by automobile snipers. Their newsletter tells of their first dinner meeting held at the General Forrest Hotel. Max Schaible writes that 57 people attended and "the whole thing was exciting... it was wonderful!"

GSHR HOLDS ORGANIZATIONAL CONFERENCE

The Georgia Students for Human Rights voted to be an affiliate of the Georgia Council on October 31 at their first conference. This fine, new organization has as its purpose "to encourage and provide channels for student participation in bringing about a new Georgia, which will provide equal opportunities for all its citizens". The officers are Joseph F. Smith, Fort Valley State College, president; Richard L. Stevens, Georgia Tech, vice president; Deirdre LaPin, Agnes Scott, secretary and Albert Sloan, Albany State, treasurer. Representatives from 13 schools attended the conference and are now organizing on their local campus.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OPENS OFFICE

We are happy to have the new offices of the ACLU on our floor here at 5 Forsyth. Charles Morgan, Jr. is the new regional director and will work in 13 southern states. The primary goal of the office is getting competent attorneys to handle civil rights cases. As noted, Chuck was our guest speaker at Jekyll and we highly recommend his book, A Time To Speak.

NEED CHRISTMAS GIFTS?

Order your Christmas Fruit Cakes now! Use the enclosed blank to order delicious fruit cakes, nuts or candy for presents or for your family!

PRODUCTS of KOINONIA FARM, Americus, Ga.

Price list effective Sept. 15, 1964, subject to change without notice.

Here is a list of Koinonia Products for 1964. We have kept the price as low as possible consistent with high quality. We do not go in for fancy packaging, catalogs, etc. Most of you are our personal friends and we don't have the heart to charge you high prices for dime-store tinsel. Nothing is packed in decanters, jewel boxes or shaving mugs. We sell only good products, and that's all we charge you for.

Prices are postpaid except on orders going west of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and the Dakotas. On these, add 10¢ per lb on orders under 25 lbs; 5¢ per lb over 25 lbs. For all foreign orders, add 90¢ for first 2 lbs; 35¢ for each additional pound.

SHELLED PECANS - Hand selected nuts of the highest quality and best varieties. Packed in attractive 1-lb cello bags.

No.	Halves		No.	Pieces	
400	Box of one 1-lb cello bag	$1.85	401	Box of one 1-lb cello bag	$1.75
402	Box of two 1-lb cello bags	3.50	403	Box of two 1-lb cello bags	3.25
404	" " four " " "	6.25	405	" " four " " "	5.95
406	" " six " " "	9.00	407	" " six " " "	8.75
408	" " eight " " "	11.95	409	" " eight " " "	11.50
410	" " Twelve " " "	17.75	411	" " twelve " " "	17.25
410a	12 1-lb bags each packed in cardboard box for re-shipping	18.75	411a	12 1-lb bags each packed in cardboard box for re-shipping	18.25
422	Case of 24 1-lb cello bags	34.50	423	Case of 24 1-lb cello bags	33.50
424	Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each	31.50	425	Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each	30.00

Economy Shelled Pecans: These are our second grade nuts. They are just as flavorful as the ones above, except that they are a little darker in color. Where appearance is not a prime factor, such as for cakes, cookies and candy, they are ideal. Frankly, this is the grade which we use in our fruit-cakes. They're actually better than most #1 nuts you buy.

No.	Halves		No.	Pieces	
432	Box of two 1-lb bags	$2.95	431	Box of two 1-lb bags	$2.85
434	" " four " "	5.60	433	" " four " "	5.45
436	" " six " "	7.95	435	" " six " "	7.75
438	" " eight " "	10.25	437	" " eight " "	9.95
440	" " twelve " "	15.25	439	" " twelve " "	14.90
442	Case of 24 1-lb bags	29.75	441	Case of 24 1-lb bags	28.50
444	Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each	28.50	443	Two or more 24-lb cases going to same address at the same time, each	27.25

BULK SHELLED PECANS: Loose nuts packed in cardboard box with poly bag liner.

No.	Halves		No.	Pieces	
426	Top quality, 28-lb box	$36.75	427	Top quality, 30-lb box	$37.75
428	Top quality, two or more, each	34.25	429	Top quality, two or more, each	35.25
446	Economy quality, 28-lb box	32.25	445	Economy quality, 30-lb box	33.25
448	" " Two or more, each	29.75	447	" " two or more, each	30.75

PECANS IN THE SHELL

Carefully selected papershells, plump and well-filled. Schleys are medium sized, with paper thin shells and excellent flavor, the best of all varieties. Desirables are large, slightly thicker shells, very attractive but not quite as flavorful.

No.	Schleys		No.	Desirables	
470	4½ lb box (net wt. 4¼ lbs.)	$3.75	471	4½ lb box (net wt. 4¼ lbs.)	$3.50
472	9 lb box (net wt. 8½ lbs.)	7.00	473	9 lb box (net wt. 8½ lbs.)	6.50
474	27 lb box (net wt. 25 lbs)	16.50	475	27 lb box (" " 25 lbs.)	15.50
476	Two or more 27-lb boxes, each	15.95	477	Two or more 27-lb boxes, each	14.95

(over, please) (over, please)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

FRUIT CAKES

We have spared nothing to make this the finest cake possible. It is loaded with fruit and nuts, with just enough batter to hold it together. Packaged in an attractive box, it makes an ideal gift. Or it may be dropped in the freezer for that extra special occasion.

No.			No.		
451	One 3-lb cake (net wt. 2 lbs 13 oz)	3.90	454	Box of four cakes	$14.75
452	Box of two 3-lb cakes	7.60	455	Case of 12 cakes	37.00
453	Box of three 3-lb cakes	11.25	456	Two or more 12-cake cases, each	34.75

For the first time, we are slicing our fruit cake, and offering in in 1-lb boxes (net wt. 15 oz.) Each slice is individually wrapped and then packed in a nice box with a cello window. Minimum order is two boxes.

No.			No.		
490	Two 1-lb boxes sliced fruitcake	$3.25	493	Twelve 1-lb boxes sliced cake	$18.25
491	Four 1-lb " " " ..	6.40	494	Case of 24 1-lb boxes	34.50
492	Eight " " " " ..	12.50	495	Two or more 24-lb cases, each .	33.25

PECANDY, SPICED PECANS, AND SELECT MAMMOTH HALVES

About half pecans and half candy, pecandy is truly delicious. It is far superior to pralines or any other pecan candy we've tasted. It is home-made, cut into squares and packed two layers deep in a half-pound (net wt. 7 oz) box with cello window. Spiced pecans are halves sugar coated with cinnamon and other spices, packed in the same ½-lb. box as pecandy. Select Mammoth Halves are our very best fancy halves packed also in the ½-lb. box. The price of pecandy, spiced nuts and mammoth halves is the same, and they are interchangeable. For instance, you may order four of each for the price of twelve. Be sure to specify how many of each you want. Minimum order is two half-pound boxes.

No.			No.		
480	Two ½-lb boxes your selection ..	$1.95	484	16 ½-lb boxes your selection	$13.95
481	Four " " " " ...	3.75	485	24 " " "	20.65
482	Eight " " " " ...	7.25	486	Three or more 24-box cases going to same address at same time, each	18.95
483	Twelve " " " " ...	10.75			

VARIETY PACKS

(In all packs below, the ½-lb boxes of pecandy and spiced nuts are interchangeable. Re-arrange to suit yourself.)

No.		
460	1 lb select halves, ½ lb box pecandy, ½ lb box spiced nuts	$3.50
461	1 lb halves, 1 lb sliced fruitcake and ½ lb box spiced nuts	3.95
462	2 one-lb bags halves and one 3-lb fruitcake	6.95
463	1 lb halves, 1 3-lb cake, 1 box pecandy and 1 box spiced nuts	6.95
464	2 lbs halves, 1 3-lb cake, 2 boxes pecandy and 2 boxes spiced nuts	10.25
465	1 lb halves, 1 lb pieces, 2 3-lb cakes, 2 ½-lb boxes select halves, 1 box pecandy and 1 box spiced nuts	13.25
466	2 lbs halves, 2 lbs pieces, 1 3-lb cake, 4½ lb box Desirables in shell, 2 ½-lb boxes pecandy and 2 of spiced nuts	16.00
467	2 lbs halves, 1 lb pieces, 2 lbs Schleys in shell, 2 1-lb boxes sliced fruitcake, 1 doz. assortment (your selection) of pecandy and spiced nuts	19.25

KOINONIA "Cotton Patch" TRANSLATIONS

No. 1	Ephesians-Philemon	35¢	No. 3	Galatians-Philippians ..	35¢
No. 2	Hebrews	35¢	No. 4	Sermon on Mount-James ..	35¢

Packet of any 3, $1.00; all four, $1.25; 25 or more booklets, your selection, 25¢ each.
For information concerning Koinonia records, write to KOINONIA RECORDS, Box 1476, Evanston, Ill.

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Ga

December 16, 1964

Mr. John A. Griffin
Associate Director for
Conciliation
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear John:

Jean Fairfax of the American Friends Service Committee and I were in Houston County, Georgia last week. Knowing that the Community Relations Service is interested in the area, I thought you might like to know what we found out down there. Maybe CRS can be of service to the community.

The crucial issue is school desegregation. The Negro community has petitioned the Houston County School Board to desegregate the schools. A plan for desegregation, as submitted by the school board of HEW, has been accepted as a "good faith" plan and thusly federal funds approved for the present school year.

We have not seen the plan, nor have any members of the Negro community, but our understanding is that the plan called for desegregation of the 12th grade, beginning with the second semester. Such a plan is void of good faith and it is difficult for us to see how such a plan could have been accepted by the federal government. Nonetheless, it was, and the funds approved.

As to the implementation of the plan, parents of four children sought to get transfers at the end of the last day in the transfer period. It appears that someone told the parents that since the deadline, November 15, was a Sunday, they would not have time to complete the forms by the deadline. Therefore, no transfer forms were submitted and there are no Negro students to enter the white school. Of course, the other problem is a practical one -- who would choose to change schools in the second semester of their senior year in high school?

It is too late then to do anything about this school year, but there is ample time to prepare for September. Can CRS do anything here to effect the desired result?

The elementary school on the Warner Robins base is desegregated and employs three Negro teachers. However, children of military personnel attending high school in Warner Robins do so on a segregated basis.

There are positive signs in the Warner Robins community that school desegregation will not present a major crisis. The Montclair Motel accommodates Negro travelers and the eating places serve all comers. A Negro sergeant at Warner Robins is a member of the Lutheran church, where he teaches Sunday School. The minister at the Methodist church has addressed an NAACP mass meeting. The presence of the base can be considered a positive influence also, I think.

The American Friends Service Committee and the Georgia Council on Human Relations are the private agencies that have manifested a real interest in that community. You may want to call on them for further information.

Best wishes for a joyous holiday season.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

Ga. Schools

February 18, 1965

Mrs. Dwight Anderson
800 South Fourth St., Apt. 404
Louisville 3, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

We are sorry for the delay in replying to your letter of January 29th, but we have been plagued with illnesses in the research department and have gotten somewhat behind. And your questions did require considerable research that cannot be done in a few hours. In your second letter, you said you had already obtained answers to some of your questions. If you would still like specific answers to them, please let us know.

I am replying now to the questions you asked in your second letter, and they are answered on the attached sheet. I am also enclosing a photo copy of a page on Georgia school desegregation from the Statistical Summary, 1964-65 of the Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tenn. Under separate cover we are sending you a 1960 study of Georgia schools, Georgia's Divided Education. This will give you the background information on what has been the situation quite recently.

High school graduates from all accredited schools receive diplomas, and are eligible to enter accredited colleges and universities in Georgia or elsewhere. There is sometimes some difficulty about the high schools which are not accredited.

Since the President directed that schools receiving federal funds must sign agreements of ending segregation, the schools all over the state are considering and many are signing rather than lose federal funds. How many will not we cannot tell, because the date for signing has not yet expired.

You are correct that high school drop-outs find difficulty in obtaining jobs--Negroes have even more difficulty than whites, but whites are having difficulty too. But even high school graduates without technical training have difficulty in finding jobs now.

The programs initiated under the federal anti-poverty bill will be most helpful in Georgia, and many are already underway here with others beginning soon. Vocational and technical training is very much needed by both Negro and white youth, and many adults.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Georgia's Divided Education
Employment Opportunities: Atlanta
Federal Anti-Poverty Programs
Southern School Desegregation: A Psychiatric Study
Map

P.S. Because of your question re Negro students transferring out of desegregated schools, I am also sending you the study by Dr. Coles. This will explain why so few of them do--only one in Atlanta in the two years of the study, and this because of stress factors in her family situation which deprived her of needed emotional support.

The map may be helpful to you in understanding the Negro population distribution in Georgia, and why some counties have no Negro schools.

Mrs. Dwight Anderson: Replies to questions re Georgia schools

1. There are some counties in Georgia that have no high schools for Negroes:

under 21
Banks - only 243 Negro children/in county, bussed to nearby county Negro schools in most instances.
Brantley- only 414 Negro children under 21
Dade 73
Dawson one non-white adult only in county
Forsyth four non-white adults only in county
Gilmer only four Negro children in county
Lumpkin Only 62 Negro children in county
Murray Only 40 Negro children
Rabun Only 20 Negro children
Spalding is combined with Griffin county w/ consolidated schools for whites and Negroes
Towns Only one non-white adult in county
Union "" " "
White Only 145 Negro (or non-white which means about the same although sometimes this includes a few others)

From the SERS page (attached) you can check which ones admit Negroes to white schools. This will be greatly increased by the next school term. At the present time, desegregation is in what we think of as a "token" stage.

No Georgia county (except Spalding, as explained above) is without a white high school, although some are not accredited.

There are 42 Negro high schools in the state that are not accredited.

In the counties where there is no high school for Negro children, the elementary schools go through the 8th grade in most cases and in some cases the 9th.

There are more and more scholarships available to Negro high school students so that they will be able to attend college.

MRS. DWIGHT ANDERSON
800 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, APT. 404
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

February 16
1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Several days ago I wrote a letter of inquiry to the Southern Regional Council, addressing no particular person. I have had no reply. Since writing, however, I have learned the answers to some of my questions, principally from Dr. C. H. Parrish. There remain a few questions to which I need replies, and Dr. Parrish thinks you may be able to help me.

Are there still counties in Georgia where there is no high school for Negroes? Which are they? Do white schools in these counties admit Negroes? Are there any counties without high schools for either white or Negro students?

I shall be most grateful for any help you can give me.

Sincerely,

Barbara Anderson

MRS. DWIGHT ANDERSON
800 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, APT. 404
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

January 29,1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In connection with some research I am presently engaged in I am in need of information as indicated by the following questions:

In the more rural counties of South Georgia

How did 1964 enrollment of white pupils (in proportion to white population) compare with 1964 enrollment of Negro pupils (in proportion to Negro population)?

How did the number of 1964 white graduates (in proportion to population) compare with the number of Negro graduates (in proportion to Negro population)?

Do all high school graduates receive diplomas?

Are all high school graduates eligible to enter accredited colleges and universities in Georgia?

What proportion of Negro high school students request and receive transfer to white schools?

What proportion of the above subsequently request return to Negro schools?

What predictions can be made as to time needed for complete integration?

I am under the impression that too many young Negro who have had to drop out of high school for reasons beyond their control are automatically eliminated from jobs open to "high school graduates only". The questions I have asked have to do with that impression. I shall be extremely grateful for whatever you can say in reply to these questions, and txxany for any further information which you think relevant.

Assuring you of much appreciation,

Cordially,

Barbara Anderson

GEORGIA COUNTIES	White High School	Negro High School
✓Appling	//	/
✓Atkinson	/	/ NA
✓Bacon	/	/ NA
✓Baker	/	/ NA
✓Baldwin	/	/
✓Banks	/	
✓Barrow (no Negro schools)	/	/ (Winder) no Negro schools
✓Bartow	卌	/
✓Ben Hill	/	//
✓Berrien	/	/
✓Bibb	//// 1 (for the blind) (1 vocational high)	2 (in Macon)
✓Bleckley	/	/ NA
✓Brantley	//	
✓Brooks	/E	/
✓Bryan	//	/
✓Bulloch	////	/
✓Burke	///	1NA 4 (1 private)
✓Butts	/	/ NA
✓Calhoun	/	/ NA
✓Camden	//	/
✓Candler	/	/ NA
✓Carroll	卌	/ (in Carrollton)
✓Catoosa	///	/ NA
✓Charlton	/	/ NA
✓Chatham	////	2
Chattahoochee		/ NA
✓Chatooga	///	/ NA
✓Cherokee	/	/
✓Clarke	/	/
✓Clay	/	/
✓Clayton	///	/
✓Clinch	/	/ NA
✓Cobb	卌 ///	/ (Marietta)
✓Coffee	//	/
✓Colquitt	////	/ (Moultrie)
✓Columbia	//	/
✓Cook	//	/ NA
✓Coweta	///	/ (Newnan)
✓Crawford	/	/ NA
✓Crisp	/	/ NA

GEORGIA COUNTIES	WHITE HIGH SCHOOL	NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL
✓Dade	/	—
✓Dawson	/	— No Negro schools
✓Decatur	///	1 (Bainbridge)
✓DeKalb	⑨ //-/-/-/-/-/-/-/	4
✓Dodge	𝍸 /	1 NA
✓Dooly	//	1 NA
✓Dougherty	/	1 + 1 jr. hi
✓Douglas	/	/
✓Early	//	/
✓Echols	/	/ NA
✓Effingham	/	/
✓Elbert	/	/
✓Emanuel	///	/
✓Evans	/	/
✓Fannin	//	—
✓Fayette	𝍸	/
✓Floyd	𝍸 //	(1 - ~~blind~~ deaf) 1 - Rome
✓Forsyth	///	— no Negro schools
✓Franklin		/
✓Fulton	𝍸𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 𝍸 //	3 + 7 at = 10
✓Gilmer	/	— no Negro schools
✓Glascock	/	/ NA
✓Glynn	/	/
✓Gordon	///	/
✓Grady	//	/ NA
✓Greene	//	/
✓Griffin-Spalding	/ ~~aide~~	/
✓Gwinnett	/// 𝍸	/ + 1 NA
✓Habersham	///	/
✓Hall	//// ~~aide~~ 1 - Greeneville	— no Negro schools
✓Hancock	/	/
✓Haralson	// //	/
✓Harris	/	/
✓Hart	/ ~~aide~~	/
✓Heard	/	/
✓Henry	/	/
✓Houston	//	/ + 1 thru 10th
✓Irwin	/	/
✓Jackson	///	/
✓Jasper	/	/

GEORGIA COUNTIES	WHITE HIGH SCHOOL	NEGRO HIGH SCHOOL	
✓Jeff Davis	1	1 NA	
✓Jefferson	111	1	
✓Jenkins	1	1	
✓Johnson	11	1	
✓Jones	1	1	
✓Lamar	1	1	
✓Lanier	1	1	
✓Laurens	THH ~~[illegible]~~	4	
✓Lee	1	1	
✓Liberty	1	1	
✓Lincoln	1	1	
✓Long	1	1	
✓Lowndes	111	2	
✓Lumpkin	1	—	
✓Macon	1	1 NA	
✓Madison	1	1	
✓Marion	1	1	
✓McDuffie	1	1	
✓McIntosh	1	1	
✓Meriwether	111	1	
✓Miller	1	1	
✓Mitchell	111	2	
✓Monroe	1	1	
✓Montgomery	1	1	
✓Morgan	1	1 NA	
✓Murray ~~No Negro hi~~	1	~~1 NA~~ —	No Negro Hi
✓Muscogee District Muscogee	11 (1 voc high)	2	— No Negro H.S.
✓Newton	1	1 NA	
✓Oconee	1	1	
✓Oglethorpe	1	1	
✓Paulding	11	1	
✓Peach	11	1	
✓Pickens	1	1 NA	
✓Pierce	1	1	
✓Pike	1	1	
✓Polk	11	1 (Cedartown)	
✓Pulaski	1	1 NA	
✓Putnam	1	1	
✓Quitman	1	1	
✓Rabun	11	—	
Randolph			

GEORGIA COUNTIES	WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS	NEGRO HIGH SCHOOLS
✓Randolph	//	2 NA
✓Richmond	//	/
✓Rockdale	/	/
✓Schley	/	/
✓Screven	/	/
✓Seminole	/	/
Spalding	—	/
✓Stephens	///	/ (2 occur)
✓Stewart	//	/
✓Sumter	///	/ NA
✓Talbot	/	/ NA
✓Taliaferro	/	/
✓Tattnall	//	/
✓Taylor	///	/
✓Telfair	///	/
✓Terrell	/	/ NA
✓Thomas	////	2 (1 Thomasville)
✓Tift	//	/ NA
✓Toombs	///	2 (1 Vidalia)
✓Towns	/	— No Negro schools
✓Truetlen	/	/
✓Troup	////	2 1NA (1 Hogansville) 1 NA LaGran
✓Turner	/	/
✓Twiggs	/	/
✓Union	//	— No Negro schools
✓Upson	/	/
✓Walker	~~////~~	/ NA
✓Walton	///	/ NA
✓Ware	/// 1 Waycross	— No Negro schools
✓Warren	/	/ NA
✓Washington	/	/
✓Wayne	///	/ NA
✓Webster	/	/
✓Wheeler	/	/ NA
✓White	/	—
✓Whitfield	////	1 (Dalton) No Negro schools
✓Wilcox	///	/
✓Wilkes	/	/ NA
✓Wilkinson	/	/ NA
✓Worth	/	/

Spec— 1 Negro 1 White

Ga. Counties w/ no accredited white high school

Chattahoochee - (Cusseta High - not accredited)

~~Spalding~~ combined w/ Griffin
No report

No Negro high school

Banks 1 Total Negro population - 426
21 & over - 183
Children
243 c

~~Barrow~~ (No Negro schools) 1 Winder
{2,562
-1,294
1,268 c

Brantley
773
-359
414 c

~~Burke~~ 1 NA - 1 private
13,685
-5,988
7,697 c

Dade
135
-62
73 c

Dawson (No Negro schools) 1 adult no children

~~Emanuel~~
5904
-2732
3,172 c

4 N adults

~~Floyd~~ Forsyth (No Negro schools)
9,938
5,513
~~4,425 c~~

Gilmer (No Negro schools)
9
5
4 children

Lumpkin
137
-75
62 c

~~Morgan~~ Murray 1 NA
{4920
2,246
2,674 c

85
45
40 c

Rabun
{-60
-40
20 c

~~Seminole~~ Spalding combined w/ Griffin
~~2,613~~
~~-1162~~
~~1,451 c~~

Towns (No Negro schools) 1 adult

Union (No Negro schools) 1 adult

White
301
-156
145 c

May 20, 1965

Mrs. Dwight Anderson
800 South Fourth St., Apt. 404
Louisville 3, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Your premise is not true. If you will refer to the statistics I send you previously, you will note that the Georgia counties having no Negro high school are those with a very small proportion of Negro population. It is in these counties that "bussing" is used for those Negro children desiring to attend high school. The compulsory school attendance law has never been enforced as stringently for Negroes as for whites in Georgia, and therefore some Negro children do not attend high school. But they can. It may not be a very good high school, but it is classified as a high school.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

MRS. DWIGHT ANDERSON
800 SOUTH FOURTH STREET, APT. 404
LOUISVILLE 3, KENTUCKY

May 19
1965

Mrs. Montez G. Albright, Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

The letter from you In February and the pamphlets you sent have been so helpful to me that I am asking for your advice in a specific matter: The novel I am writing is concerned with racial discrimination as practiced indirectly or deviously. It is laid in a fictional county in southeastern Georgia. A contest is being conducted for the rediscovery of Georgia's famous lost tree, the franklinia altamaha. The contest is open to graduates of high schools. One of the judges refuses to serve because there is no high school for Negroes in her county, and Negroes are therefore eliminated from the contest with its possible prize of $2000. The point is made that Negroes may now be admitted to the one (white) high school in the county, but this has been true only recently, so recently that there is not one Negro in the county eligible for the contest.

My question is: Am I justified in saying this or have arrangements been made (say within the past ten years) by bussing or otherwise for every Negro in every county who wishes to do so to go to high school?

over

As I read your literature, I think I am justified, but I want to be sure. I'll be more grateful than I can say for your further help.

Sincerely,

Barbara Anderson

Not true - in all counties with large Negro pop. there is some kind of high school. "Bussing" for long distances is arranged for counties having a small ~~proportion~~ proportion of Negro ~~children~~ population.

Georgia Council on Human Relations
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Bulk Rate
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Southern Regional Council
Room 501
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

REMINDER! REMINDER!

A TIME TO ACT!

Annual Meeting of the
Georgia Council on Human Relations
at Jekyll Island
October 23,24,25, 1964

Friday, October 23:

Registration, Carriage Inn, 3-7 P.M., (fee $1.00)
Dinner, Dolphin Motel, $2.50, 7 P.M., Dr. Lionel Newsom, Chairman, presiding, Council reports.

Saturday, October 24:

9:00 A.M., Speaker, Dr. Herman Long, President of Talladega College, Where are we in the fight for freedom?

10:00 A.M., Panel, Employment Opportunities, Jac Wasserman; Phinizee Ransom, U.S. Employment Security; Oliver W. Holmes, Breadbasket.

11:00 A.M., WORKSHOPS

Luncheon, 12:30, $2.50, Speaker, Charles Morgan, ACLU Director, Author of "A Time to Speak".

2:30 P.M., Panel, Robert Thompson, FFHA Housing; Luke Teasley, Director, Georgia Office of Economic Opportunity; Louis Mitchell, U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Public Accommodations.

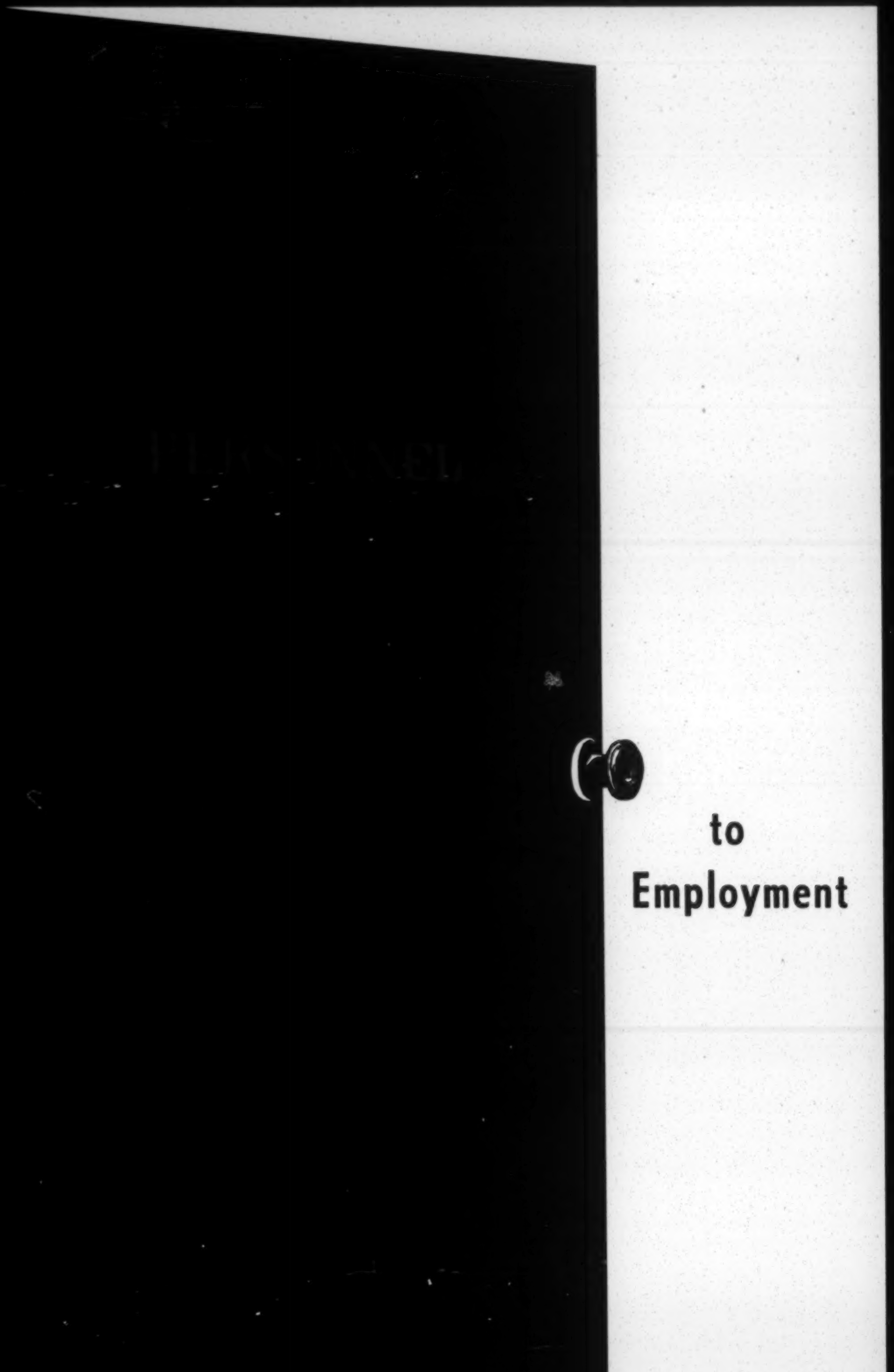
3:30 P.M., WORKSHOPS

8:30 - 11:00 P.M., Open House, meet your Board of Directors.

Sunday, October 25:

7:30 A.M., Worship, Faith Chapel
9:30 A.M., Carriage Inn, Mrs. Martin Luther King in concert. Transfer students, honor guests.

MAIL MOTEL RESERVATIONS DIRECTLY TO MOTEL


PERSONNEL
to
Employment

This pamphlet is published by the
Georgia Council on Human Relations
as part of its continuing program to guarantee the
opportunities and safeguard the rights of all Georgians.

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Exec. Director

Opening the Door to Employment

The Civil Rights law makes it possible for a Negro to eat where he wishes, patronize the hotel of his choice, go to the movies when he pleases. These are giant steps forward. But practically speaking, what good are they to the Negro who does not have the price of a meal or a hotel room or a theater ticket?

What is needed to make them meaningful is the assurance that a Negro can get a job on his merits so that he can pay his own way. For until Negroes are financially free, the social and political freedoms they are winning will have little reality.

Some Negro leaders are reluctant to enter the employment struggle now. They say:

"We're having a tough enough time with school desegregation or public accommodations without getting involved in employment."

"Let's face it. We would be selling something we don't have. There simply aren't enough qualified Negroes in our town for white collar jobs."

"When the employment provisions of the Civil Rights law take effect, we won't have to organize for jobs. Washington will handle it."

To such objections we would answer:

1. The winning of jobs will accelerate advances all along the line. The struggle for equal education, voting and public accommodations will be enhanced, not neglected.

2. If there is a lack of qualified Negro personnel, you can help remedy it. What more important project could you undertake?

3. The federal government may pass laws, but unless there is community acceptance of those laws, they will be ignored. An employment project helps to create such a favorable community climate. But more important, organizing for better jobs is a do-it-yourself community undertaking which increases the pride and self-respect of every Negro.

These three conclusions are not idle speculation. They are based on the experience here in Georgia of three cities where Negroes organized for equal employment. In Atlanta, Macon and Brunswick — a large city, a medium-sized city and a small town — they proved it can be done.

What did they do? What problems did they run into? Would their techniques apply to your town? The stories vary. But each may contain some new way of working, some new approach which would be useful to other Georgia leaders in opening the doors to employment.

ATLANTA: OPERATION BREADBASKET

The Atlanta operation is based roughly on the techniques used by a group of Philadelphia ministers with the same name. Early in 1963 it organized to work exclusively for employment opportunities. It involves 400 Negro ministers of every denomination. Among the most active leaders in Operation Breadbasket is Rev. Oliver W. Holmes, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. The techniques described are those he has personally participated in or observed.

Getting Started: A local minister acted as convener, calling and chairing the first meeting. At that time, three "call" men, each of a different denomination, were elected to get other ministers to join in. Each of these "call" men has sufficient prestige to guarantee a good response from Atlanta's Negro ministers.

Selecting Targets: What business is most likely to employ Negroes? Obviously one whose products Negroes buy. Whether it is a grocery store or department store or manufacturing plant, management will not want to antagonize a large percentage of its customers by denying Negro applicants a fair shake at employment.

Seasonal fluctuations must also be taken into account. In the retail field, management is most likely to be cooperative at peak buying periods like Easter or Christmas when refusal to hire Negroes could send regular customers buying elsewhere. Similarly, in a manufacturing plant, regular seasonal lay-offs would be a poor time to press for new hiring.

Selecting good targets at the right time is a prime requisite for successful negotiation.

Preparing to Negotiate: Once a target has been selected, a negotiating committee is appointed. The negotiating committee makes an appointment with management. Before that appointment, it gathers as much information as possible from people who work there, or have worked there and from general community knowledge of this particular business. Based on this information, a list of questions is prepared *in advance* of the meeting, designed to get more information and to probe the attitudes of management.

At a pre-appointment caucus, the negotiating committee appoints its spokesmen to avoid repetition and speechmaking. Those who are not experienced negotiators thus have an opportunity to observe the spokesmen so that at some future negotiation they can be spokesmen themselves.

The negotiating committee may number anywhere from five to eight people. Operation Breadbasket found that when a large number of negotiators met with management, those with no roles to play stood around restlessly. Inexperienced members, impressed by an elegant office or a forceful manner, or for lack of something better to do, unconsciously nodded agreement with everything management said. This must be avoided, for it puts the spokesmen under a dangerous psychological handicap.

The First Meeting: This first meeting simply sets the stage. No actual negotiations are conducted; no requests for hiring made. First, the committee drives home its credentials, making clear that through its members and their pulpits, they represent the Negro population of the city. (This does not mean that in your town an employment campaign must be organized by ministers. It can be a coalition of organizations or of civic leaders or just one organization doing the job — whatever best suits your setup.)

Next, the committee seeks information on hiring and upgrading practices. It also makes a point of finding out practices concerning physical facilities such as lunch rooms, lockers, rest-rooms and the like. For it is as much concerned with eliminating discrimination on the job as with hiring.

A tour of the plant or store on this first visit is a big help. Observant eyes will see much that management withholds. For instance management may say that it has taken down every "Whites Only" sign and there is no more discrimination in use of facilities. A tour of the plant reveals, however, that all the janitors and porters are assigned one restroom and all the assembly line workers are assigned another. And guess what? All the janitors and porters turn out to be Negroes.

After the meeting, the committee studies its information and presents its recommendations for hiring, upgrading and use of facilities to the parent body. It accepts, rejects, adds to or subtracts from the recommendations. When general agreement is reached, the negotiating committee is ready for the second meeting.

The Second Meeting: The negotiating committee arrives with requests for a specific number of workers to be hired or upgraded. If there is discrimination in the plant, correction is suggested. The committee indicates a reasonable time to comply — say two weeks.

It is customary in trade union negotiations for the union to present a much larger demand than it really wants. This gives the union something to bargain with and gives the appearance of reasonableness by settling for less. This is a perfectly legitimate technique which may fit your situation.

But Breadbasket does not work this way. They have found that management is not above trying to drive a wedge into the committee's unity by private offers. For instance, a national firm hired a negotiator's sister for a good job in a northern city in the hope that the negotiator would influence the rest of the committee to modify its hiring requests in Atlanta. Other firms offer gifts to negotiators or promise to hire relatives, friends or parishioners of the negotiators. Management is aware that while the negotiators may not succumb to such temptations, their mere existence is enough to cast doubt on the negotiating committee's integrity and to weaken the community's confidence in it.

For this reason, Breadbasket decides in advance how many persons should be recommended for employment *and then sticks with it.* In some circumstances, the committee might agree to consider substitute promotions and upgradings, but these must have the approval of the parent body.

How does management react to these meetings? Initially, resistance commonly takes these forms:

"We're working on a tight budget and may lay people off."

"We have such a low job turnover that we rarely do any hiring."

"I've got nothing against hiring Negroes personally, but my employees will never stand for it."

And of course, the grand-daddy of all alibis:

"This isn't the time for it."

How does the negotiating committee cope with such attitudes? First, by having in hand information about hiring and upgrading before the meeting, it is able to expose subterfuges and deceptions about company practices. Getting the facts is essential.

Second, by pointing out the successful experiences of other companies, it is able to allay fears about employee acceptance. It can suggest ways for management to make that acceptance trouble-free.

Third, and most persuasive, it points out that consumer acceptance of the product makes the business grow. If the Negro community should become disaffected, the business could be permanently damaged. (The first fact the committee should research is what percentage of the company's market is Negro.) A soft-drink company for example, by its refusal to negotiate employment, found that thousands and thousands of Negroes shifted to a rival drink. Even when they hired Negroes as drivers and salesmen, they failed to recapture 25% of their Negro customers, who had simply gotten out of the habit of drinking their product.

This soft-drink company has learned an expensive lesson. It has told other businessmen of its experience, which of course has proved helpful in subsequent negotiations.

How Successful is Breadbasket? Breadbasket's first target was, appropriately enough, the bread industry. Through the methods described above, more than sixty Negroes were hired in non-traditional jobs, adding a quarter of a million dollars to the Negro economy. After that, it negotiated successfully with soft drink companies, shoe outlets and large department stores — roughly 750 new jobs. But the influence it has had on the hiring policies of other businesses is incalculable.

MACON: SOME NEW WRINKLES ADDED

In Macon, a year and a half of planning went into opening the doors to employment. A steering committee, including representatives of 98% of the Negro ministers, directed the movement. But unlike Atlanta, this was not a movement run exclusively by ministers. It involved all Negro organizations, including clubs and fraternal associations. Both white and Negro members of the Georgia Council on Human Relations played important parts in its activities.

The steering committee divided responsibility by the Committee system: Training and Placement, Negotiating, Conferences and Contacts, Public Relations, and Picketing.

Training: Breadbasket had no training programs. They felt there were enough qualified Negroes on hand and enough non-traditional jobs available for the question of training to be deferred until later on.

Macon, with a smaller variety of businesses and a smaller supply of qualified personnel available made training a prime necessity. The steering committee enlisted the aid of seven volunteer teachers (six Negro, one white) to teach Business Math and English, refresher courses in typing and shorthand and the use of business machines.

These volunteer courses trained over 150 students. But they served an even more important function. They convinced Macon's vocational school of the need for business classes. Now the public vocational school has classes which are turning out qualified personnel regularly. The National Cash Register Company also trained workers to use their machines — registers, accounting machines, calculators, etc.

Negotiating — Conferences and Contacts: Most of the jobs available in Macon are in retail stores. Therefore the Negotiating Committee worked through the Merchants' Association. The Committee realized that negotiating takes many weeks — they could not hand the Merchants Association an ultimatum and let it go at that. They began their exploratory negotiations many months before their target date, leaving time for the training program to take effect so they could answer the charge of "No qualified applicants."

By dealing with the Merchants Association as a body, they sought to obtain simultaneous hiring of Negroes in many stores so no businessman could complain: "Why am I being singled out first?"

In addition, fifteen others were trained to conduct conferences with individual merchants. This was done to help iron out the problems of each manager or owner in hiring or upgrading or use of facilities. But these managers understood that their stores were part of a united effort.

Public Relations: The Negotiating Committee operated with confidence because it knew that the Negro community fully understood and approved its activities. The Public Relations Committee arranged weekly mass meetings which moved from church to church, large and small. At these meetings, the final goals were explained and the day-to-day problems discussed. Regular notices gave the names of businesses which had employed Negroes. Naturally, Negro customers traded more heavily with the merchants on the list. This positive approach made merchants anxious to get their names on this honor roll.

Picketing Committee: In spite of some progress through negotiation, it finally became necessary to use pickets. This was not a haphazard action, but carefully disciplined to get community support and compliance.

First, the Picketing Committee cleared arrangements with the police well in advance.

Pickets were neatly dressed and instructed on keeping good order.

Picketing began the day after Thanksgiving, the big sale day which traditionally marks the start of the Christmas shopping season. One hundred twenty-five pickets went to twelve stores at a time.

Observers and messengers kept constant touch with picket headquarters, relaying new instructions and information as necessary.

Placards carried out the picketing theme: "We want to work where we spend our money."

Customers stayed away from the picketed stores in droves — Estimates range from forty to fifty per cent loss of normal Thanksgiving Sale trade.

After only a day and a half of picketing, the merchants called for a conference and immediately began hiring Negroes. In the following six weeks, one hundred Negroes began working where no Negro had ever worked before. And since New Year of 1963, the number has increased week by week and many more than the original one hundred are working today.

Operation Breadbasket refined the negotiating technique. Macon added the new wrinkles of: Emphasis on Training, Keeping the Community Informed, Discipline, Well-Timed Picketing.

BRUNSWICK: NEW PATTERNS FOR OLD

Brunswick is a small South Georgia town — 21,700 people of whom 8,900 are Negro. Here the techniques employed are entirely different. There is no community-wide organization of ministers working specifically for jobs. The push for jobs is one part of a broad spectrum of demands — for open public accommodations, for voter registration, for desegregated education, for better housing.

All of these demands are being handled by the NAACP under the leadership of Rev. J. C. Hope, a young, energetic Baptist minister.

Brunswick's white community has a somewhat better understanding of Negro aspirations than many South Georgia towns, partly because of the Urban Renewal Program. When the program first began about three years ago, Negroes testified at open hearings. They talked not only about their housing needs, but what they were up against in employment, training and education.

White politicians listened and learned. As one result, the city government hired a Negro — a well-qualified housing expert — as assistant manager of the Urban Renewal Program. He and his secretary are the only white-collar city employees in South Georgia.

Brunswick has a Bi-racial Commission, with white members appointed by the white Chamber of Commerce and Negro members appointed by the Negro Chamber of Commerce. Several of the Negro members are active in the Georgia Council on Human Relations.

The Bi-racial Commission acts as a buffer between the Merchants Association and the Negro leadership. The Negroes put their job demands to the Commission. The merchants submit their counter-proposals. Working in secret, the Commission hands down its hiring recommendations. These can be accepted or rejected by either side.

Brunswick's Bi-racial Commission — the first in the state, appointed in 1960 — is a help in reducing tension. But it by no means guarantees equal job opportunities to Negroes. The old problems of management resistance and lack of qualified people must still be solved.

Training: Here as elsewhere, the failure of Negro high schools to offer standard commercial courses results in a lack of people trained beyond the semi-skilled stage. The Brunswick NAACP is meeting this need by conducting a training school for retail cashiers and clerks with the assistance of the National Cash Register Company. They now have from 75 to 100 trainees on file.

Federal Resources: It is worth remembering that in addition to volunteer training courses such as conducted in Macon and Brunswick, the federal government provides vocational and on-the-job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act. It provides for allowances to trainees and financial assistance for training programs set up by private employers. Your local office of the State Employment Service will have details about how to participate in the program. Also, the United States Department of Labor in Washington will send information on request.

Jobs in Industry: Although Brunswick is a small town, it has several large industrial plants: sea-food picking and packing, paper and building materials, chemical plants including the big Hercules Powder Company. The Brunswick NAACP has conducted a survey of these plants and found that they are complying with the President's Executive Order on Equal Employment Opportunities issued in June, 1963.

If there are such large industrial plants in your area, you will want to find out whether they hold federal contracts or federal sub-contracts. If they do, they are required to hire without discrimination under penalty of losing the government's business.

Getting Results: Since industry in Brunswick is hiring without discrimination, negotiations were directed solely to local merchants. But in Brunswick, as in Macon, negotiation went just so far. It finally became necessary to picket. Two grocery stores in Negro neighborhoods were picketed for three successive weekends. At the end of that time, both hired Negro clerks. A third grocery store got the message too, and without waiting for pickets also hired a Negro clerk.

As a result of NAACP activity under Dr. Hope's leadership, there are now about fifteen Negroes in clerks and cashiers jobs. The hiring of these people has broken down some traditional prejudices. For example, a leading merchant hired a Negro as a maid, but told her that if the customers were Negroes to go ahead and sell. Now she sells to all comers and her commissions are as high as any salesperson's in the store.

* * * *

We have described briefly how three communities are opening the door to equal employment. Each is different, but the common denominator in all is the determination of the Negro leadership to act *now*.

Each community found negotiating slow and arduous — a process which does not pay off in newspaper headlines or the excitement of a demonstration or mass desegregation of a public facility. But Negro leaders willingly invested their time in employment because they know it pays rich long-range dividends in dignity and self-respect.

The Georgia Council on Human Relations freely offers its assistance to any group in the state seeking equal job opportunities. We invite you to consult with our staff members:

Rev. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Assistant Director of the Georgia Council and one of the chief architects of Operation Breadbasket.

Mr. Jac Wasserman, who as Field Director of the National Sharecroppers Fund, is thoroughly familiar with federal manpower programs, including such resources as apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs.

Mrs. Frances Pauley, Executive Director, with a formidable knowledge of negotiations and all phases of community activity.

For the Council, like all forward looking Georgians, is firmly committed to the goal of new and better jobs for Negroes.

Georgia Council on Human Relations • 5 Forsyth Street, N. E. • Atlanta, Ga.

May 3, 1960

Mr. E. K. Williams, President
Department of Higher Education
Savannah State College
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your kind letter of April 18. I enjoyed being with all of you in Savannah. I shall try to comply with your request to write out my talk, but can at this time only reiterate my apologies in not having had a written address in the first place. It would be helpful to me if you would advise me as to how soon you need my paper, or whether there is any deadline at all.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

May 3, 1960

Mr. L. H. Pitts
Georgia Teachers & Education Asso.
201 Ashby Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lucius:

Many thanks for your kind letter of April 21 and for your check, which was enclosed. My expenses were $58.24, and so we are returning $11.76. Among friends no honorarium is needed. I only hope that the job was half-way well done.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

October 24, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

We are returning the galley proofs on Georgia's Divided Education. Please print 5,000 copies, per the corrected galley proofs. Enclosed with them are five sets of statistical tables. This is the county data for Appendix 2 (see page 41 of the galley). Please print these in the order indicated by the red numeral in the upper left hand corner of each set.

Yourestimated price for 5,000 copies of 52 pages each was $1,650. The galley proofs as set run 40 pages. You may find that the five statistical tables will not require 12 pages of type.

You will note that, in addition to a few corrections, many changes have been incorporated in the galley.

I realize full well that we sent this job to you with the request for rush treatment, and that since receiving the galley proofs we have been slow in returning them, and that the changes will require considerable work at your end. Despite this, I hope that you can put this out soon, and we shall be grateful for your, as always, good service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Mr. Lucius H. Pitts
Mr. J. O. Thomas

October 28, 1960

Mr. Lucius Pitts
Georgia Teachers and Educational Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lucius:

Enclosed is a draft of a news release for the pamphlet. Feel free to change it any way you like. Also a short paragraph should be included explaining in as few words as possible what the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities is. Could you jot something down on that?

If, as you indicated, it could be arranged so that the Conference would be meeting here on the release date we can indicate this in our second paragraph.

Let me know what you think.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

FOR GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION

STATE ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE SECRETARIES

ALABAMA (ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
George W. Jones, 853 Thurman Street, Montgomery, Ala.- Telephone AM. 3-7998 - Res. AM. 3-8704

ARKANSAS (ARKANSAS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
T. W.Coggs, 924 Ringo Street, Little Rock, Tel. FR. 5-5868

FLORIDA (FLORIDA STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
Gilbert L. Porter, 449 W. Georgia St., Tallahassee

GEORGIA (GEORGIA TEACHERS AND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION) Zone 14
L. H. Pitts, 201 Ashby St., N. W., Atlanta, JA. 2-7512Off. - JA. 4-0780

LOUISIANA (LOUISIANA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION)
J. K. Haynes, Box 1767, Baton Rouge, - DI. 5-1306

MISSISSIPPI (MISSISSIPPI TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
L. S. Alexander, 1328 Lynch St., Jackson -

NORTH CAROLINA - (NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
W. L. Greene, 125 Hargett St., Raleigh, TE. 2-3959 - TE. 3-8053

SOUTH CAROLINA - (PALMETTO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION)
W. E. Solomon, 1719 Taylor St., Columbia, -AL. 2-9383

OKLAHOMA (OKLAHOMA ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS)
F. D.Moon, 900 North Eastern, Oklahoma City

TENNESSEE (TENNESSEE EDUCATION CONGRESS)
G. W. Brooks, Burt High School, Clarksville

TEXAS (TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS)
Vernon McDaniel, 1191 Navasota St., Austin, Greenwood 2-5493

VIRGINIA (VIRGINIA TEACHERS ASSOCIATION)
J. Rupert Picott, Clay Street at Fourth, Richmond, MI. 3-1954

Dr. John W. Davis, Special Director, Teacher Information and Security
10 Columbus Circle, New York 19, New York

Daniel E. Byrd, Assistant Director
1502 Andry Street, New Orleans 17, La.

11/29/60

Rec'd 12/2/60 Typed 12/2/60

TO: JC December 5, 1960

FROM: LWD

Subject: Georgia's Divided Education

I would like to suggest that this be sent to every newspaper in Georgia. I understand that you are sending it out to each school superintendent. Another thought, if Lucius would agree, would be to sent it to chapter officers throughout the state of the League of Women Voters. Also, to Hope officers, the Hope state advisory board and Hope chapter~~s~~ leaders throughout the state.

Subject: L-22

This should be back from the printers today or tomorrow. In addition to the regular L-list of businessmen and superintendents, I suggest that it go to the Blue Ribbon list.

12/14/60

TO: L. H. Pitts

RE: Georgia's Divided Education (Postage)

Bill for postage for mailing GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION - $111.92

(Note: the above does not include postage for interagency list, state organizations, and government agencies, this postage is being assumed by SRC.)

Mrs. Alexander asks that this bill be paid before December 31, 1960, so it may be recorded during this calendar year.

12/14/60

TO: L. H. PITTS

RE: Georgia's Divided Education

Distributed to:

Georgia Educational Directory of Negro Schools
All School Superintendents in Georgia
Approximately 250 Newspapers, Radio, T.V., Magazine Personnel
Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council
Interagency List (Groups Working in Field of Human Relations)
State Organizations Affiliated with the Southern Regional Council
Certain Government Agencies and Congressmen (National), including members of Southern States Advisory Committees to Civil Rights Commission
Certain Individuals (Names provided by L. H. Pitts)

STILL TO BE SENT:

Georgia Legislators

January 6, 1961

Mr. Lucius H. Pitts
Georgia Teachers & Education Asso.
201 Ashby Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lucius:

Georgia will miss you, and we shall regret your departure from Atlanta more than you may guess. I am, however, and I know that the others here at the Council will be, greatly pleased over your new honor. I hope that your work at Miles will be everything you look forward to, and that you will find there the opportunity for even more service to education.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

January 25, 1961

Mr. L. D. Milton, President
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Milton:

This is to thank you for the checks totalling $2,750 in reimbursement of expenses incurred by the Council in the preparation of "Georgia's Divided Education" for the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities. I also appreciate the word that we will be receiving, in due course, the remaining balance of $750.

We were pleased to be associated with this project. I trust you and your associates in this venture are pleased also by the good reception the report has had and by the lasting usefulness it promises.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The CITIZENS TRUST *Company*

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

January 23, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Following up my telephone call I made to you this morning, I enclose the following checks to be applied on the account of the work the Council did on "Georgia's Divided Education" for the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities:

Mutual Federal Savings & Loan Association	$1,000.00
Citizens Trust Company	$1,000.00
W. S. Scott	500.00
Pilgrim Health and Life Insurance Company	250.00

4 CRs
$2,750.00
RHA
1/24/61

There is a balance of a little over $750.00. I should have the balance in a few days. There are two more businesses that have not sent their checks.

Very truly yours,

L D Milton / ej

L. D. Milton, President

LDM/ej

Enclosures

Dictated by Mr. Milton but signed in his absence.

GEORGIA TEACHERS AND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
201 Ashby Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

March 30, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
1529 Berkely Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Georgia Teachers and Education Association is desirous of making a citation to you and/or your company Wednesday, April 6 at the Municipal Auditorium, Atlanta Georgia. Because of your support of the effort of the 10,000 teachers in the State to work for adequate facilities for all the boys and girls in Georgia, we urge you to honor us by your presence.

Dr. John W. Davis, president emeritus of West Virginia State College, and currently director of Teacher Information and Security of Legal Defense and Educational Funds, will serve as speaker. We hope you will arrange to come and serve the cause of the 10,000 teacher of Georgia Teachers and Education Association.

It will help us programwise if you will call our office at JA 2-7512 confirming this invitation.

Yours very truly,

L. H. Pitts

LHP/hlt

P. S. Please note the date Wednesday, April 6. That date should be Wednesday, April 5.

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
JAckson 2-7512

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March 20, 1961

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
1529 Berkley Lane, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The Georgia Teachers and Education Association cordially invites you to honor us with your presence on April 5 as our Platform Guest. This is our First Representative Assembly. This assembly will begin at 7:30 P. M.

The theme of the Convention this year is, "A Unified Profession Enhances Good Human Relations". The meeting is to be held at the City Auditorium, Atlanta, Georgia, April 5, 6, 7, 1961.

Yours truly,

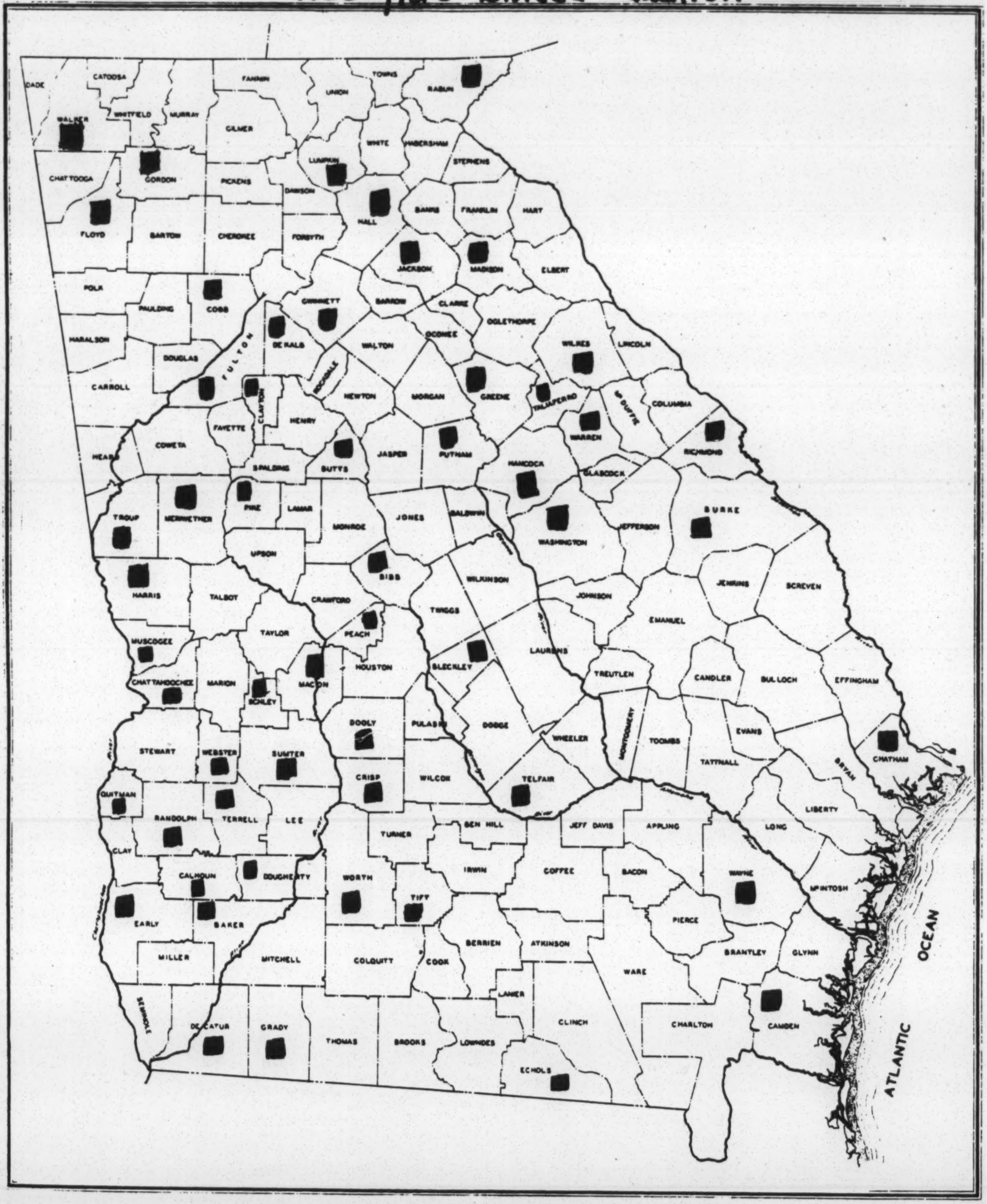
L. H. Pitts

L. H. Pitts
Executive Secretary

LHP:dr

"INVEST IN A CHILD AND MAKE A MAN"

Counties Included in study
Georgia's Divided Education [redacted] ■


DADE
CATOOSA
WALKER
WHITFIELD
MURRAY
FANNIN
UNION
TOWNS
RABUN
GILMER
WHITE
HABERSHAM
STEPHENS
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DAWSON
HALL
BANKS
FRANKLIN
HART
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BARTOW
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PAULDING
COBB
GWINNETT
BARROW
CLARKE
OGLETHORPE
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WALTON
OCONEE
WILKES
LINCOLN
DOUGLAS
ROCKDALE
CARROLL
CLAYTON
NEWTON
MORGAN
GREENE
TALIAFERRO
MC DUFFIE
COLUMBIA
FAYETTE
HENRY
WARREN
RICHMOND
COWETA
HEARD
SPALDING
BUTTS
JASPER
PUTNAM
HANCOCK
GLASCOCK
TROUP
MERIWETHER
PIKE
LAMAR
MONROE
JONES
BALDWIN
WASHINGTON
JEFFERSON
BURKE
UPSON
BIBB
WILKINSON
HARRIS
TALBOT
CRAWFORD
TWIGGS
JOHNSON
JENKINS
SCREVEN
TAYLOR
PEACH
EMANUEL
MUSCOGEE
HOUSTON
LAURENS
BLECKLEY
CHATTAHOOCHEE
MARION
SCHLEY
MACON
TREUTLEN
CANDLER
BULLOCH
EFFINGHAM
STEWART
DOOLY
PULASKI
DODGE
WHEELER
MONTGOMERY
TOOMBS
EVANS
WEBSTER
SUMTER
TATTNALL
BRYAN
CHATHAM
CRISP
WILCOX
TELFAIR
QUITMAN
RANDOLPH
TERRELL
LEE
BEN HILL
JEFF DAVIS
APPLING
LIBERTY
TURNER
LONG
CLAY
CALHOUN
DOUGHERTY
WORTH
IRWIN
COFFEE
BACON
WAYNE
MCINTOSH
TIFT
EARLY
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COOK
WARE
LANIER
CLINCH
CHARLTON
CAMDEN
SEMINOLE
DECATUR
GRADY
THOMAS
BROOKS
LOWNDES
ECHOLS
ATLANTIC
OCEAN

G.C.E.O. RECOMMENDATIONS:

I. TO THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

1. Build and operate a state trade school as recommended by the Governor's Conference report of vocational education.

2. Move rapidly to state ownership and operation of the transportation program for public school pupils.

3. Require that state funds for the following items be expended on the basis on which they are alloted:

    a. Maintenance and operation
    b. Textbooks
    c. Library books and audio visual aids
    d. Sick leave

4. Require that local school systems put up their part of the money before state funds are released for capital outlay purposes.

5. Revise the formula for allotting Visiting Teachers so that Negro pupils may be counted only in qualifying for Negro Visiting Teachers.

6. Require that local school systems which are allotted funds for area trade schools provide training opportunities for any qualified applicant.

7. Authorize a re-study of the problem of small high schools so that any high school pupil in the state may attend an accredited high school.

II. TO CITY AND COUNTY BOARDS OF EDUCATION

1. Make available to any interested person written policies of the System Board of Education.

2. Apply policies without discrimination according to race on the expenditure of all funds available for public education, including such items as:

    a. Pupil transportation
    b. Employment of teachers beyond state allotment
    c. Salary supplements beyond minimum state salary schedule
    d. Maintenance and operation
    e. Textbooks
    f. Library books and audio visual aids
    g. Sick leave
    h. Facilities
    i. Equipment

3. Make available to every high school pupil the same course offerings.

4. Work for early accreditation of all elementary schools according to state standards and all high schools according to regional standards.

III. TO THE STATE BOARD OF REGENTS

1. Provide essential needs for Savannah State College to meet the requirements for membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

2. Expand immediately the offerings in the graduate program on the master's degree level at Fort Valley State College.

3. Authorize the appointment of a bi-racial committee to study the needs of public higher education in the state.

4. Study needs for Junior College and establish them where needed.

IV. TO CITIZENS

1. That citizen representatives from each county in the state adopt a policy of constant intelligent, calm, but persistent negotiation with local boards and community leaders in the interest of better schools.

2. That a committee be appointed at this meeting to formulate plans for the holding of a little White House Conference annually in Georgia.

3. That we adopt the slogan of "Plus Five" for voter registration and report progress of such registration to the office of Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities.

"GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION"

Senator Charlie Brown
1116 Mayson Turner Avenue, N. W.

Alderman Douglas Wood
944 Gordon Road, S. W.

Atty Cecil Turner
Candler Building

President L. H. Potts
Voorhees Junior College
Denmark, South Carolina

Mrs. Ann Broxton
Toogaloo Christian College
Box 3
Toogaloo, Mississippi

Dr. J. A. Dixon, President
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Ga. Divided Edu.

Some Propositions about Education and Georgia

1. The quality of a person's education is a function of the breadth, variety, and depth of his experiences in and out of school. The better educated his parents, teachers, friends, and so forth the better educated he will tend to be.

2. Learning is a cumulative affair and requires time, lots of time, if it is to really change the individual. The importance of some particular learning experience, e g a year's instruction in arithmetic, is by itself small.

3. The importance of a learning experience depends on the extent to which it fits into a continuous sequence of experiences. If an experience is related to previous learning and becomes a foundation for further learning it is very important because it continues and may even accelerate the rate of development. Thus an improvement in the conditions of learning leads by itself to further improvement.

4. Inadequate learning conditions if prolonged have severe deleterious effects.

5. In the past, on the average, the quality of education offered Negroes in Georgia public schools has been markedly inferior to that offered Whites.

5a. Negro adults raised in Georgia have had, on the average, an inferior education.

6. In the past, on the average, the quality of education offered Whites in Georgia public schools has been inferior to that offered in other states.

7. On the average, Georgia schools have improved dramatically in the past 10 to 15 years.

8. Negro schools in Georgia have improved at a greater rate than the White schools, on the average, but in absolute terms the gap has widened in the past 25 years.

9. Georgia's White schools are still not up to par.

10. On the average, Georgia's Negro schools are still inferior to its White schools with respect to
    A. per pupil capital investment
    B. per pupil current expenditure for instruction
    C. teacher salaries
    D. teacher's knowledge of subject matter
    E. student achievement
    F. attendance (counties only)
    G. classroom space (cities only)

11. On the average, Georgia city (independent) systems are better than county systems.

12. City Negro systems are better on the average than county Negro systems but are more crowded.

13. City White systems are better than county systems on the average and are Not more crowded.

14. Georgia Negroes are migrating to the cities.

Some Inferences from these Propositions

1. The average educational status of both Georgia Negro and White citizens is improving with the Negroes improving at the greater rate.

1a. The absolute gap will get greater before it becomes smaller if the overall pattern is not changed.

2. Since Negro schools are still on the average less satisfactory than White schools and especially since Negro adults, teachers in particular, have had less adequate training on the average than their White counterparts, the gap is partly self-perpetuating in spite of its diminished proportions.

3. Negro migration to the cities reduces county incentives to improve Negro schools, thereby leading to a slowing in the current rate of improvement.

4. Negro migration to the cities increases crowding in city Negro schools, thereby slowing the current rate of improvement.

Some Conclusions about Segregation and Desegregation

1. Desegregation in Georgia cities would reduce overcrowding and prevent the otherwise probable slowing of the rate of improvement and would provide an incentive for the counties to improve Negro schools.

2. Without desegregation the overall average educational status of the Negro population must remain inferior to that of the White for several generations.

3. Desegregation should have a catalytic effect upon the improvement rate among Negroes and therefore ultimately among Whites as well. The improvement in the backgrounds of the next generation of Negro teachers and other adults should produce in at least the generation after that a Negro citizenry equal in educational status to the White. The results of desegregation in Louisville, Baltimore, and Washington, D. C. confirm these conclusions.

Thus entirely aside from legal, ethical, social, emotional, or moral questions desegregation is a necessity if equal education is to be achieved.

D Ross Green

Official information from the Georgia State Department of Education may be obtained in three ways; from the particular department concerned, from the Office of Public Information, or from Statistical Services, a recently (about 9 months old) organized unit in the Division of Administration and Finance. For the type of information desired by the SRC, Statistical Services is the best bet; a Mr. Paul Wills is probably the best person to contact.

Statistical Services is currently attempting to improve the amount and variety of information reported by school systems to the state between yearly reports. However for the most part the only information collected more frequently than once a year comes from the visiting teachers (or superintendent) concerning enrollment and average daily attendance, from lunchroom supervisors, and from superintendents concerning transportation.

The material that goes into the biennial reports is collected annually and in off-years ends up as a series of mimeographed reports. The only place likely to have copies of most of these reports is Statistical Services (SS, shall we say) but even they may not have all of them.

SS also produces various other reports of information it collects or has organized from available data. Mr. Wills maintains that generally speaking they are willing to prepare reports upon request if the information is already available. Note that they are not permitted to do research as such since they operate on federal funds which specifically exclude research. They get around this in part by working with the University of Georgia cooperatively on research. Wills said they are willing to provide working space and assistance to individuals wishing to study and collect data about some problem.

It should be noted that even the regular monthly reports are not always complete because some superintendents do not cooperate. The department apparently applies pressure only about the yearly reports which are due in June but often do not get in until September. Thus data about 1958-59 are only now likely to be in usable form. All data collected are reported by race. Superintendents' reports are apparently all filled in by hand, they are signed by the superintendent and the chairman of the board of education and falsification of the reports (I am referring now to the annual reports) is a crime. The mimeographed compilations of these reports may upon occasion be inaccurate in my opinion (an impression based largely on personal assessment of Wills and not on fact).

Also available are budgets for the current year but these are estimates and according to Allen Smith vary considerably in accuracy. A wide variety of information can be obtained from individual systems that is not available statewide.

Anyone making the kind of investigation under consideration should first become familiar with the standard report forms used (I have samples of most of them) and with at least the latest biennial report. Information desired should then be determined and written down precisely. Then Wills should be consulted.

It appears that a report covering the 1958-59 year could be assembled now with reasonable effort. The amount of time would depend upon not only the capabilities of the investigator but upon how busy SS is. If they are very busy they will stall or at least not help. If they are not too busy they will help. In the latter case I would guess (blindly) two weeks would do most of it. In any case it will be vital that the individual have both initiative and tact. The one thing that will create antagonism and interference quickly is failure to learn quickly what kinds of data can be obtained and what kinds are impossible to get. Smith directly and Wills indirectly both complained about people who insisted on information that could not be obtained. Smith's remarks were made in connection with AU. Atlanta University.

Two further comments. Scattered around the department are masses of data that have never been organized and probably will not be in the near future, e.g., test scores. Someone with substantial time and money would in most cases be permitted to work with such data. In fact, the department would probably be eager to have it done.

You can see from the enclosed sample reports that white-negro comparisons show greater improvement in the Negro schools over the past ten years than in the White schools.

T R Green

The State of Georgia has made phenomenal progress in the last decade in providing education for all of the boys and girls in the State by erecting new buildings, improving old buildings and equipment, providing more transportation, raising salaries, and providing professional service in the area of instructional improvement. Sixty million dollars more has been appropriated for physical plants, salaries, services, etc. The Minimum Foundation and State School Building programs have received praise from the National Education Association. Georgia has the largest film library in the world. These efforts to improve the quality of education for all are commendable.

Negro education in Georgia, I think is 100% better than it was 10 years ago, in buildings, transportation, class offerings, curriculum, quality teaching and higher education. However, ten years ago it was a dismal picture. To increase this by 100% sounds good but what it was when the calculations were begun will affect the impact of the findings in the end. A casual look at the expenditures of the State and local systems on all levels of education is a shocking and disheartening sight.

MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION

Since 1951-52 the State has provided a stipulated amount per teacher for maintenance and operation. It is my understanding that during the school year 1960-61 the allocation will be $450.00 per teacher excluding sick leave. There are counties in Georgia whose records will indicate that thousands of dollars which by every right ought to have gone for the maintenance and operation of Negro schools have never reached the individual schools or classrooms for which they were intended. Janitorial services and supplies are denied to hundreds of Negro schools in the State while adequate services and supplies are provided for whites in spite of State allocation of funds for both. We have found that at the local level we have no assurance that local boards when left alone will provide fair distribution of allocated funds. There is one county in Georgia with more than 3,000 Negro students and less than 2,500 white students where the State School Building Authority has spent more than half a million dollars in constructing five new buildings and there is not a janitor in the entire county working in the Negro schools. This situation has existed for more than ten years.

TRANSPORTATION

In too many cases and in too many counties the problem of inadequate transportation for our children could be greatly alleviated by the careful re-routing of the bus routes. Such re-routing would go a long way in the annihilation of gross discriminatory practices, based on race. The practice of buying new buses for white schools and giving the old buses to Negro schools is still a glaring blight on the educational highways of Georgia. Negro boys and girls many times have to wait an unduly long time in all kinds of weather after having already walked a long distance to ride in substandard unheated and overcrowded buses and who then have to get out in the mud and go to school in a building where they in many cases serve as janitors in unfinished, ill equipped buildings.

SALARY DIFFERENTIALS

The average salary for teachers in Georgia is about $3,600.00 advancing to $4,000.00 in ten years. Georgia loses about 3,500 teachers a year. There is a shortage of both white and Negro teachers. By 1963 there will be one million one hundred sixty thousand children of school age. Less than a million are now enrolled. In comparing Georgia's average salaries with other states the picture would be as follows:

Georgia	$3,625.00
South Carolina	3,305.00
Florida	4,980.00
Alabama	3,885.00
Mississippi	3,720.00
Tennessee	3,575.00
North Carolina	3,970.00
National Average	$4,775.00

In 1957 a sample study by the Georgia Teachers and Education Association showed that in more than 50% of the counties in Georgia where salaries are supplemented by the local systems, Negroes are discriminated against apparently on the basis of race. In all probability this situation still exists. Salary supplements are paid to white teachers and not to Negroes. This practice cannot long be continued without adding immeasurably to our already over-burdened, misunderstood and misinterpreted situation, thus increasing the present tension. When the list of additional white teachers employed by local boards is considered in this matter, the differential is brought into even sharper focus.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Negroes comprise about one-third of the total school population of the State and funds and services ought to be allotted on such a formula if we are going to live by the ruling of the Court of 1896. As for the number of schools in 1949, there were 1,596 white and 2,310 Negro schools. In 1959, since consolidation, there are 1,384 schools for white and 556 for Negroes. In many instances of consolidation the whites have been disadvantaged. About 18,000 of the 30,000 high school graduates of Georgia do not go to college. This suggests the staggering need for vocational schools and junior colleges. The State spends more than three million dollars per year on vocational schools owned and operated by the State for white and nothing for similar groups who by accident of birth are born black. There are 11 junior colleges for whites and none for Negroes at present. Three are in prospect. Negroes do not get one-fortieth of the funds allocated for colleges and universities. Improvement in this proportion is not even now planned.

Even though the State allocates textbook money for students on the basis of race, still in many counties Negroes get the used books and the new ones go to the white schools.

Education for Negroes in Georgia is better than it was a decade past. However, the gap is still wide and widening between what is true of opportunities for Negroes in the State and that for whites. These conditions and many more are the direct and indirect causes of increasing tensions in the State. Many, if not most, of our educational problems in Georgia involving race are not the results of the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, which apparently is not acceptable to the South, but are the results of the Decision of 1896, which apparently was acceptable to the South. Continued delay on the part of the political and educational leadership in the State will only serve to widen the gap of unequal opportunities and increase the tensions, which already have us sitting, as it were, on a powder keg. The many inequities and problems that prevent our State offering a better educational opportunity for all could be alleviated if all of those responsible would make sincere effort to improve the quality of education for all of the children of Georgia. Our growth as a State, with our great human and material resources is being sabotaged by this delay and continued discrimination.

L H Pitts

8. High Schools Recognized by the Southern Association*

	Number of High Schools		Number Accredited		Percentage Accredited	
	white	Negro	white	Negro	white	Negro
Sample I	51	19	51	18	100	95
Sample II . . .	72	33	35	6	49	18
Sample III . . .	35	23	18	1	51	6 .

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* The number of high schools is as of 1959-60 (not 1958-59, as is the data in the rest of this pamphlet); in counting high schools, only those with a 12th grade were included, as these are the only ones eligible for accreditation. The number of schools accredited is taken from the 1960-61 Official Bulletin of the Georgia Accrediting Commission.

(substitute table, pg 18)

Y

SCHOOL SYSTEMS	Students in ADA		Students in ADA		Percentage of ~~%~~ Total Enrollment in ADA		Percentage of ~~%~~ ADA in High School	
	white	Negro	% white	% Negro	white	Negro	white	Negro
SAMPLE I								
Fulton	19,129	3,079	86	14	83	84	21	17
Atlanta	51,350	34,053	60	40	84	84	22	16
DeKalb	31,767	2,804	91	8	85	86	19	17
Decatur	3,200	812	80	20	86	86	29	23
Chatham	21,124	12,792	62	38	79	87	23	20
Muscogee	21,770	8,368	72	28	75	92	21	16
Bibb	18,176	10,056	64	36	88	87	21	16
Richmond	15,270	8,844	63	37	81	86	22	18
Cobb	16,841	829	95	5	83	86	21	-
Marietta	4,030	890	82	18	81	87	24	28
Dougherty	8,594	5,484	61	39	80	85	20	15
SAMPLE II								
Floyd	6,837	107	98	2	82	87	22	-
Rome	4,593	1,846	71	29	81	85	21	16
Hall	6,307	-	100.	-	81	-	20	-
Gainesville	2,634	1,284	67	33	85	88	23	15
Troup	2,217	1,317	63	37	82	90	22	19
Hogansville	815	415	66	34	85	86	21	21
LaGrange	3,342	1,875	64	36	87	89	19	13
West Point	548	617	47	53	91	85	24	21
Clayton	8,111	1,307	86	14	81	89	18	18
Walker	7,945	632	93	7	82	90	21	16
Chickamauga	560	-	100	-	86	-	40	-
Gwinnett	7,734	599	93	7	84	86	20	18
Buford	676	244	73	27	91	89	24	26
Gordon	2,637	-	100	-	78	-	17	-
Calhoun	1,219	304	80	20	88	82	47	23
Washington	1,703	2,348	42	58	90	70	28	17
Jackson	1,265	461	73	27	78	82	8	24
Commerce	1,085	155	87.5	12.5	87	86	34	-
Jefferson	1,171	-	100	-	86	-	27	-
Habersham	3,807	192	95	5	85	90	21	44
Tallulah Falls	195	-	100	-	90	-	41	-

SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(SAMPLE II continued)

Grady	2,710	1,593	~~62.90~~ 63	37 ~~.08~~	86 ~~.35~~	~~81.82~~ 82	~~25.66~~ 26	~~17.77~~ 18
Wayne	3,532	900	~~79.69~~ 80	20 ~~.31~~	~~83.84~~ 84	79 ~~.37~~	~~22.96~~ 23	15 ~~.22~~
Telfair	1,842	1,066	63 ~~.34~~	~~36.66~~ 37	~~85.71~~ 86	~~78.96~~ 79	26 ~~.35~~	~~20.92~~ 21
Dooly	1,273	1,680	43 ~~.11~~	~~56.89~~ 57	~~88.83~~ 89	80 ~~.46~~	28 ~~.06~~	~~16.96~~ 17
Madison	1,995	614	76 ~~.47~~	~~23.53~~ 24	85 ~~.22~~	~~78.52~~ 79	25 ~~.15~~	17 ~~.26~~
Harris	985	1,554	~~38.79~~ 39	61 ~~.21~~	~~82.69~~ 83	~~81.83~~ 82	26 ~~.19~~	15 ~~.38~~
Greene	1,111	1,586	41 ~~.19~~	~~58.81~~ 59	~~85.99~~ 86	78 ~~.36~~	29 ~~.16~~	20 ~~.43~~
Randolph	841	1,485	36 ~~.16~~	~~63.84~~ 64	~~86.79~~ 87	~~70.88~~ 71	~~27.59~~ 28	17 ~~.37~~
Putnam	794	1,107	~~41.77~~ 42	58 ~~.23~~	91 ~~.06~~	83 ~~.5~~	22 ~~.04~~	21 ~~.05~~
Rabun	1,974		99.7	.3	87 ~~.35~~	~~98.85~~ 99	26 ~~.09~~	-
Stewart	479	1,335	26 ~~.41~~	~~73.59~~ 74	~~88.56~~ 89	~~76.77~~ 77	27 ~~.35~~	17 ~~.38~~
Calhoun	694	1,233	36 ~~.01~~	~~63.99~~ 64	88 ~~.26~~	~~73.74~~ 74	30 ~~.26~~	18 ~~.35~~
Lumpkin	1,398	16	~~98.87~~ 99	1 ~~.13~~	82 ~~.26~~	84 ~~.21~~	20 ~~.39~~	-
Pike	909	882	~~50.75~~ 51	49 ~~.25~~	~~86.85~~ 87	~~72.77~~ 73	24 ~~.05~~	21 ~~.2~~
Dawson	872	-	100	-	85 ~~.07~~	-	20 ~~.25~~	-
Taliaferro	256	492	34 ~~.22~~	~~65.78~~ 66	92 ~~.42~~	80 ~~.35~~	~~35.55~~ 36	~~12.8~~ 13
Schley	305	489	38 ~~.41~~	~~61.59~~ 62	89 ~~.45~~	70 ~~.26~~	~~30.82~~ 31	~~18.61~~ 19
Webster	277	533	34 ~~.2~~	~~65.8~~ 66	~~89.64~~ 90	~~74.65~~ 75	31 ~~.05~~	~~12.57~~ 13
Quitman	183	374	~~32.85~~ 33	67 ~~.15~~	85 ~~.22~~	68 ~~.37~~	~~27.89~~ 28	16 ~~.04~~
Echols	339	90	79 ~~.02~~	~~20.98~~ 21	80 ~~.14~~	~~64.75~~ 65	~~31.86~~ 32	13 ~~.35~~

SAMPLE III

Baker	405	784	34 ~~.06~~	~~65.94~~ 66	~~83.51~~ 84	82 ~~.44~~	24 ~~.19~~	~~15.94~~ 16
Bleckley	539	232	~~69.91~~ 70	30 ~~.09~~	83 ~~.25~~	~~59.64~~ 60	-	-
Cochran	911	334	73 ~~.17~~	~~26.83~~ 27	87 ~~.26~~	78 ~~.4~~	~~38.86~~ 39	23 ~~.35~~
Burke	1,568	3,079	~~33.74~~ 34	66 ~~.26~~	87 ~~.45~~	66 ~~.24~~	~~25.89~~ 26	~~14.78~~ 15
Butts	1,017	976	51 ~~.03~~	~~48.97~~ 49	~~86.7~~ 87	~~73.66~~ 74	~~23.7~~ 24	17 ~~.11~~
Camden	1,289	1,105	~~53.84~~ 54	46 ~~.16~~	~~86.57~~ 87	89 ~~.26~~	21 ~~.18~~	~~22.98~~ 23
Chattahoochee	144	207	41 ~~.03~~	~~58.97~~ 59	78 ~~.26~~	~~80.54~~ 81	~~23.61~~ 24	~~15.74~~ 16
Crisp	2,340	1,780	~~56.8~~ 57	43 ~~.2~~	~~84.94~~ 85	72 ~~.05~~	~~24.77~~ 25	9 ~~.45~~
Decatur	3,300	2,401	~~57.88~~ 58	42 ~~.12~~	84 ~~.05~~	80 ~~.35~~	25 ~~.36~~	~~19.84~~ 20
Early	1,482	1,581	48 ~~.38~~	~~51.62~~ 52	85 ~~.27~~	~~69.8~~ 70	24 ~~.45~~	19 ~~.48~~
Hancock	527	1,901	~~21.71~~ 22	78 ~~.29~~	~~90.58~~ 91	76 ~~.44~~	~~27.89~~ 28	19 ~~.46~~
Macon	1,035	1,937	~~34.83~~ 35	65 ~~.17~~	~~89.84~~ 90	~~70.67~~ 71	28 ~~.4~~	~~17.58~~ 18
Meriwether	2,010	2,092	49	51	83 ~~.23~~	~~67.68~~ 68	26 ~~.29~~	16 ~~.01~~

SCHOOL SYSTEMS

(SAMPLE III continued)

[illegible]	1,331	1,745	43 ~~.27~~	~~56.73~~57	87 ~~.21~~	81 ~~.45~~	~~26.02~~27	19 ~~.32~~
[illegible]	985	1,516	39 ~~.38~~	~~60.62~~61	~~86.74~~87	~~72.74~~73	~~22.67~~23	14 ~~.05~~
[illegible] Americans	1,435	1,279	~~52.87~~53	47 ~~.25~~	~~86.92~~87	79 ~~.25~~	28 ~~.35~~	~~13.53~~14
Tyrrell	967	1,877	34	66	~~86.08~~87	~~71.59~~72	26 ~~.37~~	~~13.96~~14
[illegible]	3,793	1,494	~~71.74~~72	28 ~~.26~~	80 ~~.49~~	~~67.79~~68	22 ~~.07~~	~~14.99~~15
Warren	564	965	~~36.89~~37	63 ~~.11~~	~~87.92~~88	63 ~~.26~~	~~26.92~~27	~~13.58~~14
Wilkes	1,050	1,475	~~41.58~~42	58 ~~.42~~	90 ~~.44~~	78 ~~.05~~	29 ~~.35~~	20 ~~.47~~
[illegible]	2,013	1,734	~~53.72~~54	46 ~~.28~~	82 ~~.35~~	61 ~~.29~~	~~26.73~~27	15 ~~.05~~
TOTALS								

SCHOOL SYSTEMS	Current Expenditures white	Negro	Current Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA white	Negro	Instructional Expenditures white	Negro	Instructional Expenditure Per Pupil in ADA white	Negro
SAMPLE I								
Fulton	$5,937,049.68	$ 986,150.48	310.37	320.88	4,637,836.95	776,091.94	242.45	252.06
Atlanta	13,784,719.85	7,884,802.28	260.45	232.95	11,445,593.45	6,632,097.06	222.89	194.76
DeKalb	6,792,564.39	656,148.70	213.82	234.00	5,387,466.18	526,002.06	189.59	187.59
Decatur	794,012.36	166,561.70	248.13	205.13	629,838.96	149,520.90	198.82	159.49
Chatham	3,392,373.38	2,104,602.01	164.59	164.22	2,663,728.70	1,625,341.86	126.10	127.06
Muscogee	5,165,585.61	1,468,148.21	237.88	175.45	3,745,998.47	1,209,239.51	172.07	146.51
Bibb	3,778,827.04	1,901,249.69	209.90	189.07	3,084,608.78	1,554,719.88	169.71	154.61
Richmond	3,426,559.29	1,668,507.58	224.40	184.66	2,701,646.11	1,335,357.09	176.93	150.88
Cobb	3,556,165.89	139,344.26	211.16	168.09	2,674,238.53	110,369.61	158.79	133.13
Marietta	866,249.25	120,656.00	214.95	135.57	761,927.85	116,098.84	189.06	130.45
Dougherty	1,795,964.65	882,909.37	206.98	161.00	1,382,598.26	714,696.52	169.88	130.32
SAMPLE II								
Floyd	1,296,055.91	87,428.77	189.56	817.09	965,658.50	58,111.79	141.24	543.30
Rome	995,316.62	91,985.35	216.70	69.83	773,198.81	87,260.30	168.34	67.87
Hall	1,199,424.02	14,418.93	190.17	- -	898,694.49	- -	142.49	- -
Gainesville	626,162.98	217,538.30	237.72	169.42	525,135.39	195,019.61	199.37	151.88
Troup	572,273.49	268,985.99	258.13	204.24	403,809.75	201,641.75	182.17	153.11
Hogansville	188,780.93	78,644.16	231.63	188.50	149,628.33	67,060.72	185.59	52.19
LaGrange	756,413.01	254,297.70	226.36	139.63	558,419.09	246,889.94	167.06	131.69
West Point	123,691.68	99,046.01	228.71	168.53	93,325.44	88,598.91	170.30	143.66
Clayton	1,363,021.69	199,075.06	168.05	152.29	1,040,308.92	[illegible]	129.53	142.20
Walker	1,303,034.64	119,073.06	164.01	188.41	981,479.39	92,999.32	138.25	168.90
Chickamauga	130,116.91	- -	232.35	- -	98,958.02	- -	178.71	- -
Gwinnett	1,315,776.40	134,589.55	170.13	225.59	1,007,350.30	98,770.64	130.25	165.90
Buford	106,244.46	39,096.07	157.17	160.23	92,128.84	34,728.57	136.28	142.33
Gordon	514,617.21	6,994.46	195.15	- -	340,168.38	- -	142.49	- -
Calhoun	232,989.68	52,812.25	198.79	173.72	197,158.97	49,133.49	162.73	161.62
Washington	422,663.16	445,464.12	248.19	189.72	310,540.73	335,349.53	183.56	148.82
Jackson	418,724.80	96,924.57	331.01	210.25	285,840.58	73,665.85	228.97	188.80
Commerce	231,403.00	28,146.32	213.27	181.99	195,666.58	23,681.14	180.34	152.78
[illegible]	102,323.22	- -	87.58	- -	70,711.15	- -	60.39	- -
Habersham	713,939.36	44,848.68	189.33	233.59	548,190.83	35,906.21	145.99	187.01
Tallulah Falls								

Current Expendit

Instructional Expenditure

SCHOOL SYSTEMS	Current Expenditures		Per Pupil in ADA		Instructional Expenditures		Per Pupil in ADA	
	white	Negro	White	Negro	white	Negro	white	Negro
(SAMPLE II continued)								
Grady	$579,843.	$299,127.	$214	$188	$402,055	$233,808	$148	$147
Wayne	792,980	165,000.	225	183	544,136	126,011	154	140
Telfair	449,270	197,897.	244	186	313,381	156,128	170	146
Dooly	378,011	347,350.	297	207	236,547	240,284	186	143
Madison	423,690	126,803	212	207	292,008	97,376	146	159
Harris	259,460	289,575	263	186	150,409	214,912	153	138
Greene	273,078	297,325	246	187	195,746	232,523	176	147
Randolph	236,717	307,400	281	207	165,391	255,229	197	172
Putnam	213,198	212,075	269	192	142,111	155,251	179	140
Rabun	429,082	5,083	217	857	301,867	3,591	153	598
Stewart	170,045	246,587	355	185	105,523	198,140	220	148
Calhoun	209,430	224,804	302	182	141,014	171,163	203	139
Lumpkin	302,939	6,418	217	401	217,390	3,589	156	224
Pike	226,969	163,981	250	186	153,824	136,348	169	155
Dawson	200,754	-	230	-	129,628	-	149	-
Taliaferro	94,926	112,626	371	229	62,760	76,472	245	155
Schley	105,124	100,502	345	206	65,049	73,319	213	150
Webster	100,610	99,280	363	186	55,976	67,422	202	127
Quitman	70,994	70,655	388	189	50,947	53,450	278	143
Echols	116,146	28,064	343	312	75,945	17,448	224	194
SAMPLE III								
Baker	161,170	174,845	398	223	98,453	118,677	243	151
Bleckley	140,836	55,901	261	241	90,818	36,819	168	159
Cochran	172,909	66,915	190	200	144,327	53,417	158	160
Burke	471,096	527,291	300	171	309,186	413,967	197	134
Butts	224,690	169,487	221	174	162,954	127,021	160	130
Camden	314,982	200,209	244	181	217,486	178,301	169	161
Chattahoochee	34,974	34,388	243	166	24,261	27,306	168	132
Crisp	556,827	255,090	238	143	389,847	247,960	167	139
Decatur	756,208	436,408	229	182	559,158	372,657	169	155
Early	471,596	292,042	318	185	285,498	239,973	193	152
Hancock	172,098	310,749	327	163	127,518	244,744	242	129
Macon	279,769	359,855	270	186	199,480	281,586	193	145
Meriwether	474,533	383,788	236	183	351,448	298,595	175	143

C E D E

SCHOOL SYSTEMS	Current Expenditures white	Negro	Per Pupil in ADA white	Negro	Instructional Expenditures white	Negro	Per Pupil in ADA white	Negro
(SAMPLE III continued)								
Peach	$315,185	$299,609	$237	$172	$228,704	$242,707	$172	$139
Sumter	293,805	265,737	298	175	167,472	221,959	170	146
Americus	283,379	172,407	197	135	221,768	151,095	155	118
Terrell	298,214	356,763	308	190	208,996	280,820	216	150
Tift	736,762	245,849	194	165	616,337	205,994	162	138
Warren	167,844	172,803	298	179	106,425	131,779	189	137
Wilkes	290,616	272,021	277	184	204,087	211,806	194	144
Worth	519,559	322,625	258	186	355,011	262,869	176	152

School Systems	Number of [redacted] High Schools white	Negro	Number of High Schools Accredited white	Negro	Negro Percentage* of Expenditures for Textbooks	Instructional Supplies	Guidance	Attendance Officers	Non-Teaching Personnel
SAMPLE I									
Fulton	~~1~~8	2	~~88~~ 8	~~100~~ 2	11	15	-	0	11
Atlanta	~~14~~13	5	[illegible]	~~56~~ 5	23	37	31	45	34
DeKalb	~~7~~8	~~2~~3	~~64~~ 8	~~67~~ 3	8	8	0	9	6
Decatur	1	1	~~100~~ 1	~~100~~ 1	-	19	0	0	10
Chatham	3	~~0~~2	~~50~~ 3	~~0~~ 1	-	40	-	40	29
Muscogee	3	1	~~100~~ 3	~~50~~ 1	-	-	-	-	22
Bibb	~~4~~5	2	~~57~~ 5	~~67~~ 2	36	39	63	49	19
Richmond	2	1	~~35~~ 2	~~50~~ 1	-	32	-	45	28
Cobb	6	~~0~~0	~~100~~ 6	0	0	0	-	20	14
Marietta	1	~~7~~1	~~100~~ 1	~~100~~1	-	24	-	0	10
Dougherty	1	1	~~50~~ 1	~~100~~ 1	-	-	-	22	25
SAMPLE II									
Floyd	~~2~~6	~~0~~0	~~27~~ 2	~~0~~0	-	0	-	0	2
Rome	2	~~0~~1	~~100~~ 2	~~0~~0	-	0	0	0	17
Hall	~~0~~3	~~0~~0	~~0~~0	~~0~~0	00	00	00	00	00
Gainesville	1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~1	-	8	-	-	14
Troup	1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~1	-	18	-	0	4
Hogansville	1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~1	-	29	35	-	17.5
LaGrange	1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~0	-	24	-	21	16
West Point	1	~~0~~1	~~100~~1	~~0~~0	-	18	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Clayton	~~2~~3	~~0~~1	~~67~~3	~~0~~0	0	14	0	14	6
Walker	~~2~~3	~~0~~1	~~25~~0	~~0~~0	-	9	[illegible]	0	4
Chickamauga	1	~~0~~0	~~100~~1	~~0~~0	00	00	00	00	00
Gwinnett	~~2~~7	~~0~~1	~~14~~1	~~0~~0	-	9	0	0	4
Buford	1	~~0~~1	~~100~~1	~~0~~0	-	0	-	-	21
Gordon	~~1~~2	~~0~~0	~~0~~0	~~0~~0	00	00	00	00	00
Calhoun	1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~1	-	-	-	-	14
Washington	~~2~~1	1	~~100~~1	~~100~~1	-	-	35	[illegible]	33
Jackson	~~1~~1	~~1~~1	~~0~~0	~~0~~0	-	27	-	0	14
Commerce	1	~~0~~0	~~100~~1	~~0~~0	17	13	-	14	19
Jefferson	1	~~0~~0	~~100~~1	~~0~~1	00	00	00	00	00
Habersham	2	~~0~~1	~~100~~2	~~0~~0	-	-	-	-	4
Tallulah Falls	1	~~0~~0	~~100~~1	~~0~~0	00	00	00	00	00

School Systems	Number of [redacted] High Schools white	Number of [redacted] High Schools Negro	~~%~~ Number of High Schools Accredited white	~~%~~ Number of High Schools Accredited Negro	Negro Percentage* of Expenditures for Textbooks	Instructional Supplies	Guidance	Attendance Officers	Non-Teaching Personnel
(Sample II, continued)									
Grady	2	1	~~50~~ 1	0	-	37	-	0	18
Wayne	3	1	~~25~~ 1	0	-	6	-	0	12
Telfair	3	1	~~25~~ 1	0	-	29	-	-	24
Dooly	2	1	~~50~~ 1	0	0	17	51	0	37
Madison	1	1	0	0	-	8	-	0	16
Harris	1	1	0	0	60	51	-	0	36
Greene	3	1	~~50~~ 1	0	65	32	-	50	36
Randolph	3	2	~~50~~ 2	0	-	30	-	0	32
Putnam	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	31	-	50	35
Rabun	2	0	~~50~~ 2	0	-	1	-	0	0
Stewart	2	1	0	0	-	48	-	0	41
Calhoun	2	1	~~25~~ 1	0	-	51	-	50	38
Lumpkin	1	0	~~100~~ 1	0	0	2	0	0	0
Pike	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	37.5	-	0	21
Dawson	1	0	0	0	00	00	00	00	00
Taliaferro	1	1	0	0	-	47	-	100	43
Schley	1	1	0	0	0	23	0	0	27
Webster	1	1	0	0	-	0	-	-	29
Quitman	1	1	0	0	-	3	-	-	29
Echols	1	1	0	0	-	19	-	-	25
SAMPLE III									
Baker	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	0	41	-	0	37.5
Bleckley	0	0	0	0	0	4	-	-	-
Cochran	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	32	-	25	14
Burke	3	1	~~25~~ 1	0	-	44	-	0	29
Butts	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	-	-	0	28
Camden	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	46	-	0	39
Chattahoochee	1	1	0	0	0	6	-	-	40
Cripp	1	1	~~100~~ 1	~~100~~ 0	-	50	-	0	19
Decatur	4	2	~~25~~ 1	~~50~~ 0	-	0	-	0	18
Early	3	2	~~25~~ 1	0	-	22	-	0	24
Hancock	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	88	52	-	50	23
Macon	1	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	60	-	0	37.5
Meriwether	4	3	~~25~~ 3	0	-	33	-	0	43

SCHOOL SYSTEMS	Number of High Schools white	Number of High Schools Negro	Number of High Schools Accredited white	Number of High Schools Accredited Negro	Negro Percentage* of Expenditures for Textbooks	Instructional Supplies	Guidance	Attendance Officers	Non-teaching Personnel
(Sample III, continued)									
Peach	2	1	~~50~~ 1	~~100~~ 1	74	49	-	0	33
Sumtem	2	1	~~50~~ 0	0	-	33	-	0	19
Americus	1	0	1	0	-	26	-	0	21
Terrell	3	1	~~100~~ 1	0	-	28	-	0	19
Tift	2	1	1	0	-	0	0	0	10
Warren	1	1	0	0	-	0	-	-	44
Wilkes	1	1	1	0	-	38	0	-	19
Worth	3	1	0	0	-	36	-	0	28

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* A dash under any of these columns means that there were no expenditures reported for either white or Negro schools; two zeroes (00) means that there were no Negro schools; one zero means that the entire expenditure was for white schools.

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Average Teacher's Salary white	Negro	Average College Training of Teachers [redacted] white	Negro	Library Expenditure for Negro Schools	Negro Percentage ~~$~~ of Total Library Expenditure	Library Books in Negro Schools*	Percentage ~~$~~ of Total Library Books*
SAMPLE I								
Fulton	$4,729	$4,954	4.1 years	4.2 years	$ 4,916	15	19,313	12
Atlanta	5,136	4,436	4.2	4.2	35,838	42	97,994	23
DeKalb	4,114	4,127	4.2	4.1	1,292	8	9,909	9
Decatur	4,374	4,378	4.2	4.1	58	4	9,000	26
Chatham	3,095	3,207	3.9	4.2	4,220	40	24,150	21
Muscogee	4,119	4,154	4.2	4.2	incl.w/white			
Bibb	3,990	3,899	4.0	4.1	544	36	13,146	12
Richmond	4,022	4,081	4.0	4.1	-	-	18,092	22
Cobb	3,897	3,942	3.9	4.0	0	0	875	1
Marietta	4,500	3,138	4.0	4.1	0	0	4,243	14
Doughtery	3,799	3,470	4.1	4.2	-	-	11,714	38
SAMPLE II								
Floyd	3,850	10,513	3.9	4.4	40	2	732	2
Rome	4,186	1,393	4.0	4.1	incl. with white		3,638	12
Hall	3,715	-	3.9	-	00	00	00	00
Gainesville	4,184	3,954	4.2	4.0	845	41	2,923	14
Troup	3,879	3,443	4.0	4.1	520	26	2,835	26
Hogansville	3,791	3,380	4.0	4.2	132	33	1,058	22
LaGrange	3,846	3,711	4.1	4.2	0	0	3,916	11
West Point	3,674	3,204	3.8	3.9	300	50	1,581	25
Clayton	3,403	3,571	3.8	4.1	368	14	60,021	68
Walker	3,199	3,400	3.6	3.9	104	10	-	-
Chicamauga	3,216	-	3.8	-	00	00	00	00
Gwinnett	3,514	3,484	3.8	3.9	-	-	2,317	8
Buford	3,570	3,467	4.1	4.1	0	0	882	17
Gordon	3,262	-	3.3	-	00	00	00	00
Calhoun	3,723	3,131	4.2	4.0	included with white		1,240	14
Washington	3,834	3,249	4.1	4.0	1,242	62	4,646	35
Jackson	5,395	3,422	3.4	4.0	160	28	3,123	37
Commerce	3,907	3,748	4.1	4.2	167	17	200	3
Jefferson	1,354	-	4.0	-	00	00	00	00
Habersham	3,590	3,244	4.1	4.2	107	8	1,175	7
Tallulah Falls	-	-	4.3	-	00	00	00	00

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Average Teacher's Salary white	Negro	Average College of Teachers (years) white	Negro	Library Expenditure for Negro Schools	% of Total Library Expenditure	Library Books in Negro Schools*	% of Total Library Books*
(SAMPLE II, continued)								
Grady	$3,465	$3,402	3.8	4.1	$ 700	44	3,975	27
Wayne	3,534	3,371	3.8	4.0	156	10	4,299	21
Telfair	3,634	2,956	4.0	4.0	359	33	4,598	29
Dooly	3,686	3,370	3.9	4.0	281	27	3,540	16
Madison	3,512	3,504	3.9	4.0	210	14	894	10
Harris	3,246	3,219	3.5	4.0	2,200	70	9,485	54
Greene	3,750	3,474	3.9	4.0	278	62	2,643	38
Randolph	3,772	3,599	4.0	4.1	469	38	2,050	16
Putnam	3,803	3,350	4.2	4.0	278	59	4,500	45
Rabun	3,473	3,517	4.2	4.0	0	0	35	.2
Stewart	3,733	3,491	3.7	4.0	504	59	2,603	20
Calhoun	3,729	3,351	3.9	4.0	1,079	48	6,313	19
Lumpkin	3,496	3,517	3.9	4.0	13	1	50	2
Pike	3,616	3,568	3.9	4.0	0	0	3,300	39
Dawson	3,445	-	3.6	-	00	00	00	00
Taliaferro	3,710	3,455	3.9	4.0	522	56	3,000	49
Schley	3,879	3,465	3.9	4.0	0	0	-	-
Webster	3,509	3,365	3.9	4.0	125	34	400	17
Quitman	3,742	3,509	4.1	3.7	98	54	1,200	14
Echols	3,776	3,347	3.7	3.6	0	0	275	11
SAMPLE III								
Baker	3,730	3,386	3.8	4.0	0	0	2,498	37
Bleckley	3,314	3,343	3.7	4.0	0	0	275	5
Cochran	3,585	3,613	3.9	4.0	100	21	4,000	30
Burke	3,607	3,339	3.9	4.0	-	-	-	-
Butts	3,634	3,125	4.0	4.1	223	97	1,550	18
Camden	3,507	3,492	4.0	4.0	514	43	3,375	13
Chattahoochee	2,969	3,395	3.3	3.8	128	50	-	-
Crisp	3,777	3,622	4.1	4.1	-	-	-	-
Decatur	3,637	3,589	3.8	4.1	0	0	11,983	45
Early	2,797	3,439	3.9	4.1	389	48	5,840	35
Hancock	4,082	3,429	4.1	3.9	654	39	2,426	39
Macon	3,640	3,490	4.1	4.0	868	63	9,842	51
Meriwether	3,661	3,513	3.9	4.0	650	56	-	-

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Average Teacher's Salary white	Negro	Average College of Teachers (years) white	Negro	Library Expenditure for Negro Schools	% of Total Library Expenditure	Library Books in Negro Schools*	% of Total Library Books*
(SAMPLE III, CONTINUED)								
Peach	$3,939	$3,496	4.1	4.2	$ 442	45	8,200	60
Sumter	3,669	3,478	3.8	4.0	360	34	601	11
Americus	3,746	3,512	4.2	4.2	364	-	1,132	10
Terrell	3,805	3,648	4.0	4.0	211	24	1,506	13
Tift	3,747	3,388	3.7	4.1	0	0	4,842	22
Warren	3,676	3,266	3.8	4.0	0	0	1,801	34
Wilkes	3,521	3,239	3.9	3.9	343	50	1,500	19
Worth	3,405	3,547	3.6	4.1	-	-	2,201	18

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* A dash under any of these columns means that there were no expenditures reported for either white or Negro schools; two zeroes [redacted] means that there were no Negro schools; one zero means that the entire expenditure was for white schools.

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Maintenance & Operation Expenditures: Negro Schools*	Negro Percentage ~~Per Cent of~~ ~~%~~ of Total M & O Expenditure	Average Number Pupils per Bus*		Average Number Pupils per Trip*	
			white	Negro	white	Negro
SAMPLE I						
Fulton	$123,617 ✓	13	94	74	49	40
Atlanta	776,522	32				
DeKalb	61,583	13	222	141	76	61
Decatur	12,075	12				
Chatham	208.029	40	174	154	58	46
Muscogee	(incl. in white)	-	86	89	56	61
Bibb	165,832	33	150	137	65	62
Richmond	174,389	32	142	118	79	82
Cobb	324	1	214	107	70	36
Marietta	(incl. in white)	-				
Doughtery	81,281	37	102	96	70	72
SAMPLE II						
Floyd	2,371	2	124	55	69	55
Rome	(incl. in white)	-				
Hall	00	00	103	83	55	52
Gainesville	13,102	19				
Troup	17,866	22	85	98	55	91
Hogansville	7,267	26				
LaGrange	0	0				
West Point	4,453	21				
Clayton	16,962	12	141	135	64	63
Walker	11,208	6	144	112	78	64
Chicamauga	00	00				
Gwinnett	8,240	7	119	64	59	49
Buford	803	15				
Gordon	00	00	102	51	45	51
Calhoun	(incl. in white)	-				
Washington	17,595	31	71	102	42	54
Jackson	7,047	26	92	80	47	48
Commerce	2,172	12				
Jefferson	00	00				
Habersham	5,202	7	123	80	72	40
Tallulah Falls	-	-				

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Maintanance & Operation Expenditures: Negro Schools*	% of Total M & O Expenditure	Average Number Pupils per Bus* white	Average Number Pupils per Bus* Negro	Average Number Pupils per Trip* white	Average Number Pupils per Trip* Negro
SAMPLE II, continued:						
Brady	$27,637	30	64	73	58	59
Wayne	14,983	12	71	73	71	73
Telfair	8,805	21	45	67	43	48
Dooly	41,679	43	49	80	44	72
Madison	7,469	19	64	107	47	62
Harris	22,809	38	63	122	48	70
Greene	23,091	50	58	115	58	115
Randolph	11,754	29	45	83	45	68
Putnam	11,546	27	68	91	53	61
Rabun	504	1	4	0	3	0
Stewart	13,397	40	30	85	16	74
Calhoun	13,949	50	48	128	29	64
Lumpkin	556	2	80	13	80	13
Pike	8,490	24	70	103	65	77
Dawson	00	00	42	00	40	00
Taliaferro	14,147	49	43	69	43	69
Schley	5,807	33	35	87	35	87
Webster	6,326	29	36	73	31	66
Quitman	3,477	32	33	[illegible]	33	[illegible]
Echols	2,933	23	35	26	35	26
SAMPLE III						
Baker	11,349	40	52	81	52	68
Bleckley	951	14	64	92	42	53
Cochran	9,406	35	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Burke	43,515	58	41	99	69	91
Butts	10,547	43	65	82	60	82
Camden	2,509	6	-	-	-	-
Chattahoochee	2,148	31	79	163	79	54
Crisp	0	0	72	86	68	86
Decatur	21,430	22	63	108	33	78
Early	19,858	40	50	90	39	60
Hancock	8,981	35	41	129	41	45
Macon	20,641	40	49	126	34	61
Meriwether	29,659	39	56	93	48	63

SCHOOL SYSTEM	Maintenance & Operation Expenditures: Negro Schools*	% of Total M & O Expenditure	Average Number Pupils per Bus*		Average Number Pupils per Trip*	
			white	Negro	white	Negro
SAMPLE III, continued						
Peach	$ 30,202	50	73	104	73	73
Sumter	6,754	14	48	95	40	47
Americus	17,522	36				
Terrell	18,678	38	59	154	47	77
Tift	14,322	24	122	101	60	71
Warren	3,683	12	-	-	-	-
Wilkes	17,488	37	56	74	46	66
Worth	25,035	34	66	125	63	112

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* Two zeroes means no Negroes in the system; one zero means that entire expenditure~~s~~ is for white school.

PRV

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Virginia Council on Human Relations

216-C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Phone MI. 9-0872

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Executive Director

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Mr. James B. Woodson
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MARCH 31, 1960.

MR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA.

RE: OUR PHONE CONVERSATION OF YESTERDAY.

I AM ENCLOSING A LIST WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT BE SUFFICIENT TO HELP YOU IN KEEPING UP WITH THE FACTS. AM ALSO ENCLOSING NEWSPAPER CLIPPINGS--(YOU MAY HAVE THESE) ON THE CHARLOTTESVILLE SCHOOL SITUATION.

I AM CONTACTING DR. KENNEDY ON MONDAY IN PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY ABOUT MAKING A STUDY FOR US OF THE ACCADEMY THERE. I AM WONDERING ABOUT THE STUDY OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WHICH DR. DANIELS OF VA. UNION WAS GOING TO MAKE--I DON'T HAVE A COPY OF IT AND I AM WONDERING IF HE EVER MADE IT. IF HE HAS NOT MADE IT I WILL ALSO GET SOME PERTINENT DATA ABOUT THE NEGRO COMMUNITY WHEN I GO OVER THERE.

pls note

WOULD YOU GIVE ME A GENERAL OUTLINE OF WHAT YOU WOULD EXPECT THE L REPORT TO COVER SO I COULD LET HIM KNOW JUST WHAT WE EXPECT OF HIM. I HAVE A GENERAL IDEA BUT WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION SINCE YOU ARE WORKING IN THIS AREA AND ARE MORE FAMILIAR WITH THE TOOLS INVOLVED.

SINCERELY,

Dan

DANIEL A. BOWERS (SECRETARY ILL)

April 7, 1960

Mr. Daniel A. Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Bldg.
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Dan:

Many thanks for your notes on the sit-ins. Am I correct in assuming from your letter that you have already talked with Kennedy? At any rate, what we would want, I think, is a brief, factual description and evaluation of the educational program in the Prince Edward schools, the physical facilities, present and planned, and the "morale" of the community including the children, white and colored. If Kennedy is interested in doing this, I will of course want him to take the lead in planning the scope and emphasis of the report.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

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LETTER TELEGRAM	
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NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

August 3, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
250 Pine Hollow Lane
Houston 21, Texas

PLEASE CALL ME COLLECT.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

charge Southern Regional Council

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

NOTICE REGARDING TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

AUG 3 PM 1 00
RN ATLANTA, GA.

D HSF086 ____ 19__
DELIVERY NO. (STREET ADDRESS, CITY, AND DATE)

LESLIE W DUNBAR 63 Auburn
NAME

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ADDRESS

Your telegram of AUGUST 3 (DATE) 1960 to DR MARY ELLEN GOODMAN (ADDRESSEE)

at 250 PINE HOLLOW LANE HOUSTON TEX (ADDRESS AND CITY) is undelivered for the following reason:

DR GOODMAN IS SAID TO BE ON VACATION

If you have occasion to correct the address originally supplied, please call JA 1-2100

and ask for 341

Form 101 (Rev. 2-49)

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

August 16, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
250 Pine Hollow Lane
Houston 21, Texas

Dear Mrs. Goodman:

It was good of you to return my call and to say that you might be interested in helping us. Let me repeat what we have in mind.

The private school effort in Virginia is a development of potentially first importance in Southern society, and has already had undoubted effect and attracted widespread attention. We can expect that other places in the South will see it as something to emulate. We believe there is a strong need for an objective, handy description and appraisal which may, by its contribution to rational discussion, help to keep Southern communities from rushing off on a fool's project.

It is easier to see the practical value of such a report then to conceive its nature. Newspapers have covered the private systems ad nauseum. On the other hand, it is probably too early to do a professional evaluation of them as educational institutions.

My thought, as I discussed it with you the other day, was that, with your help, we might do a preliminary report on the social implications of the schools after 1-2 years. I proposed that you spend 2-3 days each in Charlottesville, Front Royal, and Prince Edward, and 1-2 days in Norfolk as early this Fall as would be convenient for you. There you would do chiefly two things: get the details of the operation straight; gather through conversations and interviews impressions of the educational and social effects on the children, and the way in which the existence of the private system has affected the community. The primary if not exclusive coverage would be of the white communities.

You may tell me, in reply, that even for a preliminary study this cannot be done in the time proposed. If so, we'll have to accept your judgment and reconsider what to do. But I would like to note a couple of things which may help get the job done expeditiously. We would supply you with digests of the press coverage (similar to the Prince Edward digest enclosed); this should help you with background. There are also a few other things--field memos--which we could send to you, and Dan Bowers, at the Virginia Council on Human Relations, has a clipping file from local newspapers. Secondly, we could put you in touch with knowledgeable people in each locality, and these could be your initial informants. We could not, however, arrange appointments with pro-private school people or with families of private school children; perhaps some of our local contacts, however, could do this or, if not, you could arrange them yourself. Thirdly, I believe that you, with your qualifications, would not only know what to look for, but would be able to detect much that could be reported as reasonable expectations, even though not yet verified.

Publication plans would be made later. At the moment, we are thinking of a mimeographed Special Report over your by-line.

We could pay your travel expenses plus $40.00 per day while in the field. The assumption would be that you would write your report after returning home.

Please regard my description of the assignment--its method and its objective--as a plan only, and feel free to propose any revisions or departures you may think desirable.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Dan Bowers

P.S. I am enclosing some pages excerpted from our new Desegregation Report; they will give you thumb nail sketches of the four systems.

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
August 22, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Thank you for your letter of the 16th. You provide a clear statement of what you have in mind.

It is my feeling that of course a "preliminary" study can be done in the time you suggest. Both you and I would prefer a more extensive study I am sure, even on a preliminary basis. However, I am willing to do what I can in the limited time in each community, so long as we both understand and accept the conditions. I accept the fact that you cannot afford to let me work longer, and you will understand - as an experienced research man - that a three-day study will be necessarily "preliminary" indeed.

I say "three-day" because you imply that the budget would accomodate this much time in Charlottesville, Front Royal and Prince Edward. I should therefore plan three-day visits in each of these communities, and plan for two days in Norfolk.

On one point I am not clear: what rate of payment do you anticipate for time spent not in the field, i.e., in preparation of a report?

In view of other commitments I think I could not go to the field before early October. I could begin the work on Monday, October 3, if that is agreeable.

I shall certainly welcome digests of press coverage, field memos, and personal contacts. Indeed it would not be possible to do anything worthwhile, I think, without such background and without pre-arranged appointments for the first day or so at least.

Last week I saw Ted Friedman, Regional Director of the Anti-Defamation League, to whom I mentioned the possibility of this private school study. Mr. Friedman sees the project as worthwhile, even though done on a limited basis, and offers assistance in making contacts in the four communities. Would you have any reluctance to have me utilize such contacts?

You mention that the "primary if not exclusive coverage would be of the white communities." I would suppose that - again in view of those time limitations - the coverage would necessarily come close to being exclusively of the white communities. I would hope only to pick up - quite incidentally - some scraps of information concerning the recent course of affairs educational on the other side of the "line."

Between Sept. 2 and 12 my husband and I will be away on a trip. When we return I should like to begin at once to set up appointments in the several communities and plan a detailed schedule. Will you wish to get my plane tickets and plan the sequence of communities to be visited?

Thank you for the background materials you have sent. I shall look forward to receiving other such pieces at your convenience.

It will be, I am sure, a pleasure to work with you and the Council on this project. I shall do my best to produce a worthwhile report.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Ellen Goodman

Mary Ellen Goodman

August 23, 1960

Dan Bowers

Leslie Dunbar

Virginia Private Schools study

See the enclosed letter to Mary Ellen Goodman. I hope that this arrangement will work out as you had hoped. I am asking Montez Albright to coordinate the planning of Mrs. Goodman's itinerary. She will consult here with Paul Rilling and will be in touch with you. I think someone ought to meet her in each of the four localities and that she ought to have some appointments set up almost on her arrival so that she can be briefed on the local situation and put in touch with other contacts. Incidentally, I would hope that in each place someone person could be found who would make himself, or herself, responsible for showing Mrs. Goodman around. If Ben Muse and J. J. Brewbaker are in the state at the time, I certainly think that they should sit in a meeting some place with her. Incidentally, she plans to begin October 3rd.

August 23, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Dr. Goodman:

We are delighted that you will undertake for us an examination of the Virginia Private School system. I think your letter indicates that we both see this examination in the same light, and mutually recognize its limitations and opportunities. In the interval between now and October, I think it would be well if we corresponded frequently; please write whenever you have any questions you would like to discuss.

We shall begin at once to plan your itinerary and to set up some appointments. We shall also from time to time be sending you materials. You may have seen in the press that the study by Campbell, Price, and Bowerman in North Carolina is finally out, and I hope to be able to get a copy to you. Incidentally, Johan Galtung has finished a three-year field study of Charlottesville; his book will not be published for some months yet and Johan is back in Norway, but we do have a couple memos of his and these I shall send. Right now I am trying to finish a paper which I have to read this coming Saturday in New York at the Society for the Study of Social Problems, and there are always, of course, interruptions. In other words, I shall work at getting the materials out to you whenever I can and you will be receiving things intermittently.

Please do avail yourself of any help that Ted Freidman can give you.

On projects of this kind where we pay for field time, it is not our usual practice to pay an honorarium for the preparation of the report. On the other hand, as we shall be sending you a fair amount of background material, we would have no objection to your charging time spent in study of it against field time.

We hope you enjoy your forthcoming vacation.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Dan Bowers

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RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

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Mr. W. R. Walker, Jr.
Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker
Dr. David C. Wilson
Mr. James B. Woodson
Mr. Thomas W. Young

August 31, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Dr. Goodman:

I am looking foward to having you in Virginia to study the Private School situation.

I understand from Paul Rilling that you plan to spend three days each in various private school centers.

I would like to suggest the following reasonable itinerary for your consideration. I believe you will arrive in Norfolk sometime October 3rd. If you could let me know the hour, I shall arrange for the Rev. James Brewer, minister of the Unitarian Church, to meet you and act as your contact person there. On Friday, Oct. 7th, you could take the plane up to Richmond, where I would meet your plane and accompany you to Farmville, where I believe you could stay until the 12th. From the 12th, you would go from Farmville to Charlottesville, leaving Charlottesville the 15th and spending the next three days in Front Royal, which would complete your assignment aroung the 19th or 20th. In Front Royal, you would not be too far from Washington, D.C., which is the best point of departure by air. I shall be happy to do all in my power to arrange contact with people on each one of these localities; to furnish you any information which I may have, and also I shall be happy to do all in my power to expedite your efforts while you are here.

You might find it profitable to spend a day or two in Richmond in conference with some of our people here and the State school officials.

I shall make the committment with Mr. Brewer definite for October 3rd, however, I will not make the other dates definite until I hear from you.

With all good wishes to you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Daniel A. Bowers
Executive Director

DAB/msb

cc: Mr. Paul Rilling
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
September 16, 1960

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Most belatedly, but also most sincerely, let me thank you for your delightful note of early July. I meant to answer at once, but somehow the summer has been so hectic that I've written only the absolutely essential letters.

Truly it was a joy to me to hear that you had felt, as I most certainly had, that we must be quite kindred spirits. I do hope that we 'll have other opportunities to talk and get better acquainted.

Your pamphlet on "-- the first six years" is an invaluable record and resource. How satisfying it must be to have contributed substantially to it.

To have a part in the SRC work generally must be a most satisfying thing, and I'm very happy that I'm to have a bit of it. You've no doubt heard that I'm going to take a crack at a quick survey of the Virginia private schools.

On the way to that undertaking I'll be passing through Atlanta on October 3rd. As the schedule presently stands I have only about forty minutes in Atlanta between planes. It now occurs to me that it would have been an excellent idea to try for a longer stop-over and a visit at the SRC offices. I think I'll investigate the possibilities. Perhaps I'll have the pleasure of seeing you then.

My little book is out of print, as you may have discovered. It seems to me, however, that a copy was sent to your offices when it was published. It may still be lurking in a corner.

All best wishes, in which my husband joins.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen Goodman

file

September 19
6106 S. Ellis (4H)
Chicago 37

Dear Dr. Goodman,

While in Front Royal last week, I spoke with the leader of the local segregationist activity about your impending visit. He was unfamiliar with the SRC, but will be glad to talk with you. He is the only segregationist I mentioned you to (and there seemed no need to mention you to desegregationists) because in addition to his intimacy with the private school, I had considerable rapport with him and I think he'll be quite open. His name is Jack Crouse.

Other useful segregationists informants who will, I think, speak freely without any advance warning are Mrs. Guy Marlow who has served as secretary of the Educational Foundation, Dr. Milton Joyce who was a one-man Buildings and Grounds Dept. for the private school in its first year, and Mrs. Frank Barnett who has served as a liason between the Citizens' Committee and the Educational Foundation.

Ted Bromfield can of course put you in touch with key public school people (ministers whose churches were used for classromms, the school superintendant, officers in what's left of the Public School Committee, the Viscose plant manager, etc.). If Ted is out of town when you arrive Mrs. Hugh Stevens can help.

Please let me know if I can help you with anything else.

Cordially,

Charles Levy

It just occurred to me that a useful index of a private school's success ~~mightxbexthe~~ (or, more likely, failure) might be the extent to which its students (in contrast to these of the public high school) have (a) applied to college, (b) been accepted, and (c) where. I have no precise information on this for Front Royal, but I should think Principals Wood and Sunderlin would cooperate.

September 19.

6106 S. Ellis (4H)
Chicago

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter I sent to Dr. Goodman. I wish I knew what more I could do for her.

I have written to Oscar Cohen about disposing of the thesis since I don't know if you had a chance to discuss its future with him.

Meantime, I was glad I had an opportunity to meet you.

Cordially,

Charles Levy

Charles Levy

File

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
Sept. 1, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Just a note before leaving on vacation to thank you for your letter of August 23rd and for the "Report on School Desegregation, 1960-61," which I have just received.

I shall be most happy to receive and study all materials relevant to our project that you can send me. I am particularly eager to see Dr. Galtung's report, or whatever sections of it may be available. As you know I'll be away for the next ten days, so there is no great rush.

I wish I had been able to attend the meetings in New York. Your paper was, I'm sure, a real contribution, and I would have liked hearing it.

The arrangement you suggest concerning charging time spent in study of materials is entirely satisfactory. Thank you.

You'll be hearing from me again later in the month. All best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Mary Ellen Goodman

Mary Ellen Goodman

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
September 14, 1960

Daniel A. Bowers, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade
Richmond 19, Va.

Dear Mr. Bowers,

Please accept my thanks for your very helpful and informative letter of August 31, and my apologies for this late reply. I returned only last evening from an extended absence during which your letter arrived.

The itinerary you suggest seems to me excellent, and I suppose (not having heard any objection or different plan from Dr. Dunbar) that it will meet with the approval of the SRC. This being the case I am proceeding to make plane reservations to accord with the schedule you suggest. At the moment I have only the reservation to Norfolk; in a few days it should be possible for me to send you details on my other reservations.

I am scheduled to arrive in Norfolk on October 3 (Monday) via Capital Airlines #172, at 2.58 p.m. I will have taken Eastern's flight 520 from Houston to Atlanta, leaving at 8.10 a.m. and arriving at 11.45. The Capital flight leaves Atlanta at 12.25 p.m. for Norfolk. It will be most kind of Rev. Brewer to meet me and act as my contact person, and I hope that you and he will feel free to make appointments for me as your best judgement indicates.

I shall rely heavily upon your advice and assistance, and I do want to tell you again how very grateful I am to have your help in this project. It will be a pleasure to meet and work with you I know.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Ellen Goodman

cc Dr. Dunbar

September 15, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mrs. Goodman:

We are delighted that plans are proceeding for the Virginia assignment. Would you like a travel advance? If so, please let us know, and it will be forwarded to you at once. Enclosed are several of our office expense blanks. At the end of the assignment one can be filled in for the total expenses of travel, the advance deducted, and any additional travel expense requested.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure:
travel expense blanks

ITINERARY OF DR. MARY ELLEN GOODMAN

Oct. 3, Monday	Arrive Norfolk afternoon by plane Met at plane by Rev. James Brewer Spend night at Commodore Maury Hotel
Oct. 4, Tuesday	~~Interviews:~~
Oct. 5, Wednesday	~~Norfolk:~~
Oct. 6, Thursday	Early morning plane (Piedmont) to Richmond, 11 a.m. Met at airport by Dan Bowers; drive to Farmville Contact person, Dr. C. G. G. Moss, Dean of Longwood ~~Interviews:~~
Oct. 7-8	~~Farmville~~
Oct. 9, Sunday	Leave Farmville for Charlottesville, either Saturday night or Sunday, by bus. Probably evening bus Saturday night. Met at bus by Katherine Makielski; possible to get Sunday appointments?
Oct. 10 & 11 Monday-Tuesday	Charlottesville. ~~Interviews:~~
Oct. 12, Wednesday	Bus mid-day to Front Royal, arrive ~~latexafternoonx~~ evening. Contact person: T. Edward Bromfield
Oct. 13-14-15 Thurs, Fri., Sat.	Interviews in Front Royal
	Leave Front Royal either evening of 15 or morning of 16 by bus to Washington; plane to Texas.

Goodman file

September 22, 1960

The Rev. Daniel Bowers
Virginia Council on Human Relations
3-B Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Dan:

I talked to Dr. Goodman on Tuesday just after speaking with you. She had not yet received a copy of the itinerary which I questioned you about.

I told Dr. Goodman to adhere to her plan for arrival in Norfolk. This will be on Monday, October 3; from your letter of September 15 to her, I infer she will be on Capitol flight #172, arriving at 2:52 p. m., and that she will be met at the airport by Jim Brewer.

Tentatively, I would suggest that she stay in Norfolk through Wednesday, October 5; part of her time there could be taken up with a meeting with Brewbaker, whom it would be fitting for her to check in with. On the other hand, if there is someone in Richmond whom you think she should see, or files you think she should read, and if there is an afternoon or evening flight out of Norfolk, you could arrange for her to leave Norfolk on, say, Wednesday afternoon or evening.

Assuming she leaves, however, on the early morning flight on Thursday, October 6, you will meet her at the Richmond airport and drive with her to Farmville. I think she should stay in Prince Edward through Saturday, October 8.

We run into a week-end here, and I hope you will be able to work it out with both the best employment of Dr. Goodman's time and consideration for her rest. Should she leave Prince

Edward Saturday night or sometime Sunday?

Monday-Wednesday, October 10-12 in Charlottesville, and Thursday-Saturday, October 13-15 in Front Royal ought to do it. Dr. Goodman might catch a late Saturday or Sunday flight home. She may, incidentally, stop off in Atlanta on her return, if she feels there would be any advantage in talking with us; I could see her any time.

We are heavily indebted for what you have done already, and if you can take the itinerary from here, pin it down and fill it in, we shall owe you even more. Please send me a carbon of any travel plans you send to her.

Ben Muse is here, and I have described the venture to him and his satisfaction. I wish Dr. Goodman could touch base with him, even if briefly, while in Virginia. Unfortunately, he will be off on a trip, beginning around October 7-9. He would like to see Dr. Goodman and requests that she phone him sometime to see if a meeting place cannot be arranged; seemed a little reluctant, however, to volunteer to travel. I leave this entirely to you three; if you see a chance, without great inconvenience to everybody, to get Ben to Richmond or Norfolk (I guess he'll be away when Dr. Goodman visits Charlottesville and Front Royal), or get her to Manasses (maybe for a "restful" Sunday afternoon?), well and good.

Incidentally, we have plied her with reams of reading matter--newspaper clips, etc. etc.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: M. E. Goodman

September 15, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Dr. Goodman:

Thank you for your letter of September 14th, and for the information regarding your arrival by Capitol Airlines flight #172 at Norfolk 2:52P.M.

Since writing you, I have conferred extensively with Mr. Rilling and Dr. Dunbar and am inclosing an itinerary which they suggested.

I am trying to contact as many of the key people as I can who are in the itinerary. If you feel that you need to confer with me before your arrival, please call me collect at MIlton 9-0872.

I shall do all that I can to assist you in whatever ways possible.

Sincerely yours,

Daniel A. Bowers

DAB/msb
cc: Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar

for Dr. Dunbar

ITINERARY OF DR. MARY ELLEN GOODMAN

Sunday

Oct. 3 ~~Sunday~~ Arrive in Norfolk October 3rd by plane. Met at plane by the Rev. James Brewer.
Spend night at Commodore Maury Hotel.

1 1/2
2 days

Monday-Oct. 4th Spend day in Norfolk.
1. Interview Brubaker?
2. Private School Officials
(visit private school)

2

Tuesday-October 5th? 10/4 Spend night at hotel in Norfolk. Take early morning Piedmont ~~flight to Richmond. Met~~
Met at Airport by Bowers-Drive to Prince Edward . (Arrive 11:a.m.
Contact person, Dr. C. G. G. Moss, Dean of Longwood.
Interview: PRIVATE SCHOOL HEADS. Dr. Bittinger, Dr. Semanini,
Dr. Peyson, Kennedy, Dr. Ben Lacy.

2-3

2-3

1

Wed. Oct. 6th ~~Interview~~ Night in hotel in Farmville

" " " AM Interview Rev. Griffin?? Check on Private School at Hampden-Sidney

" " " Evening. Take bus to Charlottesville. Met at bus by Katherine Makielski.
Interview Jerry Speidel.
Spend Wednesday night in Charlottesville

2-3

2-3

1 1/2 + night

Thurs. Oct. 7th Interview Public School Officials, Private School Officials.
Dr. Hammond, Dr. Frank Daniel, Rev. Theodore Evans.

Leave Charlottesville noon of Oct. 7th, arrive Front Royal by bus late in P.M.
Contact T. Edward Bromfield.
Interview Garque, McCormick, others.

2-3

2 1/2

Fri. Oct. 8th Continue interviews in Front Roayal thru Sat.
Take bus to Washington D.C. Catch plane for Texas
Saturday night or Sunday morning

we 10/3 - Norfolk

10/4
10/5 } "

lv Norfolk for ~~Rich 11~~ Rich 10/6 - arr AM early
drive to Farmville

10/6
10/7
10/8 } Farmville

go to Charlottesville 10/8 or Sunday 10/9
as Dan sees best

11 ~~4~~ 5

#540

10/12
Front Royal

10/9
10/10
10/11
10/12

ITINERARY OF DR. MARY ELLEN GOODMAN

Oct. 3, Monday	Arrive Norfolk afternoon by plane Met at plane by Rev. James Brewer Spend night at Commodore Maury Hotel
Oct. 4, Tuesday	~~Interviews:~~
Oct. 5, Wednesday	~~Norfolk:~~
Oct. 6, Thursday	Early morning plane (Piedmont) to Richmond, 11 a.m. Met at airport by Dan Bowers; drive to Farmville Contact person, Dr. C. G. G. Moss, Dean of Longwood ~~Interviews:~~
Oct. 7-8	~~Farmville~~
Oct. 9, Sunday	Leave Farmville for Charlottesville, either Saturday night or Sunday, by bus. Probably evening bus Saturday night. Met at bus by Katherine Makielski; possible to get Sunday appointments?
Oct. 10 & 11 Monday-Tuesday	Charlottesville. Interviews:
Oct. 12, Wednesday	Bus mid-day to Front Royal, arrive ~~late afternoon~~ evening. Contact person: T. Edward Bromfield
Oct. 13-14-15 Thurs, Fri., Sat.	Interviews in Front Royal
	Leave Front Royal either evening of 15 or morning of 16 by bus to Washington; plant to Texas.

Can she see: Brewbaker in Norfolk?
Muse somewhere?

File

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
Sept. 30, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

Having just pulled together the enclosed outline it occurs to me that it would be a great help to have it in your hands at least a few minutes before we meet at the airport. I hope that you may have time to jot down your suggested changes and additions before we meet.

It is not my intent to use this as a questionnaire, of course, but rather as a guide for myself. Obviously too it will require modification to fit the peculiar (!) circumstances of Prince Edward. It would be my intent to shoot for this range of information, more or less, from each of several informants per community, and hopefully these would be people diverse with respect to role vis à vis public-private schools, with respect to integration-segregation sentiment, with respect to status in the community (prestige and function) and with respect to race and age. Among possible informants I should propose to select to get a "panel" on a basis of these criteria. Again, your reactions please.

Among questions I meant to put to you at the airport is the obvious one about presenting myself and my function to my informants. You will no doubt be able to dispose of that one speedily.

I have after a fashion made digests of all the materials you sent me. They are of course invaluable. Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Mary Ellen Goodman

Mary Ellen Goodman

Data Needed in Private School Study

1. Number, names and locations of schools now operating

   Dates, sponsorship and circumstances of their beginnings

   Whether any once operating are now defunct; if so, data as above and date and circumstances of termination

2. Concerning each school now operating:

   Directors, administrators, teachers and other personnel -

   who are they

   numbers, names (of Directors and administrators), training and previous connections (administrators and teachers), tenure (administrators and teachers)

   Financing, annual budget, costs to students -

   tuition grants, capital outlay, fundraising, scholarships, indebtedness, etc.

   Facilities -

   buildings in use and projected; equipment and services present and projected

   Instructional offerings -

   grades taught, curriculum, hours of instruction, extra-curricular activities, teacher-student ratio, accreditation (when, by whom)

   exception

   Enrollments -

   numbers (by grade), previous schooling, performance as measured by standard tests and compared grade by grade with public schools, graduates (if high school) and their number, percent applying for college entrance, percent accepted, and colleges to which they have gone (need comparative figures from public schools)

   family background (at least impressionistically) of students (e.g., parents' education, occupation, religion, attitude toward education and toward the school "crisis")

   admissions policy of the school

   Prognosis for the school -

   with respect to enrollments, financing, quality of education offered, facilities

Evaluation of the school -

competence and attitude of personnel, quality and attitude of students, adequacy of facilities, adequacy of curriculum and desirability of extra-curricular activities

3. Concerning relations between the private schools and the community:

What people (types and, where possible, names) are against the private schools and for public schools even though these are somewhat desegregated? What proportion of whites in the community take this view? What is the view of the majority of the whites in the community?

How does the existence of the private schools affect the public schools? (e.g., are public schools in a better position to educate because of the private schools? a worse position? why? is the present effect likely to last?)

How do public and private school people and their students regard one another?

opinion

What is the economic effect of having both private and public schools in the community? (e.g., does this mean added costs to the average citizen? can the community continue indefinitely to support both kinds of schools? does the existence of both kinds of schools have effects on community business and industry, or on attracting new business and industry? what effects?

What is the political effect of having both private and public schools in the community? (e.g., what are candidates for election, appointment or advancement likely to do or say to improve their chances of success?)

What is the effect on religious groups and leaders of differing opinions about the school situation? Do religious leaders take a strong stand? (What stand? Which ones?) Do their congregations share their views?

exemplary

What is the effect on "community morale" of factions opposed on the school issue? (e.g., is factional bitterness evident now? is it less, the same, or more than before Jan.19, 1959? is the community now less unified than before debate about the schools, about the same, or more unified? what new factions, if any, have appeared since Jan. 1959? Who are the leaders? How strong are these new factions?

downplay

What has most helped to avert violence (physical) in this community when the school issue has been especially "hot"? At what time or times has it been most hot?

What have been the effects on the state and national standing of this community of the events in the school crisis? Should the community have done differently about the school crisis? What would have been a better course? What would be better now?

Dear Lee -

Here's the bad news on expenses.

Again my thanks for your kindness and hospitality during both my visits in Atlanta. Thank you too for the additional materials you have sent here during my absence.

Cordially,
Mary Ellen

10/17

October 20, 1960
(dictated October 19)

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

I have passed your expense sheets on to Mrs. Alexander and you should be getting a check in a day or so.

I am enthusiastic over the conversation we had Sunday, and over the insights and facts you have developed.

I talked with Harold about the NAIRO meeting. It turns out that he is chairing a session devoted to civil rights problems in the South. He would be delighted to have you give some remarks on your Virginia study as one of the three or four panelists. He is not planning to ask for papers but rather for his panelists to speak from notes pre~~paratory~~paratory to a general discussion. If you are planning to be in New York for the meeting, would you drop Harold a line, by Monday? Unfortunately, there does not seem to be any funds for traveling expenses.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
Oct. 21, 1960

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I've just had a note from Leslie suggesting that I inform you about my availability to take part in the NAIRO session which you are chairing. I hasten to do so, and here is the situation: if your session meets other than on November 15th I'm in, with pleasure, but on the 15th I have to be in Fort Worth. I'll await word from you concerning the schedule and your wishes concerning my participation, if any.

As you may have heard from Leslie, I returned from my safari in deepest Virginia with a new view, a decent amount of data and a vast enthusiasm for the whole experience. In spite of the fact that I'm now on the reporting end of the job, which isn't always as exciting as the field work, the enthusiasm is still high and I'm really very glad that you called on me for this assignment.

Leslie writes that you've been ill. I hope that this finds you fully recovered, and that I may have the pleasure of taking part in the NAIRO meeting.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen Goodman

cc - Leslie Dunbar

Dear Leslie,

Many thanks for your notes and for the very prompt response to my expense accounting.

I hope that the NAIRO thing will work out.

All best wishes,

Mary Ellen

Oct. 21, 1960

HO 8-5960

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
November 10, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Here is the first installment. There is more to come but this is the essential part and I'm eager to get it to you.

Of course this is already too long, but no doubt you'll know better than I where to cut.

For what is still to come I am working on more which I would put into the section on the "Community and the Private Schools." For example: a unit on "Problems in Communication" (we talked about the main ideas I'm putting in that); then I have material for a unit on integration to date (related to the private school movement in answer to the question: does the course of integration to date tend to encourage continued support of the segregated schools?); and there is much material - some of which I'd like to use - on "beliefs and attitudes" of the conservatives.

You may differ in your ideas about the sequence of the pieces I'm enclosing. As you see they're paged individually and in pencil, since I was not sure myself when they were typed how I would relate them to one another.

I'll also prepare a short statement of acknowledgements and thanks. And among my still-to-do things are the confidential pieces. You'll see that I've leaned over backward to protect identities and sources.* I still feel strongly that this must be. But I plan to do a series of confidential notes which I'll relate to the text by reference numbers on one of my carbon copies. (See samples attached. List of informants, and notes on Zehmer interview, also attached)

All best wishes.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Mary Ellen Goodman

* And to be "objective"!

November 11, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

Your copy arrived and I shall read it with great interest over the week-end. Do please send all the other portions which you are working on.

You have been most prompt. I hope we shall do as well at moving it on.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

file

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

Dear Lee,

I'm mailing this in haste as my husband and I leave for Boston on a sad journey. We have just this afternoon received news of the death of our dearest friend there.

I will go to the NAIRO meeting in Cincinnati direct from Boston (having to omit the meeting I was supposed to attend in Fort Worth on the morning of the 15th). Will you be kind enough to tell Harold that I'll arrive in Cincinnati about 4.00 on the afternoon of the 15th (barring unforeseen developments).

I have many confidential notes still to come to you (some written but not typed). Otherwise I think the enclosed just about does it.

Sincerely,
Mary Ellen

11/13/60

P.S. Thank you for your note.

November 17, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

I hope that before this reaches you I shall have talked with you by telephone. Please read over the enclosed copy of your manuscript. Your reactions to the changes will be most helpful.

I always feel diffident in asking an author to look over her handiwork after I have operated on it. This is not the most enviable job. I did want to reduce the length, and had believed that I should do so more than finally is the case. I hope you won't feel that I have been to ruthless, and if there are any cuts which you feel strongly about, we will want to consider them very carefully. You probably will agree that brevity has virtues for most readers and most "action agencies."

You will notice two spots where I have incorporated material from your supplementary sections. This leaves, however, a great deal of your material still unused. We ought to be thinking about other possible outlets for it, though frankly I have nothing in mind now.

I shall want to read this over again, at least one more time, and I am sure Harold will want to read it also. There may be, in other words, a few more fly-specks cast upon it. But I think you can assume that this is, for the most part, what we come up with and I think it is better to postpone further reading here until we have your comments.

The above matter-of-fact remarks don't indicate anything of my opinion of this job you have done for us. I think it is first-rate. I more than ever am grateful to you for undertaking it. I think you have done a rare job of viewing a half-formed situation with both scholarly perception and awareness of the immediate implications.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

November 29, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

Many thanks for your letter of November 27; you are most cooperative.

On the basis of your suggestion for half fee for the days of preparation, we are enclosing our check for $750.00

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: check

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
November 27, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

But of course I agree that frank discussion is the right and sensible way to deal with a problem, and I understand and appreciate your position with respect to the matter of my fee.

No doubt I spent more time on preparation than I should have, but I incline to a "fine tooth comb" approach and - probably - an over-concentration on detail. As you know I prepared myself rather elaborately for the field, but in retrospect I concluded that this was time well spent because the preparation certainly paid off in heightened efficiency while I was in the communities. Nevertheless I can understand that you might not have anticipated so much pre-field work, and that your budget for this project would therefore not have been set up to cover it.

Would it solve your problem if I were to cut my fee for "homework" in half? If so, let's handle it that way. And please know that in any case I will indeed still have very pleasant feelings toward this job and toward working with you.

Sincerely,

Mary Ellen

Mary Ellen Goodman

November 23, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

I have your letter of the 21st, and the enclosures. I shall read "Children as Informants" with real interest, and thank you for including it.

Now to raise an unpleasant subject, but one which I am afraid, after much thought, I must. It was a mistake on my part the other day not to explore further with you your question about the size of your fee. I believe now, however, you would like for me to be frank. Perhaps I should have realized, but I did not anticipate, either then or when I authorized payment for such time, that as many as 9½ days of background preparation would be involved. For assignments where we pay per diem our practice has been to pay only for time in the field. Some preliminary study always is a necessity; it was because of the unusual amount of stuff we poured on you that I thought, and still do, that payment was justified. I do, however, have to be concerned with keeping the expenses of various projects in line. For that reason, I am wondering if you cou could, in fairness to yourself, put some lower valuation on those days spent at home. I am deliberately not suggesting what that should be, because I realize fully that you have billed us as you had every right to believe you should. I think, therefore, that the matter is one for you to consider free of suggestion.

Finally, I can only hope that this query will not diminish the pleasant feelings which, as you noted in your letter, you had toward the job. I am sure that it is always good "human relations" to be open with each other, and I know that in that same spirit you will respond.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Virginia Council on Human Relations

216-C BROAD-GRACE ARCADE
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Phone MI. 9-0872

DANIEL A. BOWERS
Executive Director

file

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November 29, 1960

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have spent several hours on Mary Ellen Goodman's report.

From the standpoint of our needs here in Virginia it is very weak. Dr. Goodman brings out most of the facts about the private schools. However, she makes qualifications and conclusions about each of these facts which could be easily misunderstood or twisted by those who are in sympathy with the foundation schools.

I am frank to admit that I cannot see the type of report she is trying to present. It could not be classified as factual and objective, because she shows her bias to the cause of integration. However, this makes it more dangerous when she gives what is tantamount to an endorsement to the schools.

My general impression is that this report should be drastically reorganized. The facts seem to be in the report, and we could work with these facts.

In comparing this report with some of Ken Morland's reports and other reports which have come from SRC, I believe that it will need some drastic revision before it can measure up to these standards. I am prejudiced against Dr. Goodman's point of view, because I do not believe she understands the educational climate in Virginia.

Sincerely,

Dan

Daniel A. Bowers

DAB/dnm
cc: Harold C. Fleming
Paul M. Rilling

November 29, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

Many thanks for your letter of November 27; you are most cooperative.

On the basis of your suggestion for half fee for the days of preparation, we are enclosing our check for $750.00

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: check

14
40
560
380
940

9.5
40
380.0

MARY ELLEN GOODMAN, PH. D.
12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE
HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

November 21, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

My accounting on time for the private school study is as follows:

Study of materials and preparing notes for use in the field - nine and one-half days

Time spent in the field (including travel time to and from assignment) - fourteen days

$560
190
$750

Total time - 23 1/2 days, at $40.00,

Total cost - $940.00

I enclose the personal data for which you asked (and a reprint for which you did not - but I hoped it might be of some interest to you).

The typist's bill isn't in yet because there will still be a few pages of confidential notes to do. I'll send that bill along with the notes, but if you prefer to wait and cover both that and the above with one check please do so.

It really has been a pleasure to work with you and for SRC. My thanks for a most interesting assignment and for your excellent cooperation.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

18
40) 750.0
40
350
320
300

40
4
160

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

LR
JC
MA-file

December 8, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les,

The "confidential notes" are finished I believe, and will be on their way to you under separate cover by today's mail (not air). In accord with your suggestion I've limited those done since our conversation on the matter to items on Prince Edward.

I've just sent a check to the typist and will be grateful if you will reimburse me at your convenience. Her bill came out at $34.00 even. I did not have her do the "confidential notes" which I've prepared since our correspondence relating to costs on this job, since I thought you might prefer to keep typing costs down by having these notes done in your office. They're not so urgent or precious that it seemed important to send them to you in final form. I hope your secretary can read them - they're a bit rough in spots but not, I think, impossible to interpret.

I'm sending you some miscellany I picked up in my travels, again mainly items relating to Prince Edward. Some may be of interest, in connection with the notes, to anyone who proposes to work there.

My original intent to "key" the notes to text of the report I've abandoned, on the conviction that the result would not be worth the time invested in doing this chore.

I enjoyed meeting Paul Rilling and hearing his incisive comments and advice to the Houston Council on Human Relations on Tuesday. He was undoubtedly most helpful to them.

All best wishes. Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Goodman

P.S. - See next page

$\$34^{00}$ CR# 2619 1/5/61 RHA

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

P.S.

Two more small items re: the study I now recall I meant to tell you -

1) Professor Bittinger, Longwood College, Farmville, asked me to tell SRC and VCHR that if it is desired he will be happy to prepare a mailing list (could provide 50 or 100 names, as you wish), and"not of people all on one side." He would welcome an opportunity to get more informative materials circulating in the County. (So would other moderates, as my notes indicate)

2) Bittinger tells me that he recently had a request for information about PE from one Robert C. Smith, now a Neiman Fellow at Harvard, formerly on a Norfolk paper. Bittinger understands that Smith is doing a study of "our" four communities for a book. This you may of course have known about long since.

mE

(To be routed in order numbered)

Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF

PA

MA

LWD

MM

EW

SM

PR

JC

LEC

MET

BC

✓ RHA — please send check if you haven't —

MA

PP

WF

MF

FILE

December 16, 1960

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

Your notes arrived. There is some awfully interesting stuff in them, and I would like to see some of it woven into the second section of your report. We are going to try to do that--you have already done as much as could be asked--and send the product to you for criticism and approval.

There is also a consensus(of which I am not a part) around here and in Virginia that the mode of presentation in section two could give the hasty reader the feeling that you and we endorse the various statements you quote of foundation leaders. Here again, any changes will be subject to your approval.

All this means that we will not get the report out until next month, but we don't think that will be hurtful. In the meantime,

Merry Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

file

December 22, 1960

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les,

Sorry to be a bit slow in responding to your letter of the 16th, but things are a bit hectic at this point.

I was glad to hear what "gives" with the private school report, having hoped to receive the finished job before now and wondered what had happened. It's too bad about the delay, I think, partly because things are moving along and already some of my observations are out of date (as the enclosed clippings, sent to me by one of my informants, will attest). However, I'll of course be happy to have a look at the revised section two whenever you can get it to me.

As for my schedule during the next month or so, things aren't entirely jelled. I do know that I'll be in N.Y. December 27 and 28 (primarily for a AAAS symposium on integration which I am chairing), and there will very likely be another N.Y. trip in mid-January. This one has as yet no firm date, however. Otherwise I expect to be close to home. Incidentally, I'll try to leave instructions for tracking me down when I'm away hereafter.

All the best to you and your family for wonderful holidays.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Mailed 2-14-61

INFORMANTS IN NORFOLK

1. Rev. and Mrs. James C. Brewer
   503 Massachusetts Avenue.

2. Col. James G. Martin, IV
   500 Western Union Bldg.

3. Mr. W. I. McKendree (W. I. McKendree & Co., Inc.)
   245 W. Bute

4. Miss Margaret White
   629 Shirley Ave.

5. Mrs. William T. (Vivian) Mason
   6401 Virginia Beach Blvd.

6. Mr. E. L. Lamberth, Supt. of Schools
   Bank and Charlotte Streets

7. Mr. Thomas W. Young, Ed., Norfolk Journal & Guide
   719 E. Olney Rd.

8. Mrs. John Ward*
   4905 Colonial Ave.

9. Mrs. William V. Daniels*
   308 W. 37th St.

10. Col. Ralph A. Collins, Principal, Tidewater Academy,
    Tidewater Educational Foundation
    535 Fairfax Ave.

* Parents of students in Tidewater Academy (3 Ward children)

INFORMANTS IN PRINCE EDWARD

11. Mr. B. Blanton Hanbury
    312 Third Ave., Farmville

12. Mr. Roy R. Pearson, Administrator
    Prince Edward School Foundation
    Third St., Farmville

13. Mr. T. J. McIlwaine
    303 Second Ave., Farmville

14. Mr. Leslie Andrews
    Fourth Ave. Ext., Farmville

15. Mr. J. B. Wall, Sr., Editor & Publisher
    The Farmville Herald
    North St., Farmville

16. Mr. J. B. Wall, Jr.
Main St., Farmville

17. Rev. L. F. Griffin
c/o Brown
421 Ely, Farmville

18. Dr. and Mrs. Marvin Schlegel
205 Randolph, Farmville

19. Dr. Benjamin R. Lacy
Hampton-Sydney College, Hampton Sydney, Va.

20. Dr. and Mrs. Russell McDonald
Hampton-Sydney College, Hampton Sydney, Va.

21. Dr. and Mrs. Richard Meeker
Longwood College, Farmville

22. Dr. M. H. Bittinger
Longwood College, Farmville

23. Dr. and Mrs. R. C. Simonini, Jr.
305 Buffalo, Farmville

24. Mr. and Mrs. Boyd Coyner
Hampton-Sydney College, Farmville

25. Mr. William B. Wall, General Manager
Farmville Herald
North St., Farmville

INFORMANTS IN CHARLOTTESVILLE

26. Dr. George B. Zehmer
Cabel Hall Annex, University of Virginia

27. Mr. Chester R. Babcock, Editor
Daily Progress
409 E. Market

28. Mr. Henry Gordon
211 5th Street, N.E.

29. Mr. Robert Wilson, Headmaster
Rock Hill Academy
Rock Hill Academy Ave.

30. Mr. F. R. Ellis, Supt. of Schools
406 Fourteenth Street

31. Mrs. Roger (Sarah Patton) Boyle
Box 3183, University Station

32. Mr. Eugene Williams, Jr.
201 Fifth Street, N.W.

33. Mrs. B. A. (Katherine) Makielski
906 W. Main

34. Mr. Gerald C. Speidel
2666 Jefferson Park

35. Rev. & Mrs. Theodore Evans
120 Chancellor St.

36. Prof. and Mrs. Lambert Molyneaux
400 Alderman Road

37. Mr. & Mrs. Noble MacFarland
Old Ivy Inn

INFORMANTS IN FRONT ROYAL

38. Mr. James W. Kilby
Happy Creek, Virginia

39. Mr. Glenn Sunderlin, Principal
Mosby Academy, Front Royal

40. Mr. Q. D. Gasque, Supt. of Schools, Warren County
Main St.

41. Mr. E. M. Bowen, Chairman
Warren County Board of Supervisors

42. Mr. Duncan Gibb
125 W. First St.

43. Mr. W. Douglas Blanton, Mayor of Front Royal
Weaver's Dept. Store

44. Mr. Edward T. Bromfield, Jr., Editor
The Warren Sentinel

45. Mr. Jack Crouse
John Marshall Highway

46. Mrs. Frank H. Barnett, Vice President, Front Royal Educational Foundation
c/o Mosby Academy

47. Mr. C. W. Honsberger, President, Front Royal Educational Foundation
Glen Echo, Virginia

48. Mr. W. J. Phillips, Commonwealth's Attorney
Courthouse

49. Mr. Robert A. Wood, Principal
Warren County High School

50. Mr. Jay Eackles, Vice Principal
Mosby Academy

51. Rev. and Mrs. Frederick G. Weber
205 Virginia Ave.

INTERESTED AND/OR HELPING CONTACTS

Mr. Robert C. Kohler
Anti-Defamation League
216 North Second Street
Richmond

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League
2405 San Jacinto St.
Houston 2, Texas

Dr. and Mrs. Ralph Thiers
1405 Cole Mill Road
Durham, North Carolina

Mrs. Joseph Kaplan — also KIVIE KAPLAN
195 South St. — same
Boston 11, Massachusetts

Dr. Joseph H. Douglass
Room 5439 North Bldg.
Dept. of Health, education & Welfare
Washington 25, D.C.

Mrs. Isabella J. Jones, Director
National Committee for Children & Youth
330 Independence Ave., S.W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Mrs. Katharine Pringle
2911 O Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Charles Levy
6106 S. Ellis
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dr. S. O. Ruday
416 E. Main St.
Charlottesville, Virginia

SARAH PATTON BOYLE ● BOX 3183, UNIV. STA. ● CHARLOTTESVILLE VA

Dear MaryEllen, 2/20/61

Thank you indeed for my copy of your excellent report, so interestingly written and packed with such valuable data. I have read it Through with pleasure and profit.

Jean Evans (Mrs. Rev.) told me this morning that she found in it a great deal of information which would help her influence the League of Women Voters.

I know you must have received many compliments about it.

P.S. Cordially,

Thank you for your Xmas card.

Patty

#F ✓
MA-[illegible] for
[illegible] file

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

SCHOOL OF LAW

February 21, 1961

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for the copy of the Mary Goodman paper on the Virginia Foundation Schools. I found it very interesting, and exceedingly well written. This is the type of subject matter which should be discussed, but seldom is. I congratualte Miss Goodman and the Council.

I was in Washington last week for a day or so, and everywhere I went I received glowing compliments on the final (your) version of the Executive Power document. Joe Rauh, for example, said he liked my scholarly work, but was highly impressed and influenced by the final version. This is typical of the remarks I got.

Sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel H. Pollitt

C

February 22, 1961

Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mrs. Goodman:

Last week we mailed out your private school report to the list of "informers" etc. which you had (much) earlier sent us; two have been returned, marked "no' such office in state." I am wondering if you would like to Check these addresses against your original notations to see if there might be an error, or if there is a better address.

Mr. James W. Kilby, Happy Creek, Va.
Mr. C. W. Hansberger, President, Front Royal Educational Foundation, Glen Echo, Va.

Enclosed is a card which came to this office today.

We were all so very glad to get your report mailed out, because there was such a great need for it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

February 23, 1961

Dear Les,

My thanks to you for the ten copies of our report on "Sanctuaries." I am of course very pleased, as I'm sure you are, to have it out, and I'll look forward with interest to hearing of the responses.

My thanks also, and most belatedly, for the January issue of Phi Delta Kappan and your excellent article as well as for your SRC report on "The Federal Executive --." Congratulations again on the excellence and the impact of the latter.

In view of the interest created by the Federal Executive piece you have no doubt long since run out of copies. But if you do still have any available, I'd like to send a copy to each of the following:

Mrs. Isabella J. Jones, Director
National Committee for Children and Youth
1145 Nineteenth St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

3-1-61
mA

Mrs. Katharine Pringle
2911 O St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.

I'll be happy to defray charges.

I enclose a clipping which is self-explanatory except for the circumstances: a Houston Press Reporter, interviewing me in connection with a talk I gave before the Houston Community Council, picked up a reference to the Virginia study and elected to build the whole interview around it, using the piece so long after the talk that there is no reference to it at all.

All best wishes.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

February 23, 1961

Mary Ellen,

Supt. Gasque of Front Royal called this morning. He wanted permission to use some paragraphs from your report in his paper at the Williamsburg meeting of the Commission on Civil Rights; permission granted. He said that he thought your report was "excellent;" that he and Mr. Woods (?) had both read it carefully and had marveled at the fair and complete job you were able to do on a short visit.

Mrs. Albright is sending to you a letter from Leon Dure, as we see by the envelope. I would love to know what he has to say.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

BCC: Ben Muse
Brewbaker

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd, and for forwarding Mrs. Boyle's card and Mr. Dure's letter. The latter I'm enclosing, and no doubt you'll find it amusing (in a way!).

In my letter to Dr. Dunbar I've given the best ideas I have about trying to reach Mr. Kilby and Mr. Honsberger. I do hope that we can get their copies to them; both were most kind and I certainly wouldn't want them to think they had been overlooked when other informants had been remembered. But apparently I didn't have adequate addresses for either. In any case I'll be grateful if you'll try again.

Thanks so much too for sending me a copy at once and for following up with the other nine. You are so thoughtful.

Every good wish to you.

Cordially,

MEL

Feb. 28th

MA: see marked passage

HEL

FD

12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas
February 28, 1961

Dear Les,

Thanks for your note of the 23rd - and for forwarding Mr. Dure's letter. I'm writing him (a brief acknowledgement of his communication) and will send his letter on to you herewith. His vanity was hurt because I didn't see him too! These people really love to be interviewed, etc., don't they? Actually I intended to see him, but by the time I'd gone to others who seemed more important for my purposes there was no time left. And I read several of his major pronouncements with care, and felt it unlikely that he would have much to add. I'm still of that opinion!

Supt. Gasque's reaction pleases me greatly, as does that of Mr. Wood (who is the young and very impressive principal of the impressive Warren County High School). And of course it's good to know that the report was cited at the Williamsburg meeting. Reading of that meeting, and of President Kennedy's message, I of course wondered whether you had sent a copy of the report to the Civil Rights Commission and the appropriate person on the White House staff. You folks are old hands at this business and I'm sure you don't miss any of the proper moves, so no doubt this has all been looked after.

Incidentally, let me pass on an interesting bit of news which I recently heard: it is said that the Rev. Trafford P. Maher, S.J., Director, Dept. of Education, St.Louis University (15 N. Grand Blvd., St. Louis 3, Mo.) has been asked by Kennedy to take the chairmanship of the Civil Rights Commission. But, says my informant, the Father thinks Kennedy ought not to put a priest into this place, and will decline on that ground. If the President urges him still, the Father will accept. This news is about a week old and you may already know of it and of the outcome. In any case, if the Father is not on your mailing list perhaps you would like to put him on. I would suggest too that you add also Father Maher's bosom pal, who is M.Norman Orgel, M.D., The Doctors' Bldg., 100 No. Euclid St., St. Louis, Mo. I know of this friendship, and know the two gentlemen, because both are active members of the Board of the American Social Health Association, as am I.

3-1-61
MA

Tomorrow in Dallas I am to speak at a meeting concerned with venereal disease control and sponsored by the USPHS. Father Maher is also a speaker on this program, so perhaps I'll hear more soon of these interesting developments.

3-1-61
MA

Mrs. Albright wrote that you had sent copies of the private school report to all my informants, and for this I am indeed most grateful. She tells me too that one addressed to Mr. James W. Kilby at Happy Creek, Va. has been returned. Since this is the only address I have for Mr. Kilby (a local NAACP leader) I suggest that we try again by enclosing Mr. K's copy in an envelope which is in turn placed in another addressed to Mr. Edward T. Bromfield, Jr., Editor, the Warren Sentinel, Front Royal, with a request to Ted to address and mail Mr. Kilby's copy. I'm sure Ted will know how to reach him.

Mrs. Albright tells me that another copy returned was the one for Mr. Honsberger, President, Front Royal Educational Foundation. I suggest that we send that one again, but this time addressed to Mr. H. c/o the Mosby Academy, Front Royal.

I'll of course be most interested in other reactions, and when it's not too much trouble I'll be grateful if you will pass them along. Thanks very much for sending Dr. Pollitt's and Mr. McIlwain's letters.

All best wishes.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Mary Ellen Goodman

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

March 1, 1961

Mrs. Clark Goodman
12511 Old Oaks Drive
Houston 24, Texas

Dear Mary Ellen:

Thank you for your kind words. Incidentally, our clipping service had already sent in the story from the Houston Press Reporter. We all thought it was fine.

We are mailing the two copies of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights as you requested. We have had a different practice with regard to this than any of our other things, in that we have been strict in charging for copies: fifty cents per single copy, thirty-five in quantity. So, if you feel like sending us a dollar we'll take it.

Let me know if you want more copies of your good report, or would like copies mailed to other persons.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

MA

March 11, 1961

Dear Les,

Thanks for your note of March 1, and for sending copies of The Federal Executive -- to my interested friends. I enclose my check to cover them (the copies, that is!)

Father Trafford Maher had nothing to say, when I saw him in Dallas on the first, about the rumor I relayed to you. However he made oblique reference to a pending possible change in his activities, so maybe it is still in the wind. He's now off to Europe for a couple of months doing a survey on education for Ford.

Thank you for your kind offer of copies of the private school report. Another ten would indeed be most welcome.

All best wishes.

Cordially,

Mary Ellen

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Rm. 201, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

MRS. CLARK GOODMAN • 12511 OLD OAKS DRIVE • HOUSTON 24, TEXAS

Dear Lex ~

Another bit of news from Prince Edward (see attached) about which you probably know, but I'm sending it along just in case. The precarious balance appears to be slipping!

Happy New Year -

Mary Ellen

Curriculum Vitae - Mary Ellen Goodman

Bachelors in Education, with kindergarten-primary and general elementary teaching credentials, University of California at Los Angeles

Teacher, first grade, Burbank, California (one year)

Masters and Ph. D. in Anthropology, with specialization in cultural anthropology (involving study in sociology and psychology), Radcliffe College and Harvard University. Dissertation topic: Genesis of race awareness

Instructor and assistant professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wellesley College (1946-54)

Fulbright Research Scholar in Japan (1954-55): Research problems: social concepts and attitudes in kindergarten children; occupational aspirations in elementary school children; conceptual patterns in elementary school children

Special Assistant (for research) to the Chief Economist, Public Housing Administration, Washington, D. C. (eight months, 1957-58)

Director of Early Childhood Studies, Department of Sociology, Tufts University, (1957-58, 58-59); recently published pilot project: "Emergent Citizenship - A Study of Four-year Olds"

Coordinator of Conference Studies, 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth, August 1958- Aug. 1959; Consultant to the Conference. Aug. '59 - April 1960.

Publications: Race Awareness in Young Children, Addison-Wesley Press, 1952, and professional papers, e. g., "Genesis of Race Awareness," American Anthropologist, 1949, "Education of Children and Youth to Live in a Multi-racial Society," Journal of Negro Education, 1950

"Tokiwa: Model Japanese Kindergarten" (with Kimie Hirooka), pamphlet published by Eliot-Pearson School of Tufts University, 1955

"Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," American Anthropologist, 1957

"Preparing Your Child for a Changing World," Toronto Nursery Education Review, 1957

"Japanese and American Children: A Comparative Study of Social Concepts and Attitudes, Marriage and Family Living, November 1958

"A Primer for Parents: Educating our Children for Good Human Relations," published by Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'Rith, January 1959

"Emergent Citizenship - A study of relevant values in four-year olds," Childhood Education, February 1959.

etc.

Curriculum Vita~~e~~ - Mary Ellen Goodman

Honors and awards: Phi Beta Kappa, Sigma Xi, Delta Kappa Gamma; National Fellowship, American Association of University Women; Grants-in-aid of research: Wenner-Gren Foundation, N. Y.; Ella Lyman Cabot Trust, Boston; National Institutes of Health

Professional affiliations: e.g., American Anthropological Association, American Sociological Society, Society for Research in Child Development, National Council on Family Relations, NAIRO

Personal: Offices and board memberships in community and welfare organizations (e.g., National Urban League of Boston, Intergroup Relations Council of Boston); public lectures, especially on topics relating to young children, to inter-group relations, and to Japan

Married; two children

Am. Social Health Assn.

July 21, 1965

Mr. John Doar
Assistant Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Doar:

The *Times* people said they would rather not take a chance on New Orleans Monday.

We agreed to wait until the next time you go into a town, and do the story against its background. Let me emphasize again that all I would need to do is see you whenever the press sees you--that is when you are exposed to public view. And talk to you--as circumstances permit. I don't think I'd want to sit in on a private meeting any more than you (or the mayor of Bogalusa) would want me to.

If you or Jack Rosenthal could let me know in advance of your going into a place, that would help. Otherwise, I'll just try to show up when I read about such a thing in the paper.

Thanks again. It was good talking with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

July 21, 1965

Mr. Robert Squire
U. S. Information Agency
Television Service
Room 211
Old Post Office Building
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

It looks like I will get there around eleven your time Monday. I will call you in case you want to start earlier than 2:30. The latest return flight is 6:45 p. m.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

July 27, 1965

Mr. Robert D. Squier
Chief of Production
U.S.I.A. Television
Old Post Office Building
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Here is the Memphis report, and for good measure, the other two in the series, Charlotte and Louisville. The latter two are faulted for your purposes because they are not in the deep South. Also enclosed is the piece I mentioned about current trends in the Negro Movement.

It was good seeing you yesterday. I think I have a good idea of what is needed, and am, I will admit, looking forward to getting to work on it. Don't forget to send me the copy of the outline.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mpa
Enclosures -- 4

July 27, 1965

Mr. Jim Stoken
Room 211 OPO Building
12th and Pennsylvania Avenues, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stoken:

Attached is the air line stub for travel to Washington and return, $90.51. I left Atlanta July 26 at 7:15 am, EST, and arrived in Washington at 10:43 am, EDT. I left Washington July 26 at 6:45pm, EDT, and arrived in Atlanta at 7:26 pm, EST.

Other expenses were:

Cab to Atlanta Airport:	$4.00
Phone call	.10
Cab from Washington National Airport to Old Post Office	1.75
Bus from air terminal 12th and K to Dulles Airport	2.50
Cab from Atlanta Airport to home	4.00
	12.35

I hope this is everything. Thanks for your trouble.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa
Enclosure

File

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

V.P. Gov.
Misc.

August 2, 1965

Dear Pat:

Here is a copy of The Concept Paper for the program. As I said before -- don't let this narrow your focus. I am now reading Cash's MIND OF THE SOUTH and concur totally with your suggestions for an update.

Looking forward to seeing your report.

Sincerely yours,

Robert D. Squier
Chief, Production Division
Television Service

Enclosure:

The Concept Paper

Mr. Walter P. Watters
76 Park Lane
Atlanta, Georgia

ITV PROGRAM CONCEPT

REPORT FROM AMERICA

THE CHANGING SOUTH

Date: July 27, 1965
Program:

THE CHANGING SOUTH

AGENCY OBJECTIVES

Racial and Ethnic Progress

PURPOSE

To give evidence that the South is changing politically, socially, economically and culturally; and this fundamental change is inter-related to the civil rights movement.

AUDIENCE

Worldwide

TYPE OF PROGRAM

A 30-minute filmed documentary in the REPORT FROM AMERICA series.

POLICY POINTS

(1) Some parts of the South have seen relatively little essential change in the last hundred years.

COMMENT: Although the South lost the Civil War it did not lose many of the convictions that contributed to the war. These include economic as well as socio-political dedications. Instead, the South has consciously strived to preserve its convictions and resist substantive deviations from the so-called "southern way of life."

POLICY POINTS (continued)

(2) Now there is impressive new evidence that important changes are taking place.

> COMMENT: Many of the old stereotypes are crumbling: lassitute is giving way to energy; tradition is beginning to yield to reason; change is no longer automatically equated with capitulation. Old dogmas are being re-evaluated in the light of new ambitions, new opportunities.
>
> The result can be seen in mushrooming success stories of modernized communities, in emerging new industries, in more jobs, better education and in voluntary associations of bi-racial civic groups actively working to minimize conflict and raise community standards.

(3) These changes have, in many cases, been slowly evolving against heavy odds for years. The Civil Rights movement has played a major role in suddenly hastening their pace, intensifying their urgency.

> COMMENT: The legislation evoked by the Civil Rights movement has as its single goal the securing of Constitutional rights for the Negro. That goal is by no means accomplished, but where accomplishments are being made the new mood of change thus created is delivering benefits for the Negro and for the region at large. The Civil Rights Bill, in tearing down barriers against the Negro is helping to tear down other old barriers to progress.
>
> This development is not a specified, or anticipated or purposeful outgrowth of the Civil Rights Bill. It is primarily economic in nature and many of those who support it remain disinterested in Negro progress. The fact is that the South, realizing that changes can be made in such a basic institution as race relations, is now scurrying to apply the lesson to other ingrained and antiquated institutions.

POLICY POINTS (continued)

> There are, of course, pockets of rigid resistence. These will endure and that fact should be recognized. But another fact is equally true and far more important: where prejudice is driven out, progress steps in. And the laws to fight prejudice are operating.

POLICY NEGATIVES

(1) Do not give the impression that it is all over. This program concerns the changing South, not the changed South. We are watching a healthy beginning but it is still only a beginning.

(2) Do not emphasize economic or cultural progress to the extent that it could obscure Civil Rights progress; all three are inter-related and inter-dependent.

FORMAT

To demonstrate a "Changing South" we intend to select a southern community that has gone through this evolutionary process and look at its politics, socialogy, economy and culture.

This program will demonstrate progress in a wide range of areas from economics to civil rights. Particular focus will be made on civil rights as it acts as a catalyst for change all over the South.

This will be an up-to-date documentation of the South as it has moved from survival after Reconstruction, through its growing pains into its present emergence and progress. By a frontal assault on the existing opinions and attitudes regarding the American South as held by our audience we hope to dissolve their stereotypes leaving them with solid and productive information on this reigion of our country.

BACKGROUND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cash, Wilbur J.
The Mind of the South
Knopf 1941 tr. 4.50 cl. 429 pp. LC 41-1848

Written before World War II and shortly before Myrdal's famous AMERICAN DILEMMA, this deservedly popular book as been reprinted but neither revised nor brought up to date. It is regarded already as a classic of American historical writing. Its author, a North Carolina newspaper editor, critically analyzes the society, the temperament and the characteristics of the Southerner from the beginnings of the plantation economy to the cotton mill towns. The last third of the book treats the 20th century South, but stops 23 years short of the Civil Rights Law.

McGill, Ralph
The South and the Southerners
Little 1963 tr 5.00 cl. 307 pp. LC 63-8314

Born in Tennessee, the respected liberal editor of the Atlanta Constitution has been among the most out-spoken and steadfast in the fight for full rights for the Negroes and others in the South. In a rambling account that is partly autobiography and partly journalistic reporting, he sketches the social and economic retrogression and progress of the southern regions particularly in the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's. In spite of the tragic and horrifying events he forthrighly describes, his courage and confidence are as contagious as is his personal anguish.

MR-65-80 An Unexpected Divident For the South
By Philip M. Stern, from Harper's Magazine

MR-64-202 Desegregation in a Southern City: A Descriptive Report
By Clarence H. Patrick, from Phylon

August 17, 1964

The Honorable Mike Mansfield
United States Senate
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Mansfield:

We are interested here in remarks attributed to you in the New York Times of August 1 regarding criticism of police in cities where racial demonstrations and riots have occured.

While agreeing with your general statements, we were concerned about the specific mention of Albany, Georgia and St. Augustine, Florida, in this context.

Publications of the Southern Regional Council have been highly critical of police performance in both those southern cities with, we think, good and important cause.

I am enclosing a copy of our studies of Albany, and will send as soon as it is published a copy of a study of St. Augustine. The following is from the latter:

> "...Law enforcement failed. Time after time, superior forces of police failed to prevent a relatively small crowd from doing violence. It was only in the lasttphase of demonstrations that arrests in any effective sense were made, and these were by state, not local, police. The strong indications, in federal court and by simple observation, of police alliances with lawlessness showed in classical outline processes by which the security of civilization itself collapses."

I am enclosing a copy of Race and Law Enforcement, published by the Council in 1960, in the hope that it might prove useful, and as an indication of our long and deepfelt concern about this most crucial problem.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

P
W
/
m
P

Enclosures - 2

October 29, 1965

Mr. David S. Seeley:
Special Assistant to the
U. S. Commissioner of Education
Office of Health, Education
   and Welfare

Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Seeley:

Here are a couple of copies of the report we discussed -- they are just off the press today. Please share one with Mrs. Corey and others there who were so helpful to us in completing it.

I hope what is in this report proves helpful to your program.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm
Enclosure

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION - Public Info Office
Wash
20415

As part of the U. S. Civil Service Commission's new responsibility in administering the Federal Government aspect of the Equal Employment Opportunity program, it is necessary to update our mailing list. If you wish to continue to receive news releases and other information on the program, please verify the accuracy of the name and address on this card. In accordance with postal regulations, please be sure to *include your ZIP Code number* in the address. Please mail the self-addressed card, which requires no postage, at your earliest convenience. If the card is not returned, we will assume you no longer wish to receive information on the program.

PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE

~~NOBBIE H MORGAN~~ Janet C. Shortt
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH STREET N W
ATLANTA 3 GEORGIA 30303

Mailed
1-26-66

Ok'd by SB

Judiciary

- Do not quote this man -

United States Court of Appeals
Fifth Judicial Circuit

Richard T. Rives
Judge
Montgomery 2, Alabama

March 11, 1966

File

Dear Moreland,

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the New South, which I am enjoying very much. I am also sending in my subscription.

Thank you also for your remarks about my retirement. Actually, the news is somewhat exaggerated , because I expect to continue working about as usual so long as my health and faculties hold out. The timing of my retirement was occasioned by the Omnibus Judgeship Bill, now about to be enacted into law. That bill provides for four additional circuit judges for the Fifth Circuit, but also provides that "the first four vacancies occurring in the office of circuit judge in said circuit shall not be filled." I had to retire at this time in order that my vacancy would be filled.

I hope that you and Mrs. Smith are finding your life in Atlanta a happy one, and hope that we may see you from time to time when you are in Montgomery, or when I happen to be sitting on the Court in Atlanta.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely your friend,

Dick Rives, Sr.

Mr. Moreland Griffith Smith
FAIA, P. O. Box 494
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

April 22, 1966

Mr. John Heritage
Administrative Assistant
to the Hon. James A. Mackay
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear John:

I wanted to thank you again for your interest and entirely too much of your time last week on the Defusky Island thing. They got a lot of encouragement from the Economic Development Administration people. If that falls through, though, they will probably try the thing with Representative Hagan, and in that event you will probably be hearing from them.

It was good to see you, and again -- thanks for everything, including the list of shipbrokers.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

JAMES A. MACKAY
4TH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

COMMITTEE ON
INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN
COMMERCE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
PUBLIC HEALTH AND WELFARE

Congreſs of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

April 20, 1966

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. ~~Watters~~ Pat:

Attached is the list of shipbrokers given me by the Maritime Administration. You might ask your island people to make contact with these gentlemen in regard to finding a ferry for sale. Maritime says that Mr. Burbank might be of the most help.

Please let me know if there is anything further we can do to help. I would be interested in knowing how this turns out.

Sincerely yours,

John

John Heritage
Administrative
Assistant

JH:mh

Enclosure

Mr. Watters

April 20,1966

A. L. Burbank & Co.
120 Wall St.
New York

Chester, Blackburn & Roder
1 Whitehall Street
New York

Addison, Outwater & Associates
711 3rd Street
New York

A BRIEF EXPLANATION OF "MEDICARE"

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR PEOPLE 65 OR OLDER

DEADLINE EXTENDED

People who were 65 before this year now have until May 31 to enroll for MEDICAL INSURANCE.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

A broad program of health insurance for people 65 and over, often called medicare, becomes effective July 1, 1966, when both parts of the program—hospital insurance and supplementary medical insurance—begins. Almost everyone can look forward to having protection under one or both parts of medicare when he reaches 65.

Hospital Insurance—to help pay the bills when you are hospitalized. This part also provides payments for skilled nursing care and other services in an extended care facility after hospitalization, outpatient hospital diagnostic services, and home health services after hospitalization.

This insurance is financed out of special contributions from earnings paid by employees, their employers, and self-employed persons. Therefore, people will not have to pay for this protection when they are older and not working.

Medical Insurance—to help pay for physicians' services and for a number of other medical services and supplies not covered by hospital insurance.

Medical insurance is voluntary and people will have it only if they enroll. This part of the program is financed by monthly premiums shared equally by the people who choose this protection and by the Federal Government.

This leaflet briefly explains what benefits you can receive under medicare, how you can get this protection, and contains other information of interest about medicare. For more detailed information about your own situation and how you can get this protection, get in touch with your social security office.

HOW YOU CAN GET MEDICARE PROTECTION

Hospital Insurance — Everyone who qualifies for monthly cash social security or railroad retirement benefits will have hospital insurance automatically at 65. Even if you cannot receive cash benefits because you are still working, you can still have hospital insurance protection.

The best time to apply for both cash social security benefits and health insurance is during the 3-month period just before the month you reach 65. In this way, even if you are still working you can establish your eligibility for cash benefits and for your health insurance protection. Any social security district office will help you apply.

If you will be 65 before 1968, you can have hospital insurance even if you do not have enough credit for work under social security to qualify for cash benefits and even if you have never worked under social security. (If you are an alien and cannot qualify for social security or railroad retirement cash benefits, you can receive hospital insurance only if you were lawfully admitted to the United States and have lived continuously in the U.S. for at least 5 years.)

If you become 65 in 1968 or later and are not eligible for cash benefits, you will need some credit for work under social security to qualify for hospital insurance. The amount of credit needed depends on a person's age and will increase each year until the amount of work credit needed for hospital insurance will be the same as for social security cash benefits.

The following chart shows how many years of credit are needed for hospital insurance by people who reach 65 after 1967:

Year You Reach 65	*Will need credit for this much work*	
	Men	*Women*
1967 or before	0 years	0 years
1968	1½	1½
1969	2¼	2¼
1970	3	3
1971	3¾	3¾
1972	4½	*
1973	5¼	*
1974	*	*

* Same as for social security cash benefits.

To establish your hospital insurance protection, you must apply at your social security office.

Some Federal employees and some retired Federal employees who are not eligible for cash social security benefits cannot receive hospital insurance protection (but can sign up for medical insurance). If you are not sure of your status, check at your social security office.

Medical Insurance—Everyone who is 65 can sign up for the voluntary medical insurance part of medicare. (But, aliens who do not have hospital insurance protection can sign up only if they were lawfully admitted to the U.S. and have lived continuously in the U.S. for at least 5 years.)

You have a specified period during which you can sign up for medical insurance. Your 7-month sign-up period begins 3 months before the month you reach 65 and ends 3 months after that month.

However, you will have medical insurance protection beginning the month you are 65 only if you sign up during the 3 months before the month you reach 65. If you sign up in the month you reach 65 or later, your protection will not begin until 1 to 3 months later.

If you miss your first chance to sign up, you will not have another opportunity until the next general enrollment period—the last 3 months of each odd-numbered year (the first is in 1967).

Your premiums will be higher if you wait to sign up during a general enrollment period and your protection will not begin until 6 to 9 months after you enroll. And you cannot sign up at all if you fail to do so within 3 years of your first opportunity.

MEDICARE OFFERS YOU—

Hospital Insurance will pay the cost of covered services for the following care:

- Up to 60 days in a hospital (except for the first $40) and all but $10 a day for an additional 30 days during each spell of illness.[1] (There is a lifetime limit of 190 days on payment for treatment in mental hospitals.)
- Up to 20 days in an extended care facility (a skilled nursing home or a convalescent section of a hospital that meets the standards in the law) and all but $5 a day for an additional 80 days in each spell of illness. These services are covered only if you have been in a hospital for at least 3 days and transfer

---

[1] A "spell of illness" begins on the first day you receive covered services as a patient in a hospital or extended care facility and ends after you have been out of a hospital or extended care facility for 60 consecutive days.

to the extended care facility within 14 days from your hospital discharge. In addition the care you receive must be related to the condition for which you were treated in the hospital. (This part of the program begins January 1, 1967.)

- Up to 100 home health visits by nurses or other health workers from a home health agency (but not doctors) in the year after your release from a hospital after a stay of at least 3 days, or from an extended care facility.
- 80 percent of the cost of outpatient diagnostic tests by the same hospital, except for the first $20 for each 20-day period of testing.

Covered services in a hospital or extended care facility include the cost of room and board in semiprivate accommodations, ordinary nursing services, use of operating room, and the costs of drugs, supplies, and most other services customarily furnished by hospitals or extended care facilities for the care of patients.

Medical Insurance will pay 80 percent of the reasonable charges after the first $50 in a calendar year for the following services:

- Physician's services, no matter where you receive them—in his office, the hospital, your home, or elsewhere in the U.S. (There is a special limitation on psychiatric care outside of a hospital.)
- Up to 100 home health visits by nurses and other health workers from a home health agency each year under an approved plan with no need for prior hospitalization. This is in addition to

the visits covered by hospital insurance.

- A number of other medical and health services, including diagnostic tests (X-rays, laboratory tests, etc.); X-ray or radium treatments; surgical dressings; splints, casts; certain ambulance services; braces, artificial legs, arms, and eyes; rental of durable medical equipment such as iron lungs; and other medical items and services.

Paying The Monthly Premiums

When you sign up for medical insurance, you agree to pay a monthly premium (currently $3 a month). The Federal Government pays an equal amount. Your premium may be higher if you delay signing up.

If you receive cash social security benefits or a railroad retirement or civil service annuity, your premium will be deducted from your check each month beginning the month your protection starts.

If you do not receive any of these benefits, you can pay your premiums each quarter in advance, or you can make other arrangements.

Dropping Out And Re-Enrollment

You can drop out of the medical insurance plan by filing a notice during one of the general enrollment periods. (General enrollment periods are the last 3 months of each odd-numbered year.)

If you pay your premiums in cash, your enrollment will be ended if you fail to pay the premiums.

If you drop out or if your enrollment is ended because you fail to pay the premium, you may re-enroll. But, you can only re-enroll once and then only if you do so during a general enrollment period within 3 years after your original enrollment ended.

FINANCING HEALTH INSURANCE

The financing provisions for both parts of health insurance—hospital insurance and medical insurance—are completely separate from the financing provisions of the social security retirement, survivors, and disability programs.

Hospital Insurance is financed by special contributions from employees, their employers, and self-employed people. Each group will pay the same rate: 0.35 percent in 1966 of the individual's first $6,600 of yearly earnings. This rate will be 0.50 percent for 1967-68, and will rise gradually until it is 0.80 percent in 1987 and later years.

Hospital insurance contributions are in addition to, and collected at the same time and in the same manner as, regular social security contributions. The hospital insurance contributions are put into the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund, from which the program's benefits and administrative costs are paid. Funds from general tax revenue are used to finance the hospital insurance benefits for those people covered under hospital insurance but not entitled to social security or railroad retirement benefits.

Medical Insurance is financed through monthly premiums paid by the people 65 and over who sign up for the program and by matching payments from the Federal Government. The premium payments and the matching funds from the Government are put into the Supplementary Medical Insurance Trust Fund, and benefits and administrative costs for medical insurance are paid from this fund.

The monthly premium is $3 for each person who signs up and will stay at this level at least until 1968. The law provides that the premium rates be examined during the third quarter of each odd-numbered year. If the current rate is not enough to cover the program's anticipated expenses for the next 2 years, the premium rate will be adjusted. The Government will continue to pay half the cost.

When you sign up for medical insurance, you do not obligate yourself to continue in the program beyond the end of the next odd-numbered year. Therefore, if the premium rate is increased, you will have an opportunity to drop out of the program if you wish.

YOUR HEALTH INSURANCE CARD

You will receive a red, white, and blue health insurance card after your eligibility for health insurance protection is established.

Whenever you use one of the services covered by health insurance after your protection begins, show your card to someone at the hospital, doctor's office, or wherever you receive care.

You will also receive a copy of "Your Medicare Handbook" which explains in easy-to-understand language about your benefits and contains forms for you to use when requesting benefits be paid for you.

SERVICES NOT COVERED

Health insurance will help pay a large part of your medical expenses, but it will not pay all of your costs. Some items and services are not covered under either hospital insurance or medical insurance. They include: routine physical checkups, immunizations, eyeglasses, hearing aids, private duty nurses, long-term custodial care, and personal services such as a telephone or television in your hospital room.

Under the hospital insurance program, drugs are not covered except when they are furnished to a patient in a hospital or extended care facility. Under medical insurance, drugs are not covered except when they are administered by a physician and cannot be self-administered.

Payments will ordinarily be made under the program only for services in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, and American Samoa. Emergency hospital services under hospital insurance may be paid for in border areas immediately outside the U.S. if comparable services are not accessible in the U.S. for a person who becomes ill or is injured in this country.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

For more detailed information about health insurance, or about any other provisions of the social security program, get in touch with your social security district office. The people there will be glad to help you. You can find the address of your nearest social security office by looking in the telephone directory under "Social Security Administration," or by asking at your post office.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE · USA

OASI-883 April 1966

GPO : 1966 O—215-122

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
Community Relations Service
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 18, 1966

File

Recd 5/19/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

As I told you up at West Point, I did not have a written text for that speech. I am attaching, as I promised, a copy of the outline from which I spoke.

It was good to see you and I hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely yours,

Roger W. Wilkins

Attachment

OUTLINE OF REMARKS BY ROGER W. WILKINS, DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., BEFORE THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING WORKSHOP AT WEST POINT, N. Y.

April 27, 1966

A. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

1. Agency was Lyndon Johnson's idea when in Senate

   Most of the early work was in the South -- impact of Act and small staff -- Initially we went where the crises were.

2. But you know and I know that the only crises in America arising from race do not arise in Southern places where bulldogs and fire hoses confront people demonstrating for freedom.

3. President's budget providing increase in staff recognizes the need to go North.

4. You know and I know that a quiet crisis has been raging in the ghettoes of our cities for years.

   a. Only now the crisis isn't so very quiet anymore.

   b. And now most people want to know -- will there be riots this summer and the next -- and where -- and why!

   c. But riots are not the real crisis -- riots are not the basic problem -- riot prevention per se -- and riot containment are not the answers.

   d. The crisis is the anguished conditions of the lives of millions of American citizens -- Mexican-Americans, Puerto Rican-Americans and Negro-Americans

   e. And the answer really is very clear -- to improve those conditions so that all Americans are really free and have a full clear shot at participating in all that is good in this rich and bountiful country.

f. Riots are real and despairing cries of despair arising from lives of anguish and pain. Not enough of us have truly heard those cries and understood. For the good of our country, for the health of our cities -- we must understand and act -- and quickly.

B. LOCAL AND FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Looking at this crisis, many people say -- if the Federal Government would only -

   -- dream up a new program

   -- get Congress to appropriate more money

   -- get rid of this bureaucrat or that bigot

2. I would say two things:

   a. Lyndon Johnson has given us more effective civil rights leadership than anyone would have dreamed we could get from an American President just a few short years ago.

      1) Federal Government can point the way -- set the moral tone -- develop new tools -- provide a fresh impetus -- and Lyndon Johnson has and this Administration has done this -- and will continue to do so.

      2) but those who sit back and watch Lyndon do it ill-serve this country at a time of great need and ill-serve the great opportunities the times have given us.

   b. Imaginative and vigorous local action needed

      1) badge of inferiority are products of local decisions and actions -- schools, housing, police treatment -- employment opportunities. These must be reversed by local decisions and local actions.

2) great purposes of Federal programs and Federal activities can be thwarted at the local level -- if there is not the local will and commitment to do the job.

3) initiative and drive and endurance and commitment at the local level -- Not good enough to do the same old things in same old way.

C. GHETTOES

1. They are awful places --

    a. They cripple the spirit and demean the man -- if they do not kill him before his time.

2. How do you measure their terror?

    a. Housing statistics

        1) below poverty level - 30% white housing is substandard
        61% of non-white is substandard

        2) Central cities - 17% of white housing substandard
        41% of non-white is substandard

3. Infant mortality rate in Watts 22% higher than for other places in L. A. County.

4. We are justly proud that the unemployment rate below 4% - can we be proud, however, when 26% of that 4% is Negro when Negroes comprise only 13% of the work force.

5. Unemployment rate for Negro girls 16-21 years old 35% - more than 1/3 at this initial and important point of their employment careers.

6. Or do you measure the quality of life in a ghetto by the terror in a little boy's heart as he walks the streets adjacent to his home.

7. The people in the ghettoes tell us very clearly what is wrong - they say -- and basically it is true --

Nobody knows my name
Nobody knows my anguish
Nobody even cares

That perhaps gives a romanticized picture of the wistful Negro -- believing in God and waiting for a new and better day. But that is no longer completely true. That new day has begun to dawn. The momentum of the movement has opened up a new vision of the U. S. Constitution -- a Constitution that means what it says -- that all Americans are free men -- and thus for no American of whatever color or accent -- is a little bit of freedom nearly enough. Impatience is growing all over the country.

Some would look at this problem and say -- make the ghetto better - build a gilded ghetto.

But in 1966, separate but equal is not nearly enough.

If American freedom is to be meaningful, the ghettoes must be broken up. For freedom is more than absence of shackles. And a ghetto is a place where every outward manifestation of life tells a man, a woman or a child that he is inferior -- a place that bangs it into his head so deeply that:

a. he believes it and
b. it encircles and entraps most of what is best in his mind and in his spirit.

True freedom is freedom of the mind and of the spirit. That freedom cannot be achieved in any ghetto.

Thus, those dark and ugly places that entrap American's minds and enchain their spirits must be dissolved.

--Riot prevention is not the answer.
--Gilded ghettoes are not the answer.
--Achievement of freedom and the dissolution of the ghettoes are the answers.

May 6, 1966

Mr. Roger Wilkins
Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Roger:

It was good to see and hear you at the West Point Conference on Housing. We discussed your sending us a copy of the marvelous speech you made. This note is a reminder. Please send it as soon as you are able to do so.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

File

Poverty/Rights Action Center
1713 R St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.
June 28, 1966

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET

Table #1 Number of Persons Receiving Public Assistance as of April, 1966 (latest figures available)

Old Age Assistance		2,104,327
Aid to Families with Dependent Children:		
children: 3,465,554		
adults: 1,129,711		
		4,595,26 ?
Other:		
Medical Assistance for the Aged	219,146	
Aid to the Blind	85,059	
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	583,901	
Medical Assistance	363,799	
General Assistance	649,000	
		1,900,985
Total:		8,600,577

Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare: Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

****

Table #2 Total Public Assistance Payments for Month of April, 1966 (latest figures available)

Total:	$498,252,000
Old Age Assistance	163,397,411
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	161,474,677
All other programs*	173,379,912

*Medical Assistance for the Aged, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, Medical Assistance, General Assistance.

Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET, (cont).

III. Sources of Funds for Public Assistance* and Percentage of Federal, State and Local Expenditures, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965.**

(amounts in thousands)

	Total Expend.	Fed. Expend.	State Expend.	Local Expend.	%Fed. Funds	%State Funds	%Local Funds
CAA[1]	2,179,076	1,396,594	676,186	106,297	64.1	31.0	4.9
AFDC[2]	1,990,697	1,118,833	628,505	243,359	56.2	31.6	12.2
All Programs[3]	5,868,357	3,178,850	1,957,510	731,998	54.2	33.4	12.5

*Including Costs of Administration, Training, and Services

**Source: U.S. Dept. of H.E.W., Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.

[1] Old Age Assistance

[2] Aid to Families With Dependent Children

[3] OAA, AFDC, Aid to the Blind, Medical Assistance to the Aged, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Assistance. (General Assistance receives no Federal Financing.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET, CONT'D.

TABLE No. 4

POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: 202-462-8804

June 28, 1966

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC)

Lowest States, highest States, and National Average, Monthly and Annual* Average Grants Per Family and Per Person, and Percentages of Federal Financing, April 1966 (latest available figures) and Average Annual Cost of All Public Assistance Programs** to Inhabitants of State, U.S. Fiscal, 1964 (latest available figures).

	Monthly Average per Family	Monthly Average per Person	Annual* Average per Family	Annual* Average per Person	Percent of Federal Financing	Av. Annual Cost of all Pub. Asst. Progs. to Inhab.
Mississippi	$31.74	$7.76	$380.88	$93.12	81.3%	$4.40
Alabama	52.51	12.75	630.12	152.00	77.1%	7.49
Florida	62.92	16.10	755.04	193.20	77.1	3.69
National Average	146.47	35.14	1,757.64	421.68	60.2	9.22
Wisconsin	204.87	51.76	2,458.44	621.12	50.3	8.09
New Jersey	205.68	51.53	2,488.16	618.36	49.1	6.57
New York	208.25	49.40	2,499.00	502.80	48.1	14.02

*Determined by multiplying Average Monthly Grant by twelve months.

**Costs of all public assistance programs combined: Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Aid to the Blind; Old Age Assistance; Medical Assistance to the Aged; Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Assistance.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET, CONT'D.

POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: 202-462-8804

TABLE No.5

STATE INFORMATION SHEET

State	Aid to families with dependent children: Recipients and payments to recipients, by State, April 1966			Annual Expenditures per inhab. state and local 1964*	Annual % of payments from Federal funds 1964*
	Number of families	Average per Family	Average per Recipient		
Total	1,102,449	146.47	35.14	9.22	60.2
Alabama	17,351	52.51	12.75	7.49	77.1
Alaska	1,321	130.69	35.51	5.54	60.3
Arizona	9,607	121.64	28.04	4.40	74.4
Arkansas	7,583	74.04	17.49	6.66	77.9
California	158,614	180.73	43.73	21.05	47.0
Colorado	12,418	156.14	40.00	19.20	54.1
Connecticut	14,003	200.13	49.77	10.78	49.0
Delaware	2,912	134.32	30.06	2.61	71.7
Dist. of Col.	4,712	158.86	33.44	7.07	60.8
Florida	30,535	62.92	16.10	3.69	77.1
Georgia	20,911	96.06	24.04	5.10	77.6
Idaho	2,632	152.64	39.39	6.56	66.9
Illinois	54,042	189.76	40.16	10.50	52.9
Inidana	11,770	132.71	31.96	2.89	66.1
Iowa	11,583	167.69	41.71	7.04	62.8
Kansas	9,112	171.32	40.71	8.78	58.9
Kentucky	21,720	104.75	26.82	5.48	77.3
Louisiana	24,765	105.93	24.03	12.80	74.4
Maine	5,209	119.93	31.95	6.29	72.2
Maryland	21,781	163.18	39.17	4.80	62.9
Massachusetts	28.166	192.31	50.72	17.23	48.6
Michigan	38,568	149.98	36.42	7.59	55.5
Minnesota	14,454	170.88	46.48	12.30	49.9
Mississippi	20,763	31.74	7.76	4.40	81.3
Missouri	26,269	106.23	25.71	8.99	69.5
Montana	2,086	146.07	36.39	4.20	67.2
Nebraska	4,767	138.16	33.73	5.12	64.5
Nevada	1,321	135.58	32.72	4.46	61.8
New Hampshire	1,232	198.83	48.14	6.46	54.3
New Jersey	29,245	205.68	51.53	6.57	49.1
New Mexico	7,538	164.56	39.65	7.27	71.2
New York	141,853	208.25	49.40	14.02	48.1
North Carolina	27.091	108.38	26.04	4.01	76.8
North Dakota	2,063	161.18	40.06	7.94	63.2
Ohio	46,290	146.44	34.50	5.85	63.6
Oklahoma	19,424	129.20	32.50	21.42	63.9
Oregon	9,454	163.33	41.15	7.52	60.1
Pennsylvania	59,706	138.87	31.72	6.85	62.1

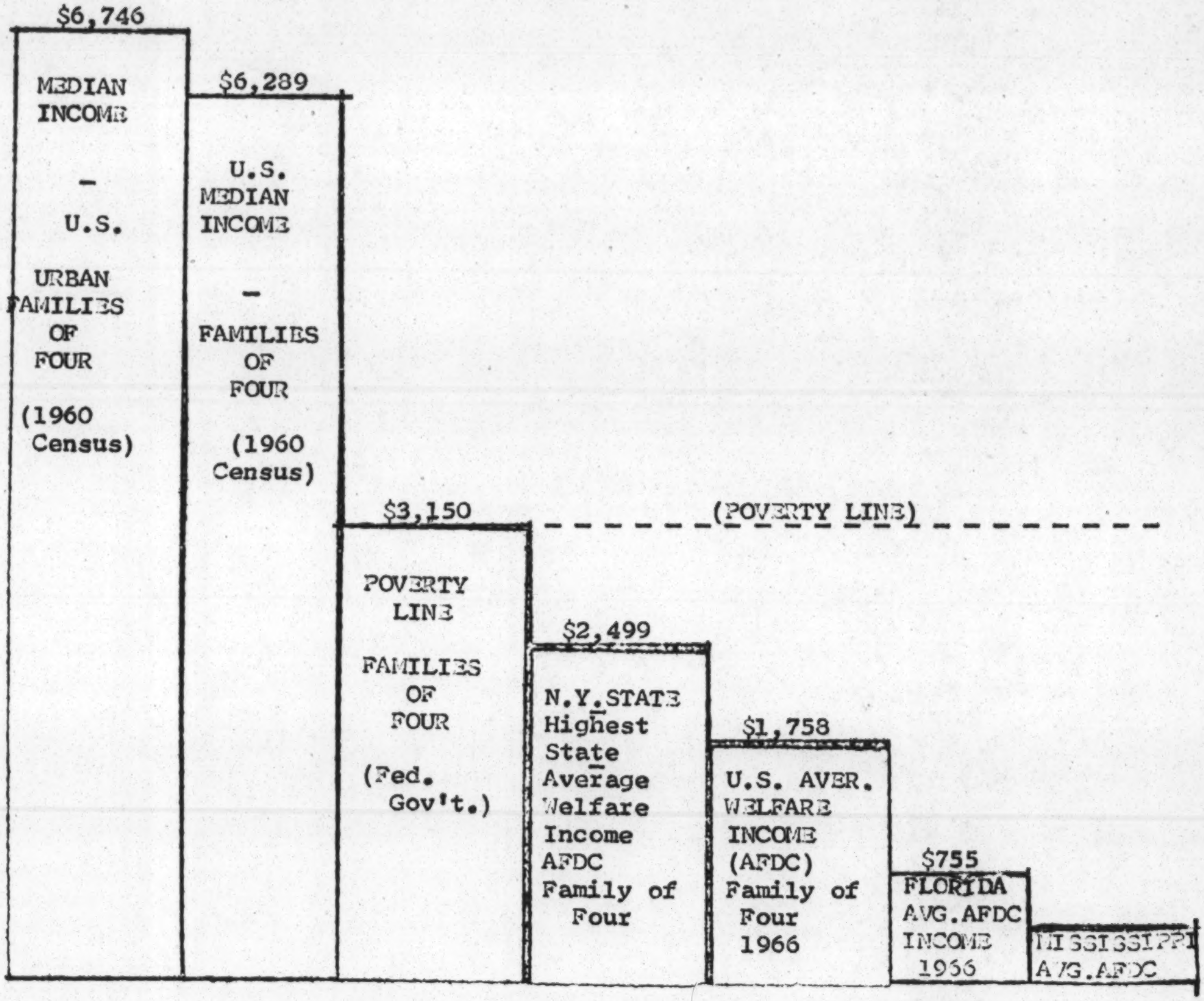
*1965 figures not available

State	Aid to families with dependent children: Recipients and payments to recipients, by State, April 1966			Annual Expenditures per inhab. State and Local 1964*	Annual % of payment from Fed. funds 1964*
	Number of Families	Average per Family	Average per Recipient		
Rhode Island	6,172	177.48	44.92	9.47	56.8
South Carolina	6,846	64.14	16.21	2.44	79.8
South Dakota	3,237	124.15	33.22	4.67	72.4
Tennessee	20,642	97.30	24.01	3.12	79.5
Texas	21,631	96.63	21.31	5.30	75.0
Utah	6,013	148.73	36.20	5.82	70.1
Vermont	1,518	112.11	29.29	5.94	72.0
Virginia	11,226	109.15	25.67	1.56	76.6
Washington	16,991	148.19	37.14	12.07	60.0
West Virginia	22,825	129.26	27.57	7.06	76.7
Wisconsin	11,257	204.87	51.76	8.09	50.3
Wyoming	1,108	150.00	40.46	5.64	59.4

*1965 figures not available

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOMES FOR FAMILIES OF FOUR

FOR: THE UNITED STATES
AND
AFDC* WELFARE FAMILIES



* Aid to Families with Dependent Children

Poverty / Rights Action Center
1713 R. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-462-8804

POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-462-8804

STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE A. WILEY, DIRECTOR OF THE POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
JUNE 28, 1966

I believe we are on the eve of an historic occasion. We are about to witness on June 30th the first concerted action of a new movement. It is a movement of the poorest of the poor in our nation. Welfare recipients from more than 25 cities across our nation will raise their voices in unison to cry out against the terrible injustices and shameful inadequacies that uniformly characterize welfare systems in every State in the Union.

ADDENDUM TO

ROUND-UP OF JUNE 30th WELFARE DEMONSTRATIONS

Richmond, California
Oakland, California

The welfare rights organizations of Contra Costa County and of Oakland are combining forces for a June 30th demonstration. They will assemble at 12:30 P.M. at the Oakland Welfare Rights Organization's office at 520 Seventh Street. They will march past the Oakland Welfare Department headquarters, up Broadway to the Old Courthouse at 14th and Broadway where a rally will be held at about 1:30 P.M. The demonstration will highlight the need for more adequate public assistance, for decent low cost housing, rent control, an end to slum housing, and better jobs and job training. Spokesman for the Oakland group is Mrs. Marie Walker and for the Contra Costa group, Mrs. Kathryn Himes. Press contact is Mrs. Walker; 2327 25th Avenue, Oakland; telephone: 532-7277

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Washington Welfare Alliance will sponsor a march of welfare recipients from the Welfare Department's Administrative Offices at 499 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House and into Lafayette Square for a rally. The marchers will assemble at 11:00 A.M. and leave at 12:00 noon, with the rally to commence at Lafayette Square at 1:00. President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Sen. Robert Kennedy, and other national political figures have been invited to the rally which will be addrewsed by welfare recipients expressing their grievances concerning illegal searches and midnight raids by investigators; inadequate grant allowances; the inadequate training programs and training opportunities; improvement in the food stamp program, employment of welfare recipients as caseworker aids; elimination of the "man in the house" rule; end to unfair residency requirments, and the right to earn some money without having allowances cut. Spokesman for the group is Mrs. Annie McLean, Chairman of the Alliance; press contact: Rev. Fred Dasbach, 1751 N St. N.W., tel: DE 2-3132.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Welfare recipients from the Boston area will meet at 10:30 A.M. at 48 Rutland Street and march to City Hall and then to the State House for a rally beginning at approximately 12:30 P.M. Governor Volpe and Mayor Collins have been invited to speak. The march and rally is sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare who will be pressing demands including publication of the welfare rules for recipients to see; raises in welfare allowances; an end to residence requirements, and higher rent allowances in Boston where rents are higher than in other parts of the State. Press contact: Marcia Butman, 48 Rutland Street, Boston. Tel: 617-KE 6-2840.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Welfare recipients and other citizens from New Haven, Waterbury, Norwalk, Bridgeport, Hartford, Danbury, and New Britain, Connecticut will march on the State Welfare Office in New Haven. The march will begin at 10:00 A.M. in the Hill section of New Haven(at 605 Congress Avenue) and will proceed across downtown New Haven to the State Welfare Office located on Bassett Street in the Dixwell section. At the State Welfare Office, representatives of the Hill Neighborhood and Parents Organization, New Haven CORE, and the Wider City Parish will present officials with a comprehensive list of grievances, including: the raising of grant levels 13% to conform with the Federal minimum basic requirments for human health and decency; abolising the State's two month residency requirement. They will also present to the Welfare Commissioner 25 cases for appeal hearings for rent supplements for welfare families who are not presently receiving grants covering their full rent. Press contact: Mrs. Louise Harris, New Haven CORE.

HOBOKEN NEW BRUNSWICK
NEWARK JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY
TRENTON

Welfare recipients from the five cities above will travel by auto and bus to Trenton, New Jersey to press demands for higher welfare standards and better treatment of recipients with State Welfare Director Irving Engleman. The largewt group will meet at 188 Badger Avenue in Newark at 9:00 A.M. to board buses for Trenton. All of the groups will meet at a central point in Trenton (to be announced later) to march to the headquarters of the State Welfare Division. Since Mr. Engleman has refused to meet with the welfare recipients, a picketing demonstration will be held. The action is sponsored by the People's Action Group, of which Mrs. Marion Kidd and Mrs. Juanita Arrington are co-chairmen.

Press contact: Connie Brown, 444 Clinton Avenue, Newark.
Telephone: 242-9329
824-3135

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

The Philadelphia Crusade for Children will hold mass demonstrations on June 29th and 30th as phase two of its program to press for increased aid for families with dependent children. They will begin with an all-night vigil at the State Office Building starting at 5:00 P.M. Wednesday, June 29th, to last until 11:30 A.M. Thursday. At 11:30 A.M. Thursday there will be a rally at the State Office Building, then proceeding downtown to the Democratic and Republican City Committee headquarters. At 12:00 noon, welfare recipients will speak out on the steps of the State Office Building.

Press contact: Rev. Jerry Carpenter, 1421 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penna. Telephone: 215-LO 3-7854.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Citizens Against Inadequate Resources will participate in a protest against the inadequacies of the Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania Welfare Systems. Details will not be available until Tuesday evening, June 28th.

Press contact: Mrs. Alice Nixon, 3601 Old Orchard Circle, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Telephone: 922-4791.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

The Baltimore Welfare Recipients Protective Committee will hold a demonstration at Baltimore City Hall beginning at 3:00 P.M. It will highlight the inadequacies of the welfare allowances by displaying and serving a typical welfare meal; in addition there will be picketing. The group is demanding increased allowances for food, rent, and other basic necessities; publication of rules, rights, and entitlements of recipients, and an end to retaliation against welfare recipients for joining organizations for filing grievances.

Spokesman for the recipients will be Mrs. Dorothy Mathis. Press contact: Dan Gant, 832 North Gay Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Telephone: 301-732-8217 or 732-9330.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Welfare recipients will march on the Welfare Department headquarters at 600 South State Street, Syracuse, N.Y. March leaves from Croton School playground at Oakwood and Raynor Avenues at 2:00 P.M. and will conclude in a rally in the Welfare Department parking lot at 3:30. Welfare Commissioner Lascaris has been invited to the rally.

The recipients will make ten demands, including: 1) the establishment of an advisory committee of recipients; 2) an end to night raids and the closing of the Investigation Division; 3) dismissal of certain caseworkers; 4) new furniture and appliances; 5) discontinuance of the voucher system; 6) the right to earn some income without reduction in allowance; 7) the right to see private doctors; 8) the right to see welfare records; 9) more clerical help for case workers; 10) the right to reject work relief.

Demonstration sponsored by the Joint Welfare Committee of six neighborhood organizations affiliated with the Syracuse Community Development Association (SCDA), of which Mrs. Dorothy Dasnow is Chairman.

Press contact: Daniel Mitchell, Director, SCDA, 211 East Castle St., Syracuse, N.Y. Telephone:315-475-0162.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Over one hundred workers of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) have been conducting an intensive eight-day canvass of South Side Kenwood Oakland communities to locate persons with welfare problems. This canvassing drive will culminate on June 30th with a march on the offices of Cook County Public Aid Director, Raymond Hilliard, to present grievances of area recipients. Also participating in the march will be welfare recipients from the JOIN Community Union on Chicago's North Side. The marchers will assemble at 10:00 A.M. at the KOCO offices, 318 W. Adams for the march to Welfare headquarters. A group of marchers will picket while a delegation meets with Mr. Hilliard. Grievances are expected to center on the inadequacies of the welfare grants, midnight inspection raids and invasion of privacy.

Press contact: The Rev. Joseph Barndt, 1058 East 43rd Street, Chicago. Telephone: 312-538-1875.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Welfare recipients will hold a public rally in front of the State Office Building at 6th and Cedar Streets beginning at 3:00 P.M. Featured at the rally will be AFDC mothers who will present their grievances against the welfare system. Following the rally, the participants will march to the local County Welfare Department at 6th and Jefferson Streets (in front of the City Courthouse). The organizers of the rally and march, the West End Community Council, and numerous neighborhood associations will present ten demands: 1) Inclusion of Louisville in the food stamp plan; 2) Raising the grant levels to the Federal government's basic requirements for human health and decency; 3) An end to the policy of deducting from welfare checks the pay received by recipients who are participating in local anti-poverty programs; 4) Rescinding of the policy which now limits welfare recipients to one can of meat per month, rather than the two cans previously received; 5) Discontinuation of the policy of giving people excessive amounts of starchy foods (flour and corn meal); 6) Ending the policy which, when caseworkers make a mistake and assign recipients too low a grant, deprives the recipient of back payments when the mistake has been discovered; 7) Provision of carfare and babysitting expenses for welfare mothers who want to work; 8) Publication and distribution to welfare recipients of the policies, regulations and procedures of the Public Assistance programs; 9) Placing the burden of finding husbands who have deserted their families on the Welfare Department, rather than the mother; 10) Elimination of the mandatory State waiting period of 30 to 60 days from the date of application before new cases can receive assistance.

Press contact: Mr. Hulbert James, West End Community Council, 4303 West Broadway. Telephone: 502-775-6408.

INDEPENDENCE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

On June 30th members of the Citizens Coordinating Committee, Kansas City CORE, and welfare recipients from Independence, Missouri will conduct a march from the Wayne-Miror Project (12th and Woodlawn Streets) to the main office of the Kansas City Welfare Department located at 16th and Oak Streets. At the main Welfare Office they will picket and present the following demands: 1) A raise in public assistance grant levels, which are now 55% of the State-determined minimum basic requirements for human health and decency; 2) The elimination of minnight raids and other unconstitutional invasions of the privacy of citizens receiving welfare; 3) Elimination of the "man in the house" ruling, and 4) the granting of emergency clothing and furniture to welfare recipients. Spokesmen for the demonstration will be Mrs. Wannita Smith, Mrs. Doris Wilson, and Mrs. Bertha Denman. Press contact: Miss Marjorie King, 3703 Paseo Street, Kansas City. Telephone: (office) 816-HA1-3280; (residence) WA4-0028.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Welfare recipients and their caseworkers will march on the offices of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors demanding: 1) A raise in the State maximums to 100% of the State-determined basic minimum requirement for human health and decency; 2) Supplementary assistance for families whose male head of household earns less than the income eligibility standards for public assistance; 3) Receipt of the full funds legislated for welfare recipients participating in job training programs; 4) The establishment of child care centers for working welfare mothers. The march is sponsored by the Florence-Graham Mothers Group, the New Look Society of the Westminster Neighborhood Association; the Social Work Union Committee; the Los Angeles County Social Workers Union, Long Beach Welfare Rights Group, and the Welfare Recipients Union.

Press contacts: Mrs. Vivien Romero; telephone: (office) 213-583-4547; (residence) 587-1705, and Mrs. Elizabeth Jackson; 213-585-2766.

SAN BENITO COUNTY
SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY
MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

Welfare recipients from these three California counties will hold a joint demonstration in Monterey, California, the specific time and place to be announced later. Hosting the rally on June 30th will be the Monterey County Welfare Rights Organization. Key among their demands will be funding of the Monterey County Welfare Rights Organization's demonstration grant for improvement in the welfare program through active participation of welfare recipients, which was contracted by the State Department of Welfare and approved by the Governor. The State fiscal year ends June 30th and funding for the contract has not been made. Contracts for similar demonstration projects in three other counties have also been deinied after legislative appropriation of the funds and approval.

Press contact: Mrs. Judith S. Graham, 354 Cedar Street, Monterey; telephone: 408-375-9188.

SAN BERNADINO, CALIFORNIA

Beginning at 10:00 A.M. welfare recipients from San Bernadino will march on the headquarters of the County Department of Welfare located in the County Courthouse in San Bernadino. Chief among their grievances will be the policies of the County Department of Public Welfare, which work severe hardships upon the families receiving Aid to Dependent Children with male heads of households and serve primarily to break up these families. Representatives of the West Central Community Action Group who are sponsoring the march will attempt to present their grievances in person to the director of the County Dept. of Welfare. Press contact: Mrs. Esther Washington, 1136 Western Avenue, San Bernadino.

OTHER CITIES IN WHICH WELFARE DEMONSTRATIONS MAY OCCUR JUNE 30TH

MT. VERNON, NEW YORK

The Mt. Vernon Committee of Welfare Mothers has been protesting for several weeks against slum housing conditions that welfare recipients are forced to endure. Recipients have been evicted when they attempted to complain of their bad housing conditions and the Welfare Department has tried to relocate them out of the city. Their action has included a sit-in at City Hall demanding temporary shelter and prompt relocation within Mt. Vernon for those evicted; an end to evictions for filing slum housing complaints. They plan to erect a tent in the center of the city for people already evicted who have no place to live. The exact time and place of this action has not yet been determined. Spokesman: Mrs. Beatrice Giles. Press contact: Mrs. Isabelle Hawkins, 25 Madison St., Mt. Vernon; telephone: 914-664-6931.

SANTA FE
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

Activities may occur in these cities to protest the State Legislature's recent vote rejecting the State participation in the Medicare program.

DENVER, COLORADO

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MIAMI, FLORIDA

NIAGARA FALLS AND BUFFALO, NEW YORK

P. Watters

File

STATEMENT

SUBMITTED TO

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

REGARDING THE

OPERATION OF THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION IN IMPLEMENTING TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Submitted by:

American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York, 10019

December, 1966

The American Friends Service Committee and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund share a concern about the elimination of segregated public school systems, not only because children have a constitutional right to education without discrimination but also because equality of educational opportunity is basic to the moral right of every child to develop his full potential.

The AFSC speaks out of 15 years of experience in community action programs to promote school desegregation. The Legal Defense Fund has handled virtually all of the litigation in the last quarter century to abolish segregation in education. During the decade following the Supreme Court's decision of 1954, we came to recognize that an attack on segregated education which relies solely on the courts is agonizingly slow. Therefore, we have welcomed an administrative approach to this problem which has lodged responsibility in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, to effectuate nondiscrimination in federally supported educational programs as required by Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Our two agencies were eager to play their part in making this administrative role successful. It held promise of removing the burden for school desegregation from the individual Negro, by placing it on the responsible educational authorities.

In 1965 and again in 1966, we co-sponsored a School Desegregation Task Force which has reached hundreds of communities in nine southern states. The goal has been to inform Negro families of their rights, under Title VI regulations as well as court orders, to develop local leadership to promote substantial school desegregation, and to maintain close contact with Federal officials in order to give prompt and accurate reports of attempts to deny parents and children their rights.

Having observed the overall development of the compliance program, we reported in November 1965, the findings of our first Task Force to Secretary John W. Gardner. We made twenty recommendations for the more effective carrying out of the mandate given to HEW by Congress. Our report is attached. (Exhibit A)

We are now preparing a document with our recommendations for abolishing the dual school structure based on our most recent Task Force work. We are glad to have this opportunity to discuss our concern with the Special Subcommittee on Education as it reviews the operation of the Office of Education. Our experience shows that the close relationship between program effectiveness and administrative competence is undeniable.

Our observations of the effectiveness of the Equal Educational Opportunities Program (EEOP) of the Office of Education lead us to several conclusions concerning the administration of the program. It is clear to us that an administering agency must have: (1) regulations adequate to carry out its mandate; (2) adequate interpretive and informational programs to advise persons of their rights and obligations under these regulations; (3) an affirmative compliance program with effective implementation machinery; (4) a well coordinated, comprehensive approach; and (5) built-in mechanisms for information gathering and evaluation of effectiveness.

Our recommendations deal with these five areas.

I. The Guidelines should be strengthened. The Office of Education's 1966 Guidelines (Revised Statement of Policies For School Desegregation Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) should be evaluated as to their adequacy for eliminating dual school systems. The fact that an ~~established~~ estimated 88-90% of the Negro pupils in the southern states are still in totally segregated schools in this third school year since the passage of the Act indicates the disappointingly modest progress which has been made. The 1966 Guidelines are stronger than those of 1965. The objective--eliminating dual school systems as expeditiously as possible--is forthrightly stated. There is a clear requirement for performance in pupil and staff desegregation in comparison with 1965, when a policy commitment from a school district seemed sufficient.

Recognizing impediments to desegregation in 1965 for which local officials were often responsible, the 1966 Guidelines outlined in detail the procedures to be followed, particularly in implementing freedom of choice plans. The requirement that small, inferior schools must be closed and the elaboration of earlier regulations concerning nondiscrimination in programs, facilities and services such as transportation strengthened the 1966 Guidelines.

However, the exclusion of court-ordered districts from EEOP's compliance machinery seriously limits the Guidelines. Population centers which have a majority of the South's Negro children are desegregating under District Court orders, most of which are not up to the most recent standards of the Circuit Court. Court rulings are not necessarily issued with the school calendar in mind; good orders in South Carolina this fall will not be in effect until 1967. Many court orders are not being fully implemented. Federal judges have welcomed the role of the Commissioner of Education as "long overdue" because of the "utter impracticability of a continued exercise by the courts of the responsibility of supervising the manner in which segregated school systems break out of the policy of complete segregation ...and toward complete compliance."

The general and uncritical approval of freedom of choice plans as devices for eliminating segregated school systems is another major weakness in the Guidelines. Although the overwhelming evidence is that freedom of choice produces only tokenism at best, the Office of Education has permitted most districts to use these plans and EEOP has been unable to deal with intimidation, fear, reprisals and the legacy of total segregation in the community, all of which operate as deterrents to the success of freedom of choice.

The Guidelines should be expanded to deal with Northern style de facto segregation.

HEW's Regulation requiring compliance agreements from state education agencies should be supplemented with specific guidelines which recognize the role of these agencies in preserving or abolishing segregation. State agencies play a crucial role in decisions concerning site selection and school construction, school consolidation, transportation, school lunch programs, the equalization of teachers' salaries textbooks, projects under special Federal programs, etc. Our experience indicates that state agencies often use this role to strengthen segregation even though Federal funds are involved.

II. The Office of Education should develop an informational and educational program to interpret the goal of abolishing the dual school structure, to inform Negro citizens of their rights and to win a broad base of support for securing equality of educational opportunity. Unlike other Governmental agencies, the Office of Education has developed no materials or mass media programs for wide dissemination of accurate information about its compliance program, which has suffered from distortions and misinformation. The burden for initiating desegregation is still on Negroes; yet many do not know what their rights are. In the absence of an officially sponsored information program which reaches the grass roots, Negroes must rely on local school officials and the local press, which are often hostile. Private civil rights groups have tried to close this information gap, but their resources are too meager. The enjoyment of constitutional rights should not be dependent upon an individual's ability to discover on his own how he may secure these rights.

III. At this critical juncture, the Office of Education must launch an affirmative compliance program with adequate machinery and staff and with a strengthened technical assistance component. Lacking an affirmative program and understaffed, the Office of Education's compliance efforts tend to be focussed on the worst offenders and to be complaint-oriented. In 1966, sanctions were exercised for the first time. Funds were cut off only from districts whose intention not to comply was evident in their refusal to sign the 441-B compliance form. According to press reports the deferral of funds was not a major hardship because only new funds were deferred and state offices of education helped school districts re-write the proposals so that projects could be considered to be "continuing." The 90-day limit on deferrals should speed up the process of withdrawing Federal funds from non-complying districts. HEW is just beginning to exercise sanctions against poor performers and the initial standards have been very modest indeed. If a school district has executed its paper compliance and has 3% desegregation--i.e., 97% of its Negro pupils are still in segregated schools--and has token faculty desegregation, it seems assured that Federal funds will flow in 1966-67. In direct violation of the Guidelines, segregated bus transportation, harassment and reprisals, segregation in sports and other school related programs, and the use of inferior schools continue. Staff desegregation has been minimal. To preserve segregation, students are still being educated outside their home school districts. Where these violations are known, districts have been warned, but many feel no threat of withdrawal of Federal funds.

The lack of staff, the concentration on the poorest of the poor performers and the uncertainty about what Federal officials can specifically require to effectuate the constitutional mandate to abolish segregation have contributed to hesitancy about launching an affirmative program.

Although the wise, prompt and consistent use of sanctions is a necessary part of the total effort, it is not a substitute for an affirmative program. An affirmative program would not be centered just on the worst offender, but would be concerned to achieve the most comprehensive and effective desegregation plan for each school district--a plan which would be adequate to abolish the dual school structure. The Federal role should be to compile all available information about each school district and to work out with local officials and community leaders a comprehensive desegregation plan for that district. This plan would include the closing of inferior schools, the maximum and non-racial utilization of adequate facilities, school construction and site selection, the up-grading of programs, the reorganization of grades, the re-routing of buses, non-racial staff assignments and in-service training, remedial programs to compensate for previous disadvantage and the proposed use of state and Federal funds. The Office of Education would provide technical assistance in the forms of model plans and staff to help develop these plans, which would have to be approved by the Commissioner. Federal financial support should be withdrawn from those school districts which are unable to devise and implement plans which will end the segregated structure, in fact.

The mandate, authority and skills of the staff of a Federal government compliance program are crucial to their effective role in achieving the goal of abolishing the dual school system. HEW's compliance program needs a full-time, year-round staff, adequate in numbers, maturity and resourcefulness to get the job done.

IV. The Office of Education should develop a well-coordinated approach to compliance so that Federal programs are working toward the same goal. If Federal funds are to be an effective lever for achieving nondiscrimination, the Federal investment must play this role in its entirety; one program should not be strengthening segregated schools on the one hand, while a narrowly conceived compliance program seeks to abolish them on the other. We are particularly concerned about reports that programs funded by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act are being used in such a way as to discourage desegregation.

V. The Office of Education should build into its compliance program a process of systematic fact-finding and evaluation so that it can make an accurate assessment of progress, identify areas of weakness in the Guidelines and strengthen its compliance machinery on the basis of documented experience. On September 26, 1966, we submitted to Commissioner Harold Howe, II, a list of questions, the answers to which we believed would provide material for an assessment of the effectiveness of the compliance program in 1966. (Exhibit B) Since that time, representatives of the Task Force have had several conferences with EECP staff about the letter. In spite of the fact that Office of Education officials have stated that the information requested would reveal the effectiveness of their program and administration, they have admitted that the present process of data-gathering and compliance review do not produce the information needed. Because of this serious shortcoming, the letter remains officially unanswered. It is hard to see how sound planning is being done for 1967, in the absence of evaluation based on the full documentation of the 1966 experience.

American Education is still largely segregated and unequal. The American public school, as a symbol of exclusion, is building up bitterness and frustration among Negroes. Locked into segregated schools and locked out of participation in the mainstream of economic, cultural and civic life, American Negroes are now less inhibited in their expressions of alienation and despair. Time is running out. The Office of Education now has an unprecedented opportunity to secure integrated quality education for all American children. It must develop the administrative capacity to seize this opportunity. We hope that the study currently being carried on by the Special Sub-committee can help strengthen the Office of Education and thus support it in this most difficult but most urgent task.

File

Summary

IN THE MATTER OF THE ALABAMA STATE BOARD OF PENSIONS AND SECURITY AND THE ALABAMA STATE DEPARTMENT OF PENSIONS AND SECURITY. Docket No. CR-1; Compliance Proceedings Pursuant to Section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Regulations of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare Issued Pursuant Thereto.

January 12, 1967

Action of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

1. This case involves the refusal of the Alabama Board of Pensions and Security and the Alabama State Department of Pensions and Security to comply with Section 602 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (45CFR80).

2. The Alabama agency administrators programs under Titles I, IV, V (Part 3), X and XIV of the Social Security Act.

3. The programs provide for Old Age Assistance and Medical Assistance for the Aged, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Child Welfare Services, Aid to the Blind and Aid to the Permanently Disabled. 20% of the funds for services are paid to a third party.

4. November 16, 1966. The Commissioner of Welfare refused further negotiations and started hearing procedure.

5. The Alabama Agency asked to present current evidence and to incorporate Title XIX into proceedings. Denied.

6. Alabama has (a) attacked the validity of Section 80.3 which prohibits discrimination through third parties, (b) been unwilling to achieve non-discriminatory care and services as called for in Section 80.4(b), (c) has not adopted or proposed methods of administering its programs which give "reasonable assurance" of compliance with Title VI, and (d) has not made a clear commitment not to discriminate in programs solely within its control.

7. Alabama says it will only comply by court interpretation of the Civil Rights Act.

8. General Counsel wrote a brief as far back as December 22, 1965, and a bill of particulars in a letter August 27, 1965. Alabama, in two years has offered no corrective action.

Alabama Exceptions Taken

1. Alabama contends that direct money payments to beneficiaries are separate from third party payments and no significant discrimination exists.

2. The assignment of case workers to beneficiaries on the base of race is excluded by Section 604, Title VI.

3. In the third party payments, the beneficiary and not the State Agency selects the one to provide the services. Free Choice.

4. Commissioner King said he would do everything within his control to comply.

5. Agency wishes to comply with any legally effective law, rule and regulation, but does not consider the Title VI HEW Regulations legally effective in Alabama.

6. The Agency says it does not have the power to compel third parties to comply.

7. The Agency objects to an examiner's statement about "a completely destitute person". The Agency says a person need not be "completely destitute" to receive $75 a month.

8. Other phrases like "quite frequently the Agency participates to make arrangements for those needing medical care" and "the Agency uses the services of physicians to determine eligibility for certain forms of public assistance" were contested.

9. The Agency contends that there was an omission of Findings on the Legislative History of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

10. The Agency objected to the Hearing Examiner's statements concerning discrimination in the availability of day care centers in Alabama.

11. The Agency objected to being identified by the Hearing Examiner to the separate-but-equal doctrine.

12. The Agency objected to being required to seek "sociological purity of the suppliers of services to the indigent".

13. The Agency says it has sought compliance on the basis that no beneficiary is denied benefits in Alabama because of race even though such benefits may be provided on a segregated or discriminatory basis.

14. The Agency implies that physicians offices are not covered by Title VI. (See Section 80.5(a) of HEW regulation.)

15. The Agency feels it should not be required to "Boycott" third parties.

16. The Agency feels that only some discrimination exists in some office buildings. (County, etc.)

17. The Agency contests the validity of the Regulations.

18. The Agency contests "time limits" for replies, hearings, etc.

19. Says Compliance Statement not authorized by the Act.

Conclusion

1. The Secretary approves the decision of the Commissioner of Welfare that the non-compliance of the Alabama Welfare Agency with Title VI requires the termination of Federal assistance until compliance can be achieved.

2. Again invites Alabama to comply.

3. Filed a report January 12, 1967 to the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives and with the Senate Finance Committee.

4. The decision terminating Federal financial assistance will become effective at midnight, February 28, 1967.

5. Compliance with Title VI for those parts of the Alabama Public Assistance and Welfare programs which do not involve third party "vendors" would enable HEW to continue providing more than 80 percent of the approximately 95 million dollars that the Federal Government contributes annually to the Alabama programs.

Reprinted from the FEDERAL REGISTER, Friday, December 4, 1964

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Title 45—PUBLIC WELFARE

Subtitle A—Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, General Administration

PART 80—NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE—EFFECTUATION OF TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

Subtitle A 45 CFR is hereby amended by adding the following new Part 80:

Sec.
80.1 Purpose.
80.2 Application of this part.
80.3 Discrimination prohibited.
80.4 Assurances required.
80.5 Illustrative applications.
80.6 Compliance information.
80.7 Conduct of investigations.
80.8 Procedure for effecting compliance.
80.9 Hearings.
80.10 Decisions and notices.
80.11 Judicial review.
80.12 Effect on other regulations; forms and instructions.
80.13 Definitions.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 80 are issued under sec. 602, 78 Stat. 252, and the laws referred to in Appendix A.

§ 80.1 Purpose.

The purpose of this part is to effectuate the provisions of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (hereafter referred to as the "Act") to the end that no person in the United States shall; on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

§ 80.2 Application of this part.

This part applies to any program for which Federal financial assistance is authorized under a law administered by the Department, including the Federally-assisted programs and activities listed in Appendix A of this part. It applies to money paid, property transferred, or other Federal financial assistance extended under any such program after the effective date of the regulation pursuant to an application approved prior to such effective date. This part does not apply to (a) any Federal financial assistance by way of insurance or guaranty contracts, (b) money paid, property transferred, or other assistance extended under any such program before the effective date of this part, (c) any assistance to any individual who is the ultimate beneficiary under any such program, or (d) any employment practice, under any such program, of any employer, employment agency, or labor organization, except to the extent described in § 80.3. The fact that a program or activity is not listed in Appendix A shall not mean, if Title VI of the Act is otherwise applicable, that such program is not covered. Other programs under statutes now in force or hereinafter enacted may be added to this list by notice published in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

§ 80.3 Discrimination prohibited.

(a) *General.* No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be otherwise subjected to discrimination under any program to which this part applies.

(b) *Specific discriminatory actions prohibited.* (1) A recipient under any program to which this part applies may not, directly or through contractual or other arrangements, on ground of race, color, or national origin:

(i) Deny an individual any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided under the program;

(ii) Provide any service, financial aid, or other benefit to an individual which is different, or is provided in a different manner, from that provided to others under the program;

(iii) Subject an individual to segregation or separate treatment in any matter related to his receipt of any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program;

(iv) Restrict an individual in any way in the enjoyment of any advantage or privilege enjoyed by others receiving any service, financial aid, or other benefit under the program;

(v) Treat an individual differently from others in determining whether he satisfies any admission, enrollment, quota, eligibility, membership or other requirement or condition which individuals must meet in order to be provided any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided under the program;

(vi) Deny an individual an opportunity to participate in the program through the provision of services or otherwise or afford him an opportunity to do so which is different from that afforded others under the program (including the opportunity to participate in the program as an employee but only to the extent set forth in paragraph (c) of this section).

(2) A recipient, in determining the types of services, financial aid, or other benefits, or facilities which will be provided under any such program, or the class of individuals to whom, or the situations in which, such services, financial aid, other benefits, or facilities will be provided under any such program, or the class of individuals to be afforded an opportunity to participate in any such program, may not, directly or through contractual or other arrangements, utilize criteria or methods of administration which have the effect of subjecting individuals to discrimination because of their race, color, or national origin, or have the effect of defeating or substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the program as respect individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin.

(3) As used in this section the services, financial aid, or other benefits provided under a program receiving Federal financial assistance shall be deemed to include any service, financial aid, or other benefit provided in or through a facility provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance.

(4) The enumeration of specific forms of prohibited discrimination in this paragraph and paragraph (c) of this section does not limit the generality of the prohibition in paragraph (a) of this section.

(c) *Employment practices.* Where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance to a program to which this part applies is to provide employment, a recipient may not (directly or through contractual or other arrangements) subject an individual to discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin in its employment practices under such program (including recruitment or recruitment advertising, employment, layoff or termination, upgrading, demotion, or transfer, rates of pay or other forms of compensation, and use of facilities), including programs where a primary objective of the Federal financial assistance is (i) to reduce the unemployment of such individuals or to help them through employment to meet subsistence needs, (ii) to assist such individuals through employment to meet expenses incident to the commencement or continuation of their education or training, (iii) to provide work experience which contributes to the education or training of such individuals, or (iv) to provide remunerative activity to such individuals who because of severe handicaps cannot be readily absorbed in the competitive labor market. The following programs under existing laws have one of the above objectives as a primary objective:

(*a*) Department projects under the Public Works Acceleration Act, Public Law 87–658.

(*b*) Community work and training programs under title IV of the Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 609.

(*c*) Work-study program under the Vocational Education Act of 1963, P.L. 88–210, sec. 13.

(*d*) Programs listed in Appendix A as respects employment opportunities provided thereunder, or in facilities provided thereunder, which are limited, or for which preference is given, to students, fellows, or other persons in training for the same or related employments.

(*e*) Establishment of sheltered workshops under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 29 U.S.C. 32–34.

The requirements applicable to construction employment under any such program shall be those specified in or pursuant to Executive Order 11114.

(d) *Indian Health and Cuban Refugee programs.* An individual shall not be deemed subjected to discrimination by reason of his exclusion from the benefits of a program limited by Federal law to individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin different from his.

(e) *Medical emergencies.* Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions of this section, a recipient of Federal financial assistance shall not be deemed to have failed to comply with paragraph (a) of this section if immediate provision of a service or other benefit to an individual is necessary to prevent his death or serious impairment of his health, and such service or other benefit cannot be provided except by or through a medical institution which refuses or fails to comply with paragraph (a) of this section.

§ 80.4 Assurances required.

(a) *General.* (1) Every application for Federal financial assistance to carry out a program to which this part applies, except a program to which paragraph (b) of this section applies, and every application for Federal financial assistance to provide a facility shall, as a condition to its approval and the extension of any Federal financial assistance pursuant to the application, contain or be accompanied by an assurance that the program will be conducted or the facility operated in compliance with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part. In the case of an application for Federal financial assistance to provide real property or structures thereon, the assurance shall obligate the recipient, or, in the case of a subsequent transfer, the transferee, for the period during which the real property or structures are used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits. In the case of personal property the assurance shall obligate the recipient for the period during which he retains ownership or possession of the property. In all other cases the assurance shall obligate the recipient for the period during which Federal financial assistance is extended pursuant to the application. The responsible Department official shall specify the form of the foregoing assurances for each program, and the extent to which like assurances will be required of subgrantees, contractors and subcontractors, transferees, successors in interest, and other participants in the program. Any such assurance shall include provisions which give the United States a right to seek its judicial enforcement.

(2) The assurance required in the case of a transfer of surplus real property shall be inserted in the instrument effecting the transfer of any such surplus land, together with any improvements located thereon, and shall consist of (i) a condition coupled with a right to be reserved to the Department to revert title to the property in the event of breach of such nondiscrimination condition during the period during which the real property is used for a purpose for which the Federal financial assistance is extended or for another purpose involving the provision of similar services or benefits, and (ii) a covenant running with the land for the same period. In the event a transferee of surplus real property proposes to mortgage or otherwise encumber the real property as security for financing construction of new, or improvement of existing, facilities on such property for the purposes for which the property was transferred, the Secretary may agree, upon request of the transferee and if necessary to accomplish such financing, and upon such conditions as he deems appropriate, to forbear the exercise of such right to revert title for so long as the lien of such mortgage or other encumbrance remains effective.

(b) *Continuing State programs.* Every application by a State or a State agency to carry out a program involving continuing Federal financial assistance to which this part applies (including the programs listed in Part 2 of Appendix A) shall as a condition to its approval and the extension of any Federal financial assistance pursuant to the application (1) contain or be accompanied by a statement that the program is (or, in the case of a new program, will be) conducted in compliance with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part, or a statement of the extent to which it is not, at the time the statement is made, so conducted, and (2) provide or be accompanied by provision for such methods of administration for the program as are found by the responsible Department official to give reasonable assurance that the applicant and all recipients of Federal financial assistance under such program will comply with all requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part, including methods of administration which give reasonable assurance that any noncompliance indicated in the statement under subparagraph (1) of this paragraph will be corrected.

(c) *Elementary and secondary schools.* The requirements of paragraph (a) or (b) of this section with respect to any elementary or secondary school or school system shall be deemed to be satisfied if such school or school system (1) is subject to a final order of a court of the United States for the desegregation of such school or school system, and provides an assurance that it will comply with such order, including any future modification of such order, or (2) submits a plan for the desegregation of such school or school system which the Commissioner of Education determines is adequate to accomplish the purposes of the Act and this part, and provides reasonable assurance that it will carry out such plan; in any case of continuing Federal financial assistance the Commissioner may reserve the right to redetermine, after such period as may be specified by him, the adequacy of the plan to accomplish the purposes of the Act and this part. In any case in which a final order of a court of the United States for the desegregation of such school or school system is entered after submission of such a plan, such plan shall be revised to conform to such final order, including any future modification of such order.

(d) *Assurances from institutions.* (1) In the case of any application for Federal financial assistance to an institution of higher education (including assistance for construction, for research, for a special training project, for a student loan program, or for any other purpose), the assurance required by this section shall extend to admission practices and to all other practices relating to the treatment of students.

(2) The assurance required with respect to an institution of higher education, hospital, or any other institution, insofar as the assurance relates to the institution's practices with respect to admission or other treatment of individuals as students, patients, or clients of the institution or to the opportunity to participate in the provision of services or other benefits to such individuals, shall be applicable to the entire institution unless the applicant establishes, to the satisfaction of the responsible Department official, that the institution's practices in designated parts or programs of the institution will in no way affect its practices in the program of the institution for which Federal financial assistance is sought, or the beneficiaries of or participants in such program. If in any such case the assistance sought is for the construction of a facility or part of a facility, the assurance shall in any event extend to the entire facility and to facilities operated in connection therewith.

§ 80.5 Illustrative applications.

The following examples will illustrate the application of the foregoing provisions to some of the major programs of the Department. (In all cases the discrimination prohibited is discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin prohibited by title VI of the Act and this part, as a condition of the receipt of Federal financial assistance.)

(a) In grant programs which support the provision of health or welfare services, discrimination in the selection or eligibility of individuals to receive the services, and segregation or other discriminatory practices in the manner of providing them, are prohibited. This prohibition extends to all facilities and services provided by the grantee under the program or, if the grantee is a State, by a political subdivision of the State. It extends also to services purchased or otherwise obtained by the grantee (or political subdivision) from hospitals, nursing homes, schools, and similar institutions for beneficiaries of the program, and to the facilities in which such services are provided, subject, however, to the provisions of § 80.3(e).

(b) In the Federally-affected area programs (P.L. 815 and P.L. 874) for construction aid and for general support of the operation of elementary or secondary schools, or in programs for more limited support to such schools such as for the acquisition of equipment, the provision of vocational education, or the provision of guidance and counseling services, discrimination by the recipient school district in any of its elementary or secondary schools in the admission of students, or in the treatment of its students in any aspect of the educational process, is prohibited. In this and the following illustrations the prohibition of discrimination in the treatment of students or other trainees includes the prohibition of discrimination among the students or trainees in the availability or use of any academic, dormitory, eating, recreational, or other facilities of the grantee or other recipient.

(c) In a research, training, demonstration, or other grant to a university for activities to be conducted in a graduate school, discrimination in the admission and treatment of students in the graduate school is prohibited, and the prohibition extends to the entire university unless it satisfies the responsible Department official that practices with respect to other parts or programs of the university will not interfere, directly or indirectly, with fulfillment of the assurance required with respect to the graduate school.

(d) In a training grant to a hospital or other nonacademic institution, discrimination is prohibited in the selection of individuals to be trained and in their treatment by the grantee during their training. In a research or demonstration grant to such an institution discrimination is prohibited with respect to any educational activity and any provision of medical or other services and any financial aid to individuals incident to the program.

(e) In grant programs to assist in the construction of facilities for the provision of health, educational or welfare services assurances will be required that services will be provided without discrimination, to the same extent that discrimination would be prohibited as a condition of Federal operating grants for the support of such services. Thus, as a condition of grants for the construction of academic, research, or other facilities at institutions of higher education, assurances will be required that there will be no discrimination in the admission or treatment of students. In the case of hospital construction grants the assurance will apply to patients, to interns, residents, student nurses, and other trainees, and to the privilege of physicians, dentists, and other professionally qualified persons to practice in the hospital, and will apply to the entire facility for which, or for a part of which the grant is made, and to facilities operated in connection therewith. In other construction grants the assurances required will similarly be adapted to the nature of the activities to be conducted in the facilities for construction of which the grants have been authorized by Congress.

(f) Upon transfers of real or personal surplus property for health or educational uses, discrimination is prohibited to the same extent as in the case of grants for the construction of facilities or the provision of equipment for like purposes.

(g) Each applicant for a grant for the construction of educational television facilities is required to provide an assurance that it will, in its broadcast services, give due consideration to the interests of all significant racial or ethnic groups within the population to be served by the applicant.

(h) A recipient may not take action that is calculated to bring about indirectly what this part forbids it to accomplish directly. Thus a State, in selecting or approving projects or sites for the construction of public libraries which will receive Federal financial assistance, may not base its selections or approvals on criteria which have the effect of defeating or of substantially impairing accomplishment of the objectives of the Federal assistance program as respects individuals of a particular race, color, or national origin.

§ 80.6 Compliance information.

(a) *Cooperation and assistance.* Each responsible Department official shall to the fullest extent practicable seek the cooperation of recipients in obtaining compliance with this part and shall provide assistance and guidance to recipients to help them comply voluntarily with this part.

(b) *Compliance reports.* Each recipient shall keep such records and submit to the responsible Department official or his designee timely, complete and accurate compliance reports at such times, and in such form and containing such information, as the responsible Department official or his designee may determine to be necessary to enable him to ascertain whether the recipient has complied or is complying with this part. In the case of any program under which a primary recipient extends Federal financial assistance to any other recipient, such other recipient shall also submit such compliance reports to the primary recipient as may be necessary to enable the primary recipient to carry out its obligations under this part.

(c) *Access to sources of information.* Each recipient shall permit access by the responsible Department official or his designee during normal business hours to such of its books, records, accounts, and other sources of information, and its facilities as may be pertinent to ascertain compliance with this part. Where any information required of a recipient is in the exclusive possession of any other agency, institution or person and this agency, institution or person shall fail or refuse to furnish this information, the recipient shall so certify in its report and shall set forth what efforts it has made to obtain the information.

(d) *Information to beneficiaries and participants.* Each recipient shall make available to participants, beneficiaries, and other interested persons such information regarding the provisions of this part and its applicability to the program under which the recipient receives Federal financial assistance, and make such information available to them in such manner, as the responsible Department official finds necessary to apprise such persons of the protections against discrimination assured them by the Act and this part.

§ 80.7 Conduct of investigations.

(a) *Periodic compliance reviews.* The responsible Department official or his designee shall from time to time review the practices of recipients to determine whether they are complying with this part.

(b) *Complaints.* Any person who believes himself or any specific class of individuals to be subjected to discrimination prohibited by this part may by himself or by a representative file with the responsible Department official or his designee a written complaint. A complaint must be filed not later than 90 days from the date of the alleged discrimination, unless the time for filing is extended by the responsible Department official or his designee.

(c) *Investigations.* The responsible Department official or his designee will make a prompt investigation whenever a compliance review, report, complaint, or any other information indicates a possible failure to comply with this part. The investigation should include, where appropriate, a review of the pertinent practices and policies of the recipient, the circumstances under which the possible noncompliance with this part occurred, and other factors relevant to a determination as to whether the recipient has failed to comply with this part.

(d) *Resolution of matters.* (1) If an investigation pursuant to paragraph (c) of this section indicates a failure to comply with this part, the responsible Department official or his designee will so inform the recipient and the matter will be resolved by informal means whenever possible. If it has been determined that the matter cannot be resolved by informal means, action will be taken as provided for in § 80.8.

(2) If an investigation does not warrant action pursuant to subparagraph (1) of this paragraph the responsible Department official or his designee will so inform the recipient and the complainant, if any, in writing.

(e) *Intimidatory or retaliatory acts prohibited.* No recipient or other person shall intimidate, threaten, coerce, or discriminate against any individual for the purpose of interfering with any right or privilege secured by section 601 of the Act or this part, or because he has made a complaint, testified, assisted, or participated in any manner in an investigation, proceeding, or hearing under this part. The identity of complainants shall be kept confidential except to the extent necessary to carry out the purposes of this part, including the conduct of any investigation, hearing, or judicial proceeding arising thereunder.

§ 80.8 Procedure for effecting compliance.

(a) *General.* If there appears to be a failure or threatened failure to comply with this regulation, and if the noncompliance or threatened noncompliance cannot be corrected by informal means, compliance with this part may be effected by the suspension or termination of or refusal to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance or by any other means authorized by law. Such other means may include, but are not limited to, (1) a reference to the Department of Justice with a recommendation that appropriate proceedings be brought to enforce any rights of the United States under any law of the United States (including other titles of the Act), or any assurance or other contractual undertaking, and (2) any applicable proceeding under State or local law.

(b) *Noncompliance with § 80.4.* If an applicant fails or refuses to furnish an assurance required under § 80.4 or otherwise fails or refuses to comply with a requirement imposed by or pursuant to that section Federal financial assistance may be refused in accordance with the procedures of paragraph (c) of this section. The Department shall not be required to provide assistance in such a case during the pendency of the administrative proceedings under such paragraph except that the Department shall continue assistance during the pendency of such proceedings where such assistance is due and payable pursuant to an application therefor approved prior to the effective date of this part.

(c) *Termination of or refusal to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance.* No order suspending, terminating or refusing to grant or continue Federal financial assistance shall become effective until (1) the responsible Department official has advised the applicant or recipient of his failure to comply and has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means, (2) there has been an express finding on the record, after opportunity for hearing, of a failure by the applicant or recipient to comply with a requirement imposed by or pursuant to this part, (3) the action has been approved by the Secretary pursuant to § 80.10(e), and (4) the expiration of 30 days after the Secretary has filed with the committee of the House and the committee of the Senate having legislative jurisdiction over the program involved, a full written report of the circumstances and the grounds for such action. Any action to suspend or terminate or to refuse to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance shall be limited to the particular political entity, or part thereof, or other applicant or recipient as to whom such a finding has been made and shall be limited in its effect to the particular program, or part thereof, in which such noncompliance has been so found.

(d) *Other means authorized by law.* No action to effect compliance by any other means authorized by law shall be taken until (1) the responsible Department official has determined that compliance cannot be secured by voluntary means, (2) the action has been approved by the Secretary, (3) the recipient or other person has been notified of its failure to comply and of the action to be taken to effect compliance, and (4) the expiration of at least 10 days from the mailing of such notice to the recipient or other person. During this period of at least 10 days additional efforts shall be made to persuade the recipient or other person to comply with the regulation and to take such corrective action as may be appropriate.

§ 80.9 Hearings.

(a) *Opportunity for hearing.* Whenever an opportunity for a hearing is required by § 80.8(c), reasonable notice shall be given by registered or certified mail, return receipt requested, to the affected applicant or recipient. This notice shall advise the applicant or recipient of the action proposed to be taken, the specific provision under which the proposed action against it is to be taken, and the matters of fact or law asserted as the basis for this action, and either (1) fix a date not less than 20 days after the date or such notice within which the applicant or recipient may request of the responsible Department official that the matter be scheduled for hearing or (2) advise the applicant or recipient that the matter in question has been set down for hearing at a stated place and time. The time and place so fixed shall be reasonable and shall be subject to change for cause. The complainant, if any, shall be advised of the time and place of the hearing. An applicant or recipient may waive a hearing and submit written information and argument for the record. The failure of an applicant or recipient to request a hearing under this paragraph or to appear at a hearing for which a date has been set shall be deemed to be a waiver of the right to a hearing under section 602 of the Act and § 80.8 (c) of this part and consent to the making of a decision on the basis of such information as is available.

(b) *Time and place of hearing.* Hearings shall be held at the offices of the Department in Washington, D.C., at a time fixed by the responsible Department official unless he determines that the convenience of the applicant or recipient or of the Department requires that another place be selected. Hearings shall be held before the responsible Department official or, at his discretion, before a hearing examiner designated in accordance with section 11 of the Administrative Procedure Act.

(c) *Right to counsel.* In all proceedings under this section, the applicant or recipient and the Department shall have the right to be represented by counsel.

(d) *Procedures, evidence, and record.* (1) The hearing, decision, and any administrative review thereof shall be conducted in conformity with sections 5–8 of the Administrative Procedure Act, and in accordance with such rules of procedure as are proper (and not inconsistent with this section) relating to the conduct of the hearing, giving of notices subsequent to those provided for in paragraph (a) of this section, taking of testimony, exhibits, arguments and briefs, requests for findings, and other related matters. Both the Department and the applicant or recipient shall be entitled to introduce all relevant evidence on the issues as stated in the notice for hearing or as determined by the officer conducting the hearing at the outset of or during the hearing.

(2) Technical rules of evidence shall not apply to hearings conducted pursuant to this part, but rules or principles designed to assure production of the most credible evidence available and to subject testimony to test by cross-examination shall be applied where reasonably necessary by the officer conducting the hearing. The hearing officer may exclude irrelevant, immaterial, or unduly repetitious evidence. All documents and other evidence offered or taken for the record shall be open to examination by the parties and opportunity shall be given to refute facts and arguments advanced on either side of the issues. A transcript shall be made of the oral evidence except to the extent the substance thereof is stipulated for the record. All decisions shall be based upon the hearing record and written findings shall be made.

(e) *Consolidated or Joint Hearings.* In cases in which the same or related facts are asserted to constitute noncompliance with this regulation with respect to two or more programs to which this part applies, or noncompliance with this part and the regulations of one or more other Federal departments or agencies issued under Title VI of the Act, the Secretary may, by agreement with such other departments or agencies where applicable, provide for the conduct of consolidated or joint hearings, and for the application to such hearings of rules of procedures not inconsistent with this part. Final decisions in such cases, insofar as this regulation is concerned, shall be made in accordance with § 80.10.

§ 80.10 Decisions and notices.

(a) *Decision by person other than the responsible Department official.* If the hearing is held by a hearing examiner such hearing examiner shall either make an initial decision, if so authorized, or certify the entire record including his recommended findings and proposed decision to the responsible Department official for a final decision, and a copy of such initial decision or certification shall be mailed to the applicant or recipient. Where the initial decision is made by the hearing examiner the applicant or recipient may within 30 days of the mailing of such notice of initial decision file with the responsible Department official his exceptions to the initial decision, with his reasons therefor. In the absence of exceptions, the responsible Department official may on his own motion within 45 days after the initial decision serve on the applicant or recipient a notice that he will review the decision. Upon the filing of such exceptions or of such notice of review the responsible Department official shall review the initial decision and issue his own decision thereon including the reasons therefor. In the absence of either exceptions or a notice of review the initial decision shall constitute the final decision of the responsible Department official.

(b) *Decisions on record or review by the responsible Department official.* Whenever a record is certified to the responsible Department official for decision or he reviews the decision of a hearing examiner pursuant to paragraph (a) of this section, or whenever the responsible Department official conducts the hearing, the applicant or recipient shall be given reasonable opportunity to file with him briefs or other written statements of its contentions, and a copy of the final decision of the responsible Department official shall be given in writing to the applicant or recipient and to the complainant, if any.

(c) *Decisions on record where a hearing is waived.* Whenever a hearing is waived pursuant to § 80.9(a) a decision shall be made by the responsible departmental official on the record and a copy of such decision shall be given in writing to the applicant or recipient, and to the complainant, if any.

(d) *Rulings required.* Each decision of a hearing officer or responsible Department official shall set forth his ruling on each finding, conclusion, or exception presented, and shall identify the requirement or requirements imposed by or pursuant to this part with which it is found that the applicant or recipient has failed to comply.

(e) *Approval by Secretary.* Any final decision of a responsible Department official (other than the Secretary) which provides for the suspension or termination of, or the refusal to grant or continue Federal financial assistance, or the imposition of any other sanction available under this part or the Act, shall promptly be transmitted to the Secretary, who may approve such decision, may vacate it, or remit or mitigate any sanction imposed.

(f) *Content of orders.* The final decision may provide for suspension or termination of, or refusal to grant or continue Federal financial assistance, in whole or in part, under the program involved, and may contain such terms, conditions, and other provisions as are consistent with and will effectuate the purposes of the Act and this part, including provisions designed to assure that no Federal financial assistance will thereafter be extended under such program to the applicant or recipient determined by such decision to be in default in its performance of an assurance given by it pursuant to this part, or to have otherwise failed to comply with this part, unless and until it corrects its noncompliance and satisfies the responsible Department official that it will fully comply with this part.

§ 80.11 Judicial review.

Action taken pursuant to section 602 of the Act is subject to judicial review as provided in section 603 of the Act.

§ 80.12 Effect on other regulations; forms and instructions.

(a) *Effect on other regulations.* All regulations, orders, or like directions heretofore issued by any officer of the Department which impose requirements designed to prohibit any discrimination against individuals on the ground of race, color, or national origin under any program to which this part applies, and which authorize the suspension or termination of or refusal to grant or to continue Federal financial assistance to any applicant for or recipient of such assistance under such program for failure to comply with such requirements, are hereby superseded to the extent that such discrimination is prohibited by this part, except that nothing in this part shall be deemed to relieve any person of any obligation assumed or imposed under any such superseded regulation, order, instruction, or like direction prior to the effective date of this part. Nothing in this part, however, shall be deemed to supersede any of the following (including future amendments thereof): (1) Executive Orders 10925 and 11114 and regulations issued thereunder, (2) the "Standards for a Merit System of Personnel Administration," issued jointly by the Secretaries of Defense, of Health, Education, and Welfare, and of Labor, 28 F.R. 734, or (3) Executive Order 11063 and regulations issued thereunder, or any other regulations or instructions, insofar as such Order, regulations, or instructions prohibit discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin in any program or situation to which this part is inapplicable, or prohibit discrimination on any other ground.

(b) *Forms and instructions.* Each responsible Department official shall issue and promptly make available to interested persons forms and detailed instructions and procedures for effectuating this part as applied to programs to which this part applies and for which he is responsible.

(c) *Supervision and coordination.* The Secretary may from time to time assign to officials of the Department, or to officials of other departments or agencies of the Government with the consent of such departments or agencies, responsibilities in connection with the effectuation of the purposes of title VI of the Act and this part (other than responsibility for final decision as provided in § 80.10), including the achievement of effective coordination and maximum uniformity within the Department and within the Executive Branch of the Government in the application of title VI and this part to similar programs and in similar situations.

§ 80.13 Definitions.

As used in this part—

(a) The term "Department" means the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and includes each of its operating agencies and other organizational units.

(b) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(c) The term "responsible Department official" with respect to any program receiving Federal financial assistance means the Secretary or other official of the Department who by law or by delegation has the principal responsibility within the Department for the administration of the law extending such assistance.

(d) The term "United States" means the States of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and the territories and possessions of the United States, and the term "State" means any one of the foregoing.

(e) The term "Federal financial assistance" includes (1) grants and loans of Federal funds, (2) the grant or donation of Federal property and interests in property, (3) the detail of Federal personnel, (4) the sale and lease of, and the permission to use (on other than a casual or transient basis), Federal property or any interest in such property without consideration or at a nominal consideration, or at a consideration which is reduced for the purpose of assisting the recipient, or in recognition of the public interest to be served by such sale or lease to the recipient, and (5) any Federal agreement, arrangement, or other contract which has as one of its purposes the provision of assistance.

(f) The term "program" includes any program, project, or activity for the provision of services, financial aid, or other benefits to individuals (including education or training, health, welfare, rehabilitation, housing, or other services, whether provided through employees of the recipient of Federal financial assistance or provided by others through contracts or other arrangements with the recipient, and including work opportunities and cash or loan or other assistance to individuals), or for the provision of facilities for furnishing services, financial aid or other benefits to individuals. The services, financial aid, or other benefits provided under a program receiving Federal financial assistance shall be deemed to include any services, financial aid, or other benefits provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance or with the aid of any non-Federal funds, property, or other resources required to be expended or made available for the program to meet matching requirements or other conditions which must be met in order to receive the Federal financial assistance, and to include any services, financial aid, or other benefits provided in or through a facility provided with the aid of Federal financial assistance or such non-Federal resources.

(g) The term "facility" includes all or any portion of structures, equipment, or other real or personal property or interests therein, and the provision of facilities includes the construction, expansion, renovation, remodeling, alteration or acquisition of facilities.

(h) The term "recipient" means any State, political subdivision of any State, or instrumentality of any State or political subdivision, any public or private agency, institution, or organization, or other entity, or any individual, in any State, to whom Federal financial assistance is extended, directly or through another recipient, for any program, including any successor, assign, or transferee thereof, but such term does not include any ultimate beneficiary under any such program.

(i) The term "primary recipient" means any recipient which is authorized or required to extend Federal financial assistance to another recipient for the purpose of carrying out a program.

(j) The term "applicant" means one who submits an application, request, or plan required to be approved by a responsible Department official, or by a primary recipient, as a condition to eligibility for Federal financial assistance, and the term "application" means such an application, request, or plan.

Effective date. This part shall become effective on the 30th day following the date of its publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER.

Dated: November 27, 1964.

[SEAL] ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Approved: December 3, 1964.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

APPENDIX A

PROGRAMS TO WHICH THIS PART APPLIES

Part 1. *Programs other than State-administered continuing programs.*

1. Experimental hospital facilities (sec. 624, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 291n).

2. Health research facilities (title VII, part A, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 292–292j).

3. Teaching facilities for medical, dental, and other health personnel (title VII, part B, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 293–293h; secs. 801–804, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 296, 296a–c).

4. Mental retardation research facilities (title VII, part D, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 295–295e).

5. University affiliated mental retardation facilities (part B, Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act, 42 U.S.C. 2661–2665).

6. Heart disease laboratories and related facilities for patient care (sec. 412(d), Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 287a(d)).

7. Municipal sewage treatment works (sec. 6, Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466e).

8. Loans for acquisition of science, mathematics, and foreign language equipment (title III, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 445).

9. Construction of facilities for institutions of higher education (Higher Education Facilities Act, 20 U.S.C. 701–757).

10. School construction in Federally-affected areas (20 U.S.C. 631–645).

11. Educational television broadcasting facilities (47 U.S.C. 390–397).

12. Surplus real and related personal property disposal (40 U.S.C. 484(k)).

13. George Washington University Hospital construction (76 Stat. 83, P.L. 87–460, May 31, 1962).

14. Loan service of captioned films for the deaf (42 U.S.C. 2491–2494).

15. Residential vocational education schools (20 U.S.C. 35l).

16. Department projects under the Public Works Acceleration Act (P.L. 87–658).

17. Research projects, including conferences, communication activities and primate or other center grants (secs. 301, 303, 308, 624, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 241, 242a, 242f, 291n; sec. 4, Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466c; sec. 3, Clean Air Act, 42 U.S.C. 1857b).

18. General research support (sec. 301(d), Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 241).

19. Community health studies and demonstrations (sec. 316, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 247a).

20. Mental health demonstrations and administrative studies (sec. 303(a)(2), Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 242a).

21. Migratory workers health services (sec. 310, Public Health Service Act, 76 Stat. 592, P.L. 87–692, Sept. 25, 1962).

22. Intensive vaccination projects (sec. 317, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 247b).

23. Tuberculosis and venereal disease control projects (current appropriation Act, P.L. 88–605).

24. Air pollution demonstration and survey projects and control programs (secs. 3 and 4, Clean Air Act, 42 U.S.C. 1857b, 1857c).

25. Water pollution demonstration grants (sec. 4(a)(2), Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466c).

26. Health research training projects and fellowship grants (secs. 301, 433, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 241, 289c).

27. Categorical (heart, cancer, air pollution, etc.) grants for training, traineeships or fellowships (secs. 303, 433, etc., Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 242a, 289c, etc.; sec. 3, Clean Air Act, 42 U.S.C. 1857b; sec. 4, Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466c).

28. Advanced professional nurse traineeships, improvement in nurse training and partial reimbursement to diploma schools of nursing (secs. 805, 806, 821, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 296d, 296e, 297).

29. Grants to institutions for traineeships for professional public health personnel (sec. 306, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 242d).

30. Grants to schools for specialized training in public health (sec. 309, Public Health Service Act, 242g).

31. Grants for special vocational rehabilitation projects (sec. 4, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 29 U.S.C. 34).

32. Experimental, pilot or demonstration projects to promote the objectives of title I, IV, X, XIV, or XVI of the Social Security Act (sec. 1115, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1315).

33. Social security and welfare cooperative research or demonstration projects (sec. 1110, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1310).

34. Child welfare research, training or demonstration projects (sec. 526, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 726).

35. Research projects relating to maternal and child health services and crippled children's services (sec. 532, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 729a).

36. Maternal and child health special project grants to institutions of higher learning (sec. 502(b), Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 702(b)).

37. Maternity and infant care special project grants to local health agencies (sec. 531, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 726).

38. Special project grants to institutions of higher learning for crippled children's services (sec. 512(b), Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 712 (b)).

39. Demonstration and evaluation projects and training of personnel in the field of juvenile delinquency (Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961 (42 U.S.C. 2541, et seq.)).

40. Cooperative educational research (20 U.S.C. 331–332).

41. Language research (title VI, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 512).

42. Research in new educational media (title VII, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 541–542).

43. Research, training, and demonstration projects under Vocational Education Act of 1963 (sec. 4(c), 20 U.S.C. 35c(c)).

44. Grants for research and demonstration projects in education of handicapped children (20 U.S.C. 618).

45. Training grants for welfare personnel (sec. 705, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 906).

46. Allowances to institutions training graduate fellows or other trainees (title IV, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 461–465; sec. 4, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 29 U.S.C. 34; secs. 301, 433, etc., Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 241, 289(c), etc.; sec. 3, Clean Air Act, 42 U.S.C. 1857b; sec. 4, Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466c).

47. Grants for teaching and the training of teachers for the education of handicapped children (20 U.S.C. 611–617).

48. Training persons in the use of films for the deaf (42 U.S.C. 2493(b) (4)).

49. Training for teachers of the deaf (20 U.S.C. 671–676).

50. Research in the use of educational and training films for the deaf (42 U.S.C. 2493 (a)).

51. Operation and maintenance of schools in Federally-affected areas (20 U.S.C. 236–244).

52. Grants for teacher training and employment of specialists in desegregation problems (sec. 405, Civil Rights Act of 1964, P.L. 88–352).

53. Issuance to agencies or organizations of rent-free permits for operation, on Federal property in the custody of the Department, of vending stands for the blind, credit unions, Federal employee associations, etc. (Randolph-Sheppard Vending Stand Act, 20 U.S.C. 107–107f; 45 CFR Part 20; sec. 25, Federal Credit Union Act, 12 U.S.C. 1770; etc.)

54. Higher education student loan program (title II, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 421–429).

55. Health professions school student loan program (title VII, Part C, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 294; secs. 822–828, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 297 a–g).

56. Land-grant college aid (7 U.S.C. 301–329).

57. Language and area centers (title VI, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 511–513).

58. American Printing House for the Blind (20 U.S.C. 101–105).

59. Future Farmers of America (36 U.S.C. 271–291) and similar programs.

60. Science Clubs (20 U.S.C. 2 (note)).

61. Howard University (20 U.S.C. 121–131).

62. Gallaudet College (31 D.C. Code, Ch. 10).

63. Hawaii leprosy payments (sec. 331, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 255).

64. Grants to schools of public health for provision of comprehensive training and specialized services and assistance (sec. 314(c), Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 246(c)).

65. Grants to agencies and organizations under Cuban Refugee program (22 U.S.C. 2601(b) (4)).

66. Grants for construction of hospitals serving Indians (P.L. 85–151, 42 U.S.C. 2005).

67. Indian Sanitation Facilities (P.L. 86–121, 42 U.S.C. 2004a).

68. Areawide planning of health facilities (sec. 318, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 247c).

69. Training institutes under sec. 511 of the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended (20 U.S.C. 491) and under title XI of such Act as added by P.L. 88–665 (20 U.S.C. 591–592).

Part 2. *State-administered continuing programs.*

1. Grants to States for control of venereal disease, tuberculosis, and for public health services (heart, cancer, mental health, radiological health, etc.) (sec. 314, Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 246), and current appropriation act).

2. Grants to States for water pollution control (sec. 5, Federal Water Pollution Control Act, 33 U.S.C. 466d).

3. Grants to States for vocational rehabilitation services (sec. 2, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 29 U.S.C. 32).

4. Grants to States for projects to extend and improve vocational rehabilitation services (sec. 3, Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 29 U.S.C. 33).

5. Designation of State licensing agency for blind operators of vending stands (Randolph-Sheppard Vending Stand Act, 20 U.S.C. 107–107f).

6. Grants to States for old-age assistance and medical assistance for the aged (title I, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 301–306).

7. Grants to States for aid and services to needy families with children (title IV, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 601–609).

8. Grants to States for aid to the blind (title X, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1201–1206).

9. Grants to States for aid to the permanently and totally disabled (title XIV, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1351–1355).

10. Grants to States for aid to the aged, blind or disabled or for such aid and medical assistance for the aged (title XVI, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1381–1385).

11. Grants to States for maternal and child health services (title V, part 1, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 701–705).

12. Grants to States for services for crippled children (title V, part 2, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 711–715).

13. Grants to States for special projects for maternity and infant care (sec. 531, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 729).

14. Grants to States for child welfare services (title V, part 3, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 721–725, 727, 728).

15. Grants to States for public library services and construction (20 U.S.C. sec. 351–358; P.L. 88–269).

16. Grants to States for strengthening science, mathematics, and modern foreign language instruction (title III, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 441–444).

17. Grants to States for guidance, counseling and testing of students (title V–A, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 481–484).

18. Grants to States for educational statistics services (sec. 1009, National Defense Education Act, 20 U.S.C. 589).

19. Surplus personal property disposal donations for health and educational purposes through State agencies (40 U.S.C. 484(j)).

20. Grants to States for hospital and medical facilities (title VI, Public Health Service Act, 42 U.S.C. 291–291z).

21. Grants to States for community mental health centers construction (Community Mental Health Centers Act, 42 U.S.C. 2681–2688).

22. Grants to States for vocational education (Smith-Hughes Act, 20 U.S.C. 11–15, 16–28; George-Barden Act, 20 U.S.C. 15i–15q, 15aa–15jj, 15aaa–15ggg; Supplementary Acts, 20 U.S.C. 30–34.

23. Grants to States for mental retardation facilities (Part C, Mental Retardation Facilities Construction Act, 42 U.S.C. 2671–2377).

24. Arrangements with State vocational education agencies for training under the Area Redevelopment Act and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (42 U.S.C. 2513(c), 2601, 2602).

25. Grants to States for comprehensive planning for mental retardation (title XVII, Social Security Act, 42 U.S.C. 1391–1394).

[F.R. Doc. 64–12539; Filed, Dec. 3, 1964; 4:23 p.m.]

in the matter of the ala state bd of pensions and securities and the ala state dept of pensions and security. docket no cr-1 , compliance proceedings, pursuant to sect 602 of the cr act of 1964. and the regulations of the dept of hew. issued pursuant thereto. action of the sec of hew: agency admins programs under titles I IV V (part 3) X XIV of the soc sec act. the programs provide for old age assis and med assis for the aged. aid to fam w dep children. child welf svces. aid to the blind. aid to the permanantly disabled. 20% of the funds for svces are pd to a third party. (rest admin by bd)

ala says unfair and shld be given an opp to present current evidence.

want to incorp title 19 into procedings: delay tactic.

ala attacks validity and legality of hew regulats. say they have no control over 3rd party. ((as doctor)) ala says will only comply by ct interp.

hew negot 2 yrs. assignment of case workers to beneficiaries on base of race is illegal by sect 604 , title 6. in 3rd party payments the benefic and not the state agency selects the 1 to provide the services. also argue commissioner king said he do everything within his control to comply.

agency wishes to comply. with any legally effective law rules or regulat. but does not consider the title 6 hew reg legally effective in ala.

ala obj to some statemen s made by the hearing examiner in his report.

example : examiner says that ala gives $ to a completely destitute person; ala objects becse they say give that to any needy person. (picayune))

sep but equal... said not so. the agency objected to being required to seek "sociolgical purity of the suppliers of services to the indigent."

the agency says it has sought compliance on the basis that no beneficiary is denied benefits in ala becse of race...even tho such benefits may be provided on a segregated or discriminatory basis... agency implies that physicians offices are not covered by title 6.

shldnt be required to boycott 3rd party. agency feels that only some discrim exists in some office bldgs (counties etc.) agency contests that the time limits for replies, hearings, etc. too short. (2 yrs) the agency says that the compliance statement (form 441: assurance of compliance) not authorized by cr act.

conclusions: the sec (gardner) approves the decis of the commiss of wlfare (mrs. winston) that the non compliance of the ala welfare agency w th title 6 requires the terminat of fed assis until compliance can be achieved. 2. again the sec invites ala to comply. 3. the sec filed a report jan 12, 1967 to the ways and means committee of the hse of rep. and with the senate finance committee as required by the cr act of 1964. ~~3~~ 4. the decis terminating fed financial assis will become effective at midnight feb 28, 1967.

#####

wallace saying $90 mil. ???

not incl soc sec etc.

major violations: dont meant to comply at all. ~~xxxxxxx~~assignmnt case workers to benefic on the base of race is excluded by sect 604 title 6.

sect 604
not matter of emply/but svce rendered... drs bldgs caseworker ...

Pat

1. Compliance with Title 6 / those parts of the Alabam Public Asst & Welfare Programs which do not involve 3rd party "vendors" would enable

HEW to continue
providing more
than 80% of the
$ mil
approximately 93
that the Ed Gov.
cont. annually to
the Ala programs.
2 newspapers say
when quoting Wal

96 nice .., newspaper when quoting W. say #95.8.

From:

Sam Younge, Region IV, Program Coordination Officer, CR

File: U.S. Govt Agencies

EEOC Justice

1. Asbestos Workers (New Orleans, La.) Trial Held awaiting Judge Christenberry's decision, anticipated outcome favorable - issue: Failure to refer Negroes, exclusion of Negroes from union.

2. Dillon Supply - (North Carolina) - complaint filed ; no answer to date; issue classfication of Negroes at time of hire to menial, lower paying classfications.

3. Sturges-Newport- (Virginia) complaint about to be filed, final effort to settle scheduled for late March, issue discriminatory seniority system and classifications

4. Wortham Bog - (Tennessee) Justice negotiating a settlement, issue: exclusion of Negroes from skilled and semi-skilled job classifications.

5. Williamson (Georgia State Employment Service) Georgia, complaint filed, negotiations toward settlement proceeding issue: discriminatory, refusal to refer qualified Negroes.

6. Ligget and Myers (Richmond, Va) no action as yet by Justice issue: Discriminatory classfication of Negro females.

7. EmM.C. Plastics (Texas) no action as yet by Justice issue: discriminatory classification and wage differentials.

8. H.K. Porter Co., (Birmingham, Ala) no action as yet by Justice, issue: discriminatory classification, seniority system, segregated facilities.

9. Masonite (Mississippi)no action as yet by Justice; issue: seniorityand job classification.

10. Alabama By-Products (Birmingham, Ala) no action as yet by Justice. issue discriminatory ~~seniority~~ ~~se~~seniority

11. Pullman Standard (Birmingham, Ala) - no action as yet by Justice issue: Discrimination, refusal to promote.

12. H.L. Polk, (Alabama, Virginia) no action as yet by Justice, issue: discrimination refusla to hire, limiting use of Negroes to work in Negro neighborhoods.

13. St. Louis Archway (Missouri) complaint filed, answer filed ready for trial refusal to refer Negroes for work on construction project in skilled crafts.

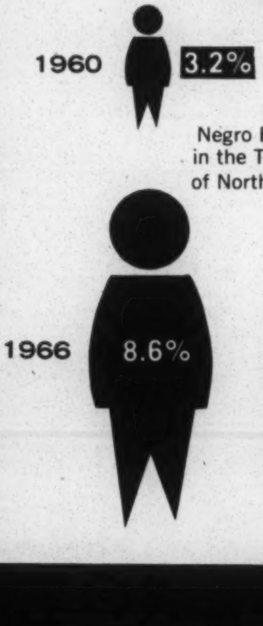
14. First Citizen Bank of New Bern, S. C. and (15) Colgate= Palmolive-Peet (sex case) - Justice refused to file a complaint

CROSS REFERENCE

For correspondence on William E. Foley, Deputy Director, Administrative Offices of the United States Courts, Supreme Court Bldg., Washington, see

Requests for Information

TEXTILES ARE GETTING A NEW LOOK



Negro Employees in the Textile Mills of North & South Carolina

The number of Negroes in textile jobs has been growing since 1960—and especially since Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

HOW YOU FIT INTO THE PICTURE

ABOUT YOUR RIGHTS

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

REGIONAL OFFICE:

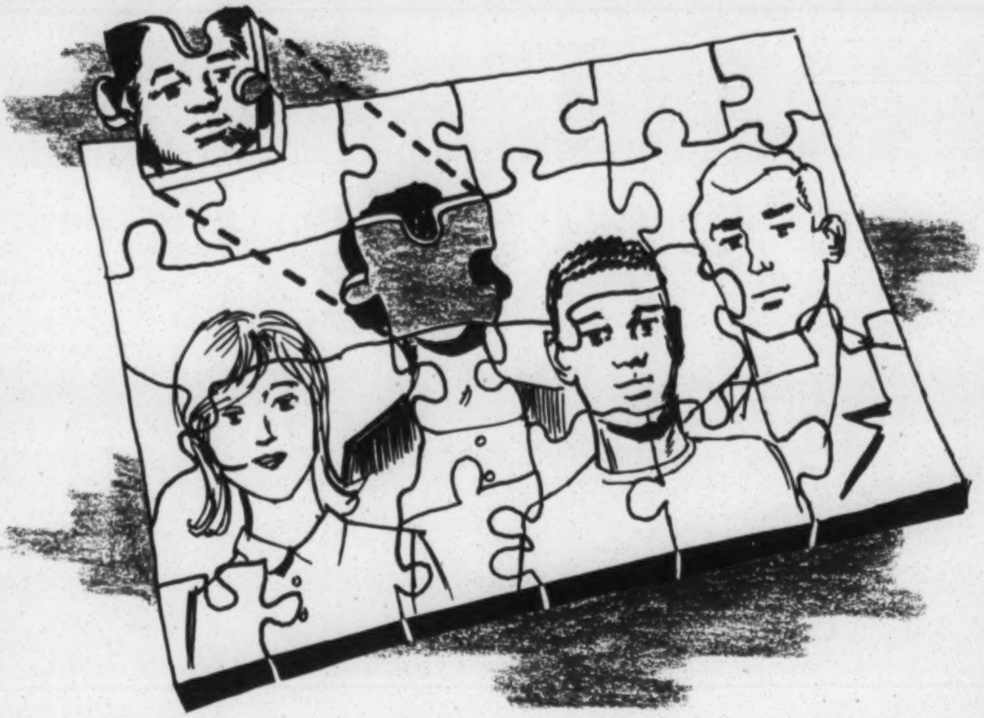
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 417
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

GPO : 1967 O—270-069

YOU

FIT INTO THIS PICTURE

IF



- ✓ You have never worked in a mill or factory before, but would like to.
- ✓ You work in a mill or factory, but believe you have not moved up because of your race or sex.
- ✓ You are a minority-group woman who would like a textile job.
- ✓ You are a high-school student wondering about career opportunities.

HOW YOU FIT INTO THE PICTURE

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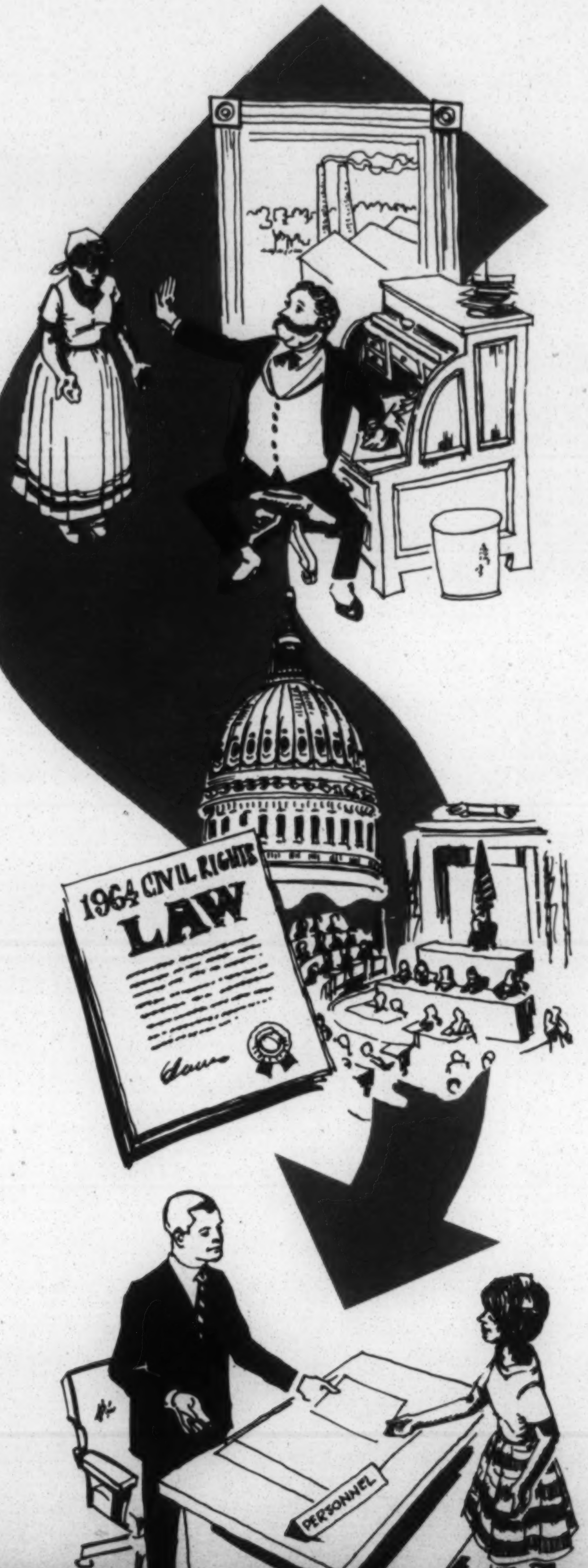
REGIONAL OFFICE:

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 417
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

GPO : 1967 O—270-069


1964 CIVIL RIGHTS
LAW
PERSONNEL

UNDER THE LAW, NO ONE MAY BE DISCRIMINATED AGAINST BECAUSE OF RACE OR SEX—IN HIRING, PAY, PROMOTION OR WORKING CONDITIONS.

In 1964 the U. S. Congress passed a Civil Rights Law. It says that employers, unions and employment services cannot discriminate against people because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

As a result, many employers who did not do so before now hire people without regard to these factors.

Unfortunately, not every employer understands his responsibilities under the law. Some may hire non-whites for some kinds of jobs and not other kinds. Some may place only men or only women in jobs which either could perform. Some may pay women less than men or non-whites less then whites.

If you have questions about equal job opportunity in your area, write to the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission:

Regional Director
EEOC—Room 417
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

ABOUT YOUR RIGHTS

WHY INDUSTRY?
WHY TEXTILES?

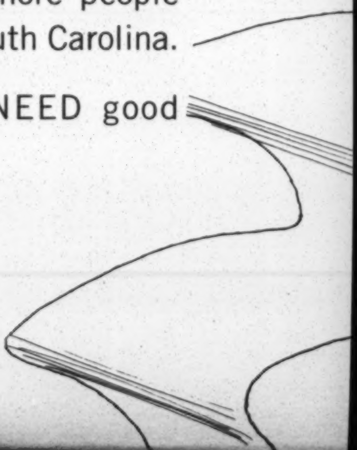
1 Because job opportunities for minorities—including minority-group women—are better in industry than ever before.

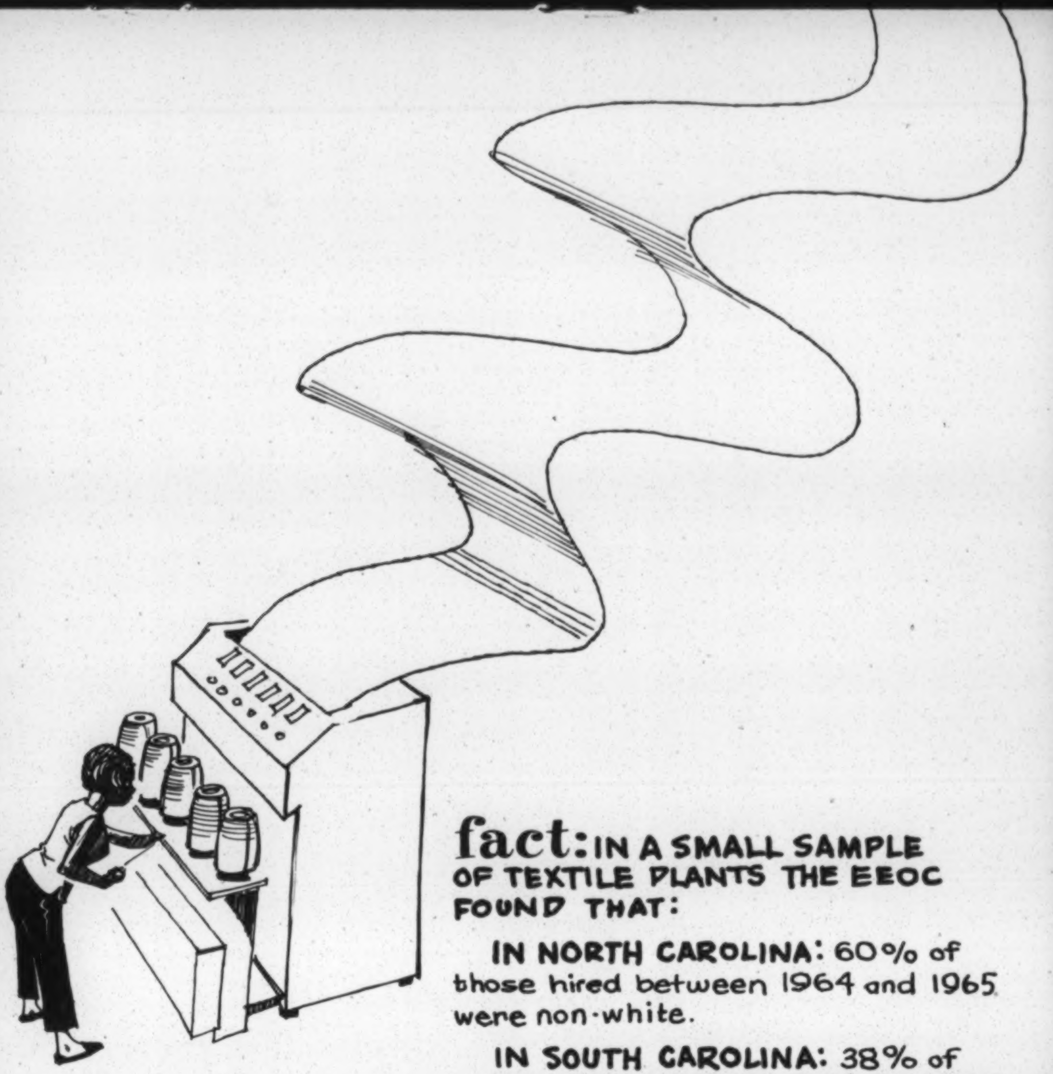
2 Because industrial jobs offer many people a chance to make a better living. (For instance, half the non-white families of North Carolina have an income of less than $2,000 a year, considerably below the $4,000 average wage paid in North Carolina textile mills.) Many industrial workers now in high-paid jobs got their start in a textile mill.

3 Because textile mills are usually located in small towns and rural areas, offering almost the only industry jobs nearby.

4 Because the textile industry employs more people than any other industry in North and South Carolina.

5 Because most textile mills today NEED good employees.





fact: IN A SMALL SAMPLE OF TEXTILE PLANTS THE EEOC FOUND THAT:

IN NORTH CAROLINA: 60% of those hired between 1964 and 1965 were non-white.

IN SOUTH CAROLINA: 38% of those hired between 1964 and 1965 were non-white.

5 REASONS TO APPLY FOR A JOB IN INDUSTRY

HOW TO GET A JOB

“THEY SAY...”

If you live in North Carolina

The following Community Action Programs, financed mostly by Federal money, can advise you about training or job opportunities:

CHARLOTTE:

Charlotte Bureau of Employment,
Training and Placement
401 East 2nd Street
Charlotte, N. C.
Phone: 372-3290 (Area Code 704)

DURHAM:

Operation Breakthrough
114 Parrish Street
Durham, N. C.
Phone: 688-8111 (Area Code 919)

WINSTON-SALEM:

Experiment in Self-Reliance
Room 823–Government Center Building
Main and West 3rd Streets
Winston-Salem, N. C.
Phone 723-8831 (Area Code 919)

...in South Carolina

COLUMBIA:

Project T Square
Columbia Hall–Room 306
Gervais and Sumter Streets
Columbia, S. C.
Phone 252-0240 (Area Code 803)

Project Assist
1920 Blossom Street
Columbia, S. C.
Phone 256-3666 (Area Code 803)

In addition, inquire at the State Employment office about job and training opportunities in industry.

There are Government-financed textile training programs in the following cities:

Lancaster
Orr-Lyons
Gaffney

Greenville
Columbia
Clinton
St. Stephen
Ft. Mill

APPLY AT THE MILLS OR PLANTS IN YOUR AREA. Ask about training opportunities.

TEXTILE MILL EMPLOYMENT OFFICE

JOBS
JOBS
JOBS

APPLY AT THE NEAREST OFFICE of the Employment Security Commission of North Carolina or the Employment Service of South Carolina.

ARE YOU A MINORITY-GROUP TEXTILE WORKER? Try for a promotion.

ARE YOU A MINORITY-GROUP WOMAN? Apply for a job at the mill or plant.

JOB OPPORTUNITY

HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT? Ask your counselor or principal about setting up vocational training classes in cooperation with textile mills. Invite the mill's personnel director to speak to your class about career opportunities in textiles.

HOW TO GET A JOB

“THEY SAY...”

As part of its study of job opportunities for non-whites in the textile industry of North and South Carolina, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission held a public forum in Charlotte, N. C., on January 12-13, 1967. Speakers at the Forum said that most textile companies used to hire minorities for only the lowest-paid jobs. But today opportunities for non-whites are considerably better in most mills.

Some who spoke said:

"Today there are unequaled opportunities for Federal and State governmental assistance, as well as aid from private resources in providing training programs. I trust that there will be industry initiative to utilize all of these resources, and that they will be brought to bear in a very special way on the problems of securing quality employment for Negro men and women."

—Dr. Emory Via, Southern Regional Council

"In spite of the apprehensions on the part of some people, we have met with very little unfavorable reaction in the implementation of our Equal Employment Opportunity commitment in our plants. This includes those operating in North Carolina and South Carolina."

—Leighton C. Dunlap, Dupont Corporation

". . . whatever program may come out of this meeting, or whatever program you and your associates may recommend after this meeting, the American textile industry stands ready and willing to talk with you at any time and to aid you in implementing whatever program you and we together feel would be in the best interest of all Americans everywhere, regardless of race."

—F. S. Love, Secretary-Treasurer
American Textile Manufacturers Institute

"I would say that the biggest percentage of job placements in the area have been Negroes. We have put them in on-the-job training as weavers or spinners or whatever job may be available . . . Those that have completed their courses are still employed in these plants and are doing well."

—Joseph J. Vale, Executive Director,
Kings Mountain Area Industrial Association

"We firmly believe that:

First, the textile management has an affirmative obligation to more effectively utilize Negro manpower resources, eliminate the pattern of marginal utilization and token accommodations; employ Negroes in depth, across the board, the entire range of job categories, technical, professional, secretarial, as well as production.

"Second, we reject the notion that Negroes are not qualified. They can be trained. One is not born a textile worker.

"Next, we certainly feel that the State Employment Service can do more in assisting Negroes to obtain equal job opportunities.

"Since the textile industry enjoys so many forms of Federal protection, they have an obligation also to employ all citizens equally."

—Kelly Alexander, President, N.C. Conference of Branches,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

"Undoubtedly, migration from rural farm areas by Negroes will continue as demand for farm labor decreases and Negroes seek better economic and social opportunity off the farm. The important lesson for the South and for the Carolinas and for . . . manufacturing industries is this: As population in and around cities expands, rural non-farm areas are complemented by increases in employment opportunities. And the significant part of this in the Carolinas is to be oriented around the textile industry because of its dominance as a manufacturing industry.

—Dr. Vivian Henderson, President,
Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia

"North Carolinians have accepted the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in a peaceful and law-abiding manner. A great majority of our citizens are beginning to realize that for moral, patriotic and economic reasons, we must strive for greater equality of our citizens . . .

"The Negro has been caught in a vicious circle. This, however, is a new day. The Negro, now by statute, has a chance."

—D. S. Coltrane, Chairman,
North Carolina Good Neighbor Council

"The Southern textile industry has a greater opportunity to fulfill the expectations of Title VII (Equal Employment Opportunity requirement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964) than any other business or manufacturing concern. This industry . . . is the backbone in the framework of the South Carolina economy. Cotton mills and related industries employ a larger work force than all other industries combined in South Carolina."

—I. DeQuincey Newman, President, S. C. Conference of Branches,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

" THEY SAY... "

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

REGIONAL OFFICE:
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Room 417
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

GPO : 1967 O—270-069

June 3, 1963

Federal Aid for Highways
Bureau of Public Roads
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have a state-by-state breakdown of federal funds allocated for Federal Aid for Highways in 1962 and projected for allocation in 1963. If there is a charge for this report, please enclose statement.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

June 3, 1963

U. S. Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Research Division
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We would like to obtain a state-by-state listing of grants-in-aid allocations by the Department, both amounts given in 1962 and amounts projected for 1963, the latter to include the mental health program.

If there is a charge for this, please include statement.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

June 3, 1963

Southern Research Institute
2009 Ninth Avenue South
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Sirs:

We would like very much to have a copy of a speech or news release which was distributed by you recently containing information on new industry in Alabama (statewide). If there is a charge for this, please include statement of cost.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Research Associate

Memo : from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Dept. of
Health, Edu. & Welfare
Regional Fam Office
P'tree 7th Bldg. Tr 6-3311

write Washing 6-3-63

Housing & Home Finance Agency
Regional Office, Region III
P'tree 7th Bldg. Tr 6-3311

Bruce Wedge ← 468
(Fred Smith)
5482
will mail

Urban Renewal program

Who allocates funds for Fed Highways?

October 22, 1959

Dr. John A. Griffin
Director of University Relations
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear John:

Ed Ball called this morning, and we are now clear about the figures; they were typos, as I suspected. Many thanks for helping to get this straight.

Pass this letter to your secretary and ask her to try to get us copies of the two speeches which you told me about in your letter of October 13, if they were mimeographed. We would be especially interested in the one on Negro intelligence. You may remember that one of our L Reports a few weeks back reproduced that old statement by a group of social scientists on intelligence and race. Literally, we have been amazed at the response (as I dictated that, Mrs. Albright informed me that we are running off another 200 today). I would have thought that this would have been old hat to nearly everyone; on the contrary it has aroused as much interest as some publications in which we invested money and effort. Many of the requests for bulk order copies, incidentally, are coming from Negro teachers and principals in Florida. At any rate, we are thinking of getting something else done along this line, pointed toward the academic experience and achievement of Negro and white public school students. I am going out to Emory tomorrow to talk this around a bit with Ed Ladd and Ross Green; if it somes off, however, I would like to get it done by someone other than an Emory professor; do you have a good educationist in Florida State?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

April 5, 1960

Professor John Griffin
Florida State College Univ
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear John:

I heard from a couple of people about the issue of the Flambeau containing an article by Virginia Delavin recounting her~~e~~ experiences with the Tallahassee police. Do you think you could get us one or two copies of this issue? or other issues which have pertinent campus comment?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 18, 1960

Mr. John A. Griffin
Director
Office of University Relations
The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear John:

I spoke last Thursday in Mobile, at the Southern Labor School, on the assigned topic "Social Problems of the South;" so you can imagine with what feelings I had opened your envelope and found the manuscript prepared by you for a class on "Social Problems of the South"! The chastity of your work is still intact, however, though the temptation to possess it was strong.

It is, I think, very good, especially the section on the South's changing economy. I suspect you'll want to wait for 1960 census data before thinking of publication, but the analytical framework is there. I do have this one suggestion, which applies not only to what you have done, but to any writing on southern economics: it seems to me needful to consider and react to the two recent books, Becker's *Economics of Discrimination* and Nicholls' *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress*. Incidentally, Donald Dewey, who was at Duke and is moving to Columbia, is writing a pamphlet for us on segregation's effects on the South's manpower supply; it was to be done in the Spring and he promises it now for November.

Your staff is so pertinent and so much along lines we have been thinking about that I am encouraged to unload some of my problems on you; maybe you can suggest a way out. In the first place, we developed some ideas for a large study of the costs of segregation, and the Twentieth Century Fund has been (still is, I hope) considering it. We would not do the work, or course; the notion was that the Fund would seek to interest a crew of economists in it.

But we have had in mind a couple other things, neither of which I have had time to get off the ground. One is a study of Negro income and buying power, with regional breakdown. There is a great deal of hard data and fugitive material which, if someone could take the time to track down and assemble, would be worth having.

Our bigger interest, however, is the preparation of something we conceived six months or more ago, and which we thought of as a sort of businessman's guide to the South. We thought it would have value not only in itself, as stressing business responsibilities, but also as a support for Ben Muse's work. Generally, what it would do would be this: depict in brief compass the social economic factors of the South that industry should have a realistic awareness of because they affect the conditions under which it must operate. So far, the only progress we have made is this: with Bob Thompson doing almost all the work, we took Fortune's 1959 list of the largest corporations and extracted data about each from Moodys; this was put on cards. We are now in a position to document the extent to which national corporations are involved in the South. Unfortunately, time has got away from us, a new Fortune list is out, and a new Moodys out or nearly so. In addition, there is other economic research which would have to be done, before we would be able to write our pamphlet from a position of correct and well researched economic facts. We are short of time and skills.

I have thought of looking for help, either from an economic consultant like Hammer or from a campus. My thought was that we might prepare a list of questions to be researched, and that we would then take full responsibility for subsequent writing; the arrangement would need to be, however, fairly flexible. We can't put many dollars into it, but what we could spend might be welcome to someone, if he were working along the same lines himself. Got any ideas?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
CC: Bob Thompson

October 24, 1960

Mr. Alex Sareyan
Publications Office
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 East 25th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sareyan:

I am sorry that we have not responded more quickly to your letter regarding distribution of Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. We have considered this at some length in relation to our program and our budget. The result is that we think we could not commit ourselves to buy a sufficiently large number to do you any good. If we may, we shall continue as we have in the past to buy small quantities as we need them for selective distribution. The fact is that your own distribution strategy, as you outlined it to me when you were in our office, seems to have reached the most of the people that we would ordinarily consider for this sort of publication.

Although we cannot buy a large number of copies, we would be in a position to handle the mailing for some number of them, if this would be of any help to you. If we did so, we would have no preference as to whether they went out in your envelopes or ours, and we would leave to you the choice of recipients. As I told you, we do have a list of school superintendents of the South which comprises about 600 names. You might want to consider reaching these people, although you undoubtedly have already reached some.

We regret that we connot be of more help on this. Please try us again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

October 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Vernon was in the office briefly between a Washington trip and a Chicago trip. He glanced at your letter of October 19 and asked me to send you the following information.

It was the Field Foundation, not The New World Foundation, that helped GAP with the report. Vernon said he thought the Field Foundation grant covered the cost of the report and he wondered why they were asking you to buy them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Winifred

Winifred G. Meskus
Assistant Secretary

OFFICERS

Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., President
1035 Fifth Avenue, New York 28, N.Y.

Henry W. Brosin, M.D., Vice-President
3811 O'Hara Street, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Malcolm J. Farrell, M.D., Secretary-Treasurer
P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts

Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Have written Eagle. Will let you know.
H.

October 13, 1960

51009

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

In a few weeks the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry will be holding its semi-annual meeting and among other items, I will be reporting on responses and distribution efforts relating to the report entitled EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

I am wondering if you are now in a position to give us any clues as to any action which the Southern Regional Council may be considering with respect to participating in the distribution of this pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan
Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:hr

September 1, 1960

Mr. Alex Sareyan
Publications Office
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 East 25th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sareyan:

We have still under consideration the question of what assistance if any we can give in distribution of Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. I shall be writing to you again as soon as we can.

It was a real pleasure to meet you and I am only sorry that my reluctance about jets prevented me from riding back ~~from~~ To New York with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

OFFICERS
Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., President
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P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts
Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

August 30, 1960

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You were very kind to spend some time with me last Friday discussing ways of promoting the distribution of our pamphlet - EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

As you suggested I have written to the Reverend Mr. John Morris and have sent a copy to him. We are looking forward to hearing from you concerning your decision on how the Regional Council may be able to participate in the distribution of this important pamphlet.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:lw

PA

OFFICERS

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P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts

Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

August 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your note of August 15th concerning my proposed visit to your office on August 26th. I will be in Atlanta that day, and would very much appreciate the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Anthony and any others of your staff in the morning, if at all possible. I will phone that morning to confirm arrangements.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:lw

Emotional Aspects -

P1 -

fyi
Return for
files

August 15, 1960

Mr. Alex Sareyan
Publications Office
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 East 25th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Sareyan:

Much to my regret, I will be attending a meeting in St. Louis on August 26th and so will not have an opportunity to meet with you.

Other members of our staff will be here, however, and will be happy to discuss the distribution of "Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation." Let me suggest that you call Mr. Paul Anthony here on your arrival. He will arrange a mutually convenient time for you to get together with him and other appropriate members of our staff.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

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P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts

Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

August 9, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Dr. Perry Ottenberg has advised me of your willingness to assist us in promoting the distribution of our recent publication - EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. I am now planning to be in the Atlanta area on Friday, August 26th, and if at all convenient, would appreciate an opportunity to discuss this project further with you. I would appreciate it if you would let me know if such a meeting is convenient. I could arrange to see you most any time during the late morning or early afternoon.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:lw

35000 - 25000

8000 - Methodist Committee
6090 South

5000 - Presby WHA

2000 - WH Conference

500 - review

selected educators

7000 - 8000

OFFICERS

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500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

November 9, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. - Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have shared your letter of October 24th with the officers of this organization. They were disappointed that it was not possible for the Southern Regional Council to procure a supply of the report EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

We are still most eager to place copies of this report in the hands of the 600 school superintendents. If we were to make the copies available to you at no expense, would your organization be willing to send the report out to each of the school superintendents along with a covering letter? We feel that this would be more effective than if copies were to come directly from the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry.

I might point out that about a month ago the Anti Defamation League in Atlanta sent out a special recommendation over its own signature to a mailing list of some 1200 persons and agencies in the southeastern region, concerning the above report.

We would appreciate your further consideration of this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan

Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:hr

cc: Viola W. Bernard, M.D.

November 14, 1960

Mr. Alex Sareyan
Publications Office
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
104 East 25th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Sareyan:

I have your letter of November 9th. We would be very glad to mail Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation to the 600-odd school superintendents on our mailing list and to include with each copy a covering letter. Please let me know approximately when to expect the reports.

We think this will be a valuable contribution and are glad that you can see your way clear to do it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

HF ✓
C ✓

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

OFFICERS

Marion E. Kenworthy, M.D., President
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P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts

Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

November 16, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We have shipped to you today 650 copies of the report EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

We are pleased to learn that you will be sending a copy of this report along with a covering letter from your office to each of the school superintendents referred to in your letter of November 14th.

We would very much appreciate it if you would send us a copy of your covering letter when the mailing is dispatched. It would also be most helpful to learn of any feed-back that your organization may receive as a result of this distribution. Incidentally, we would appreciate it if you would suggest in your covering letter that those superintendents who wish to obtain additional copies may do so by writing directly to our organization. Quantity rates and ordering information are indicated at the conclusion of the report.

Thank you very much for your cooperation in assisting us in bringing this report to the attention of these key school officials in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan

Alex Sareyan
Publications Office

AS:hr

cc: Viola W. Bernard, M.D.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

New address: 5 Forsyth St. N.W.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

December 7, 1960

Dear Sir:

In 1957, a group of outstanding psychiatrists joined together to study matters within their professional interest that are involved in the desegregation of schools. Their conclusions were published under the title Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation.

This report received widespread and thoughtful attention. As a result, a shorter, less technical version has been prepared in order to make the findings more generally available.

We are pleased to be able to send you a copy of this shorter statement, titled Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation. We believe that its analysis will be of interest to you in the discharge of your official and professional responsibilities.

On the last page of the pamphlet you will note that additional copies, either singly or in quantity, may be ordered.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W Dunbar

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

Publications Office: 104 East 25th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

OFFICERS
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P.O. Box C, Waverley 78, Massachusetts
Paul E. Huston, M.D., Ass't Secretary-Treasurer
500 Newton Road, Iowa City, Iowa

MA

December 21, 1960

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for sending to me a copy of the letter from Mr. J. Lyle Hill, Superintendent of the McAllen Public Schools of McAllen, Texas concerning the report EMOTIONAL ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

This kind of response is extremely helpful to us in interpreting the project to the sponsors who made it possible. I hope that you will continue to keep us in mind as other responses to this report are received by you.

We didn't receive a copy of the covering letter which your office was to prepare in the distribution to the school superintendents. If such a letter was sent out, I wonder whether you would be good enough to send me a copy.

12-23-60
MA

Thank you for your help in this project.

Sincerely yours,

Alex Sareyan

Alex Sareyan
Executive Director

AS:hr

cc: Viola W. Bernard, M.D.

file

CHATTANOOGA PUBLIC SCHOOLS
413 East Eighth Street
Chattanooga 3, Tennessee

January 5, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have received the copy of Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation which you so kindly sent me. Thank you for your thoughtfulness in supplying me with this copy.

Sincerely yours,

Bennie Carmichael

Bennie Carmichael
Superintendent

BC:mm

Dear Pat:

I'll miss you! - knowing me I could not let your good bye pass. Do you know how much of yourself you give? - I do know what you gave to me - through the giving of yourself, in your column, that I cannot without great detail, tell you, or tell you how you made me feel at times, enough that a poem came from it, and maybe it was a little like turning on the spigot, in another way - you have been somewhat of a life line to me, for isn't this what we all are to each other? but anyway, that it was written, it was most certainly not without heart.

I have found I love to write - and "strangely" enough, my writings are attached to people and my feelings for them, which ultimately I suppose is a need of my own.

Briefly and Clearly - you gave me a sense of religion (that small word) that had long departed, by way of mere lip service, and because of what I wanted my life to mean to me.

Sometimes, your intimations were, that you seemed alone - but perhaps it is the only way we do find the truth, but it doesn't mean we are alone.

You are so full of love - I hope you will find your full expression of it, and all its rewards.

So perhaps it isn't Good bye - but "Hello World"! - its quite a place you know.

Most Sincerely
Martha Harroff

May I confess this has taken Courage - and as yet - for the most part - it is a small new child to me -

Why?

I do not know why—
you walk alone—
(Or any man should
That is good)
Or why you walk in gloom
Your countenance set in doom.

For what you do - theres so much good.
do not tarry in this mood! -
Lift up your head,
and roar with Laughter-
Or raise your might -
in righteous anger.

No One man can do it all-
Some, do never hear the call
Or have the fortitude to stand withall
The aching hearts, suppressed in pain
That look to you, their worth to gain.

In truth, this pain, may be a pleasure
Within these beings - there is a treasure -
Boundless there, never, to part.
It is the thing - that binds two hearts.

In selfless giving, of Oneself.
Like the tireless tides, upon the sands.
The lifting giving of Ones hands
(These bound in truth, Love?)
The only language they understand.

The giving thereof - is the gift of you.
The receiving thereof - a gift to you too.
In all that is ask -
In all that is done -
Its the wanting to know
There are Ones like you.
That share in the Caring
of Loving
and the heart felt warmth -
thats truth.

1000 PM
28 OCT
1962
3A

5c U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Pat Watters
c/o The Atlanta Journal
10 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

please forward

Mrs Robert R. Harrott
1619 Ansley Ln. N.E.
Atlanta 24, Georgia

October 30, 1963

Dear Beth,

Thanks very much for your kind good wishes. I am enjoying my new work, and finding great satisfaction in it.

Sincerely,

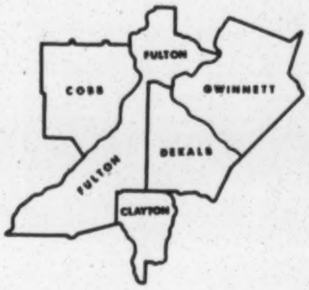
Pat Watters

united appeal

Community Chest-Red Cross of Greater Atlanta Area, Inc.

Fulton, DeKalb, Cobb, Clayton and Gwinnett Counties

167 Walton Street, N. W./P. O. Box 1038/Atlanta 1, Georgia/JAckson 5-3481



Campaign Chairman

Frank Malone

October 28, 1963

Mr. Pat Watters, Public Information Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Congratulations and best of luck in your new assignment.

It takes G-U-T-S to act on your convictions and I'm proud I know you.

Regards,

Beth

Beth J. Herzog
Public Relations Director

BJH:B

Officers and Trustees: John A. Sibley, Honorary Chmn. • Wilton Looney, Chmn. • Harold Brockey, Vice-Chmn. • Jack F. Glenn, Sec'y.-Treas. • John C. Ager • Harry S. Baxter Sims Bray • Roy Blount • Harrison W. Buckley • W. Lee Burge • King Cleveland • Campbell Dasher • R. Howard Dobbs, Jr. • Dakin B. Ferris • Ben S. Gilmer • Joseph K. Heyman Gordon Jones • W. L. Lee • Frank Malone • J. J. McDonough • Virgil W. Milton • J. O. Moore • Lucien E. Oliver • William Parker, Jr. • William C. Perry • W. A. Pulver Richard H. Rich • Charles A. Richardson • Frank Shackelford • Edward D. Smith • Glenn Smith • John Staton • Jack Tarver • John W. Weekes • M. L. Weiss • Dr. Paul West

LES ✓
FYI

Hammer and Company Associates
ECONOMIC CONSULTANTS
Washington · Atlanta

PHILIP HAMMER
PRESIDENT

1413 K STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

March 4, 1964

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
7 Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Pat:

It was nice getting your letter of February 25. I am delighted that you are now with the Council and I have heard some fine things about the contributions you have made since you took over last November. Congratulations on your new post and best wishes for continued success.

You asked whether there was anything in our recent Charlotte study that might be of pertinence to race relations or to the problems of slums and Negro housing. Frankly, I do not believe there is any important contribution that our study can make in these fields. We were concerned entirely with the commercial development potentials of the metropolitan area, with particular focus upon Downtown Charlotte and our findings were translated directly into potential development of new retail facilities, office buildings, and other commercial structures. We did make projections of population, household income, and total expenditures as a basis for developing our estimates for commercial space demand, but we made no racial breakdowns.

I would be very happy to send you a copy of the report, but I do not really think you would be interested nor do I believe that you would find any direct value in the study. You can be sure that I would give you the opposite reaction if it were warranted. Perhaps the easiest thing to do if you want a copy is to telephone my office there in Atlanta, but I would not recommend it if you have other things to do.

I hope that things go well. Please give my warm regards to Les. ✓

Sincerely yours,

Phil

PH/jc

February 25, 1964

Mr. Philip Hammer
1413 K Street, NW
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hammer:

I have just spent a week in Charlotte, N. C., studying the racial progress made there in recent years for a special report the Council will publish. During the course of this, I learned of the recent study you made there.

I don't know enough about your study to know how much of it would bear directly or indirectly on my subject, or even whether it is possible for you to divulge what you learned. But I would be grateful if you could give me a summary of findings (or your personal appraisals), especially if they relate to the general problem of future race relations, and the specific one of slums and Negro housing.

You may remember my work on The Atlanta Journal. I have been with the Council since November. And I certainly remember your many good works here in Atlanta. Thanks for any help and enlightenment you can give me about Charlotte.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

March 20, 1964

Dr. R. A. Hawkins
1218 Beatties Ford Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Hawkins:

I am returning the attached, and taking the occasion to thank you again for your time in talking with me while I was in Charlotte. I have finished the rough draft of the report, and naturally you figure large in it. Your insights were most helpful, and beyond the scope of the report, I was interested in your ideas about administrative procedure as a tactical device. I hope we can discuss this and things in general again--maybe on one of your trips to Atlanta.

At any rate, it was good to meet you. If I can ever be of service to you, please call on me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW/mg

Enclosure

June 15, 1964

Rev. Julius Ceasar Hope
1609 "G" Street
Brunswick, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hope:

Enclosed are the copies of the newsletter you were kind enough to let me use in preparing our report on Brunswick.

I've finished the rough draft of the report -- in which you naturally figure large -- and hope to have it in final form soon.

I'm enclosing copies of the similar reports we have already done on Charlotte and Louisville.

I hope all goes well with you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
Information

PW:mp

Enclosures - 2

November 16, 1964

Mr. Albert W. Heffner
2600 Queens Chapel Road, Apt. 3
Hyattsville, Maryland 20782

Dear Mr. Heffner:

I am sending along my own favorites among our previous publications. If you see anything else on the list that you would like to have, let me know. I am also putting your name on the mailing list.

Again, my thanks to you for the help on the interview, and your courtesy to a stranger interrupting you at your work.

I wish you much success in your new life, and after talking with you, feel sure you will find it. I am sure the folks you were up against didn't come out of it so intact. They are the ones who are really to be pitied---from a distance of course.

Again thanks, and best wishes.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mp

Enclosures

CHICAGO-KENT COLLEGE OF LAW
TEN NORTH FRANKLIN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60606

Executive Offices
Tel. 263-1240

December 10, 1964

Southern Regional Office
American Civil Liberties Union
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Attention: Pat Watters

Re; Report on St. Augustine

Gentlemen:

Mr. Morgan mentioned to me that there is a report available on recent developments in St. Augustine.

I was one of the L.C.D.C. lawyers in that city this summer, and would like to keep up on recent developments.

Please send me a copy of the report, if available.

Very truly yours,

David J. Halperin
Assistant Professor of Law

January 7, 1965

Judge Byron Haworth
High Point Municipal Court
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Judge Haworth:

We thought the enclosed article on CAPITAL PUNISHMENT by Mr. Marion Wright might be of interest to you.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

P
W
/
m

Enclosure

January 7, 1965

Miss Molly Hasson
R.D. # 1
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Hasson:

I have forwarded your letter inquiring about volunteer work in the Civil Rights Movement next summer to John Else of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. I suggest that you follow this up with a letter to him at the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee Headquarters, 8½ Raymond Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Good luck to you. I hope things work out as you want them to.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:p

Donald E. Graham, *President*
Martin S. Levine, *Managing Editor*
Sanford J. Ungar, *Associate Managing Editor*
Conal C. Doyle, *Business Manager*
Curtis A. Hessler, *Editorial Chairman*

Ellen Lake, *Features Editor*
William B. Clayton, *Associate Business Manager*
Roger W. Sinnott, *Photographic Chairman*
R. Andrew Beyer, *Sports Editor*

The Harvard Crimson
The University Daily—Founded 1873
14 Plympton Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts
KIrkland 7-2811

File

Arpil 4, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Watters:

We had the pleasure of meeting you in Cambridge last January when you were researching an article on COFO and thought that you might be able to help us with a project which we are now working on.

While working in Mississippi last summer, we observed the way in which the local press often distorts or omits news concerning racial problems there. This unethical journalism makes it difficult for both whites and Negroes to understand, much less to solve, the problems that confront them.

After the summer we began discussing the idea of setting up an independent newspaper in the Black Belt area, devoted to printing an honest account of civil rights activities in the South. We hope to have more thorough coverage and wider circulation than the few southern papers which now report racial news accurately.

Our paper will be called the Southern Courier. It is now being incorporated as a nonprofit membership corporation for educational purposes. We already have the use of a photo-offset press (28" x 22"), located in Atlanta and owned by the Student Voice, Inc. Our plans are to print five weekly editions, one each for the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi. Thus, on Monday we might print 25,000 copies of the Mississippi edition; on Tueday 10,000 copies of the Louisiana edition, and so forth.

The paper will be distributed from Atlanta by rail, air and car, and given free of charge, at least at first. It will not be difficult to reach the Negro community by utilizing local people and civil rights centers as distributors. Reaching the white community will present a more serious problem . To solve this, we are consulting journalists like Hodding Carter, Ralph McGill, Leslie Dunbar and yourself. We would greatly appreciate any ideas you have on this point.

The staff of the paper will consist of thirty people, mostly students, all of whom have had journalistic experience, either as reporters, editors, or photographers. We will have no trouble recruiting, for we have already received many applications from interested students.

Since the Courier is designed to continue after the summer, we will give preference in recruitment to those who can stay in Atlanta for a year or more. In addition, we intend to recruit fifteen young Negroes and whites in Atlanta to train, so that they can assume full responsibility for the paper. Eventually we hope that the Courier will provide a voice for the millions of people across the South, particularly Negroes, who now have no voice in the press.

We plan to purchase five automobiles and to assign one car, with three reporters and a photographer,to each state. This method of coverage was used successfully by the Crimson to cover the recent events in Selma and Montgomery.

We will purchase either AP or UPI wire service. In addition, by being located in Atlanta, we will have access to news from the headquarters of both the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, as well as aid from your own organization. Since the paper will be a weekly, it will not be the first with the news; but there is no reason why it should not equal any national paper in depth and accuracy of coverage.

Because it will be distributed free and advertising will be, at least initially, limited, the Courier will have to rely for support on donations from individuals and organizations. We estimate the permanent starting costs as follows:

Automobiles (five)	$12000
Autombiles insurance	750
Typewriters	2000
Cameras (five)	2000
Citizens' band radios (five)	1000
Organizational expenses	500
Tape recorders	200
Office furnishings and supplies	1000
TOTAL	$19450

Monthly operating costs:

Paper and printing	$4450
Distribution	2500
Telephone and wire service	4500
Subsistence pay for staff ($20 per week for thirty people)	2700
Photographic costs (film and printing)	300
Gasoline, oil and repairs for cars	1250
Office supplies	450
Legal and accounting fees	100
Insurance (liability, compensation, libel)	100
TOTAL	$16350

This means that total operating costs for the period from June 15 to September 15 would be $68,500. We hope that this sum can be raised before June 15 so that the paper will be guaranteed a three-month period in which to get established. (It should be noted that at least some of this material, such as cameras, radios, and tape recorders, might be obtained free from individuals or private retailers. We intend to explore those possibilities.)

Any advice or comments you might offer on any of these ideas would be extremely helpful. Also, we would be grateful if you would mention that you met us to Mr. Dunbar, to whom we have written for advice and funds. And if you are visiting Howard Zinn again in the near future, please give us a ring.

Sincerely yours,

Ellen Lake

Ellen Lake

Peter Cummings

Peter Cummings

May 11, 1965

Mr. Donald L. Hollowell
Attorney
899½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Don:

I thought you might be interested in the attached. It was distributed by the school.

I don't know whether it violates any court orders, but it sure offended me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters

PW:mpa

Enclosure

September 30, 1965

Mr. Richard Haley
2211 Dryades
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Haley:

Enclosed are the materials on the civil rights law we discussed, with some other related matter, and a list of our publications. If you are interested in any of the latter, we will of course be happy to send you copies. I also put in, "Encounter With the Future," an attempt I made, with full awareness of the presumptuousness, to write about aspects of the movement. I would value any reaction you might have to it.

I am looking forward to receiving from you the materials on voter education you mentioned. It was good to talk to you. I think of all the history I've seen in the past few years, that freedom walk you all made out of Chattanooga made the greatest impression on me.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - 12.

July 29, 1965

Mrs. James H. Hart
Route 2, Box 140
Merritt Island, Florida

Dear Mrs. Hart:

It has occured to us here that the exchange of letters between you and Les Dunbar about the 1962 policy statement raises questions the thoughtful consideration of which might benefit many of our members and friends. Could we have your permission to print the exchange of letters in New South with an invitation to its readers to express their views about the matter?

This would not be in the sense of seeking a mandate for changing or retaining the wording, but would be simply an invitation to Southerners to speak to what is much more than a semantic question about motivations and goals.

I find the exchange interesting personally because I am more than surfacely interested in what seem to me efforts in the southern racial crisis of conscience, particularly in the Negro churches, to breathe new meaning into old and I'm afraid shopworn symbols and myths, and even to create new forms of expression for old truths.

At any rate, I would like very much to print these letters. And despite his previous expressions of concern about stirring up an argument, so would Les, after the eloquence of your last letter. Let me know what you think. And thank you for your comment on Encounter with the Future.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:mpa

File

Provisional Agenda

CIVIL RIGHTS CONFERENCE

To be held at Hudson Institute, Harmon-on-Hudson, N.Y.
June 11, 12, and 13 (optional)

I. Tell It Like It Was (first day)

- A. Birmingham (1963)
- B. The COFO Summer Project (1964)
- C. Watts (1965)

Lunch

- D. The White Liberal As An Object of Negro Contempt

. . .

- E. Nonviolence As A Tactic

II. (second day)

- A. The Efficacy of Threats
- B. Moral/Political Costs
- C. The Rationality of Irrationality

Lunch

- D. Deus Ex Machina Solutions
- E. Escalation Scenarios for 3 Large Cities--N.Y., Chicago, Boston

III. (third day)

- A. Disarmament and Civil Rights as Liberal Recreations
- B. Foreign Policy-Civil Rights Interactions and Anomalies
- C. Crises At Home and Abroad

Lunch

- D. Productive Possibilities
- E. Panel Discussion for Gaming Session

A number of alternative topics are under consideration, comments and suggestions are welcome. It is anticipated that panel discussions will occupy the evening hours.

Page 2 is a list of prospective participants, several of whom have been or will be asked to speak on one or more topics on page 1.

Prospective Participants for Civil Rights Conference

Frank Armbruster	Hudson Institute
James Bevel	Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Julian Bond	Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
Stokely Carmicheal	SNCC
Charles Cobb	SNCC
Robert Coles	Harvard
Courtland Cox	SNCC
Ralph Ellison	Yale
Ralph Featherstone	SNCC
James Foreman	SNCC
Harold Hunton	Community Relations Service, Justice Dept.
Harold Isaccs	MIT
Herman Kahn	H.I.
Mort Kaplan	Univ. of Chicago
William Pfaff	H.I.
T.C. Schelling	Harvard
Robert Schildkraut	Harvard-MIT
Edmund Stillman	H.I.
Stephen Waldron	Arthur D. Little
Robert Penn Warren	Yale
Arthur Waskow	Institute for Policy Studies
Pat Watters	Southern Regional Council
A.J. Wiener	H.I.
Andrew Young	S.C.L.C.
Howard Zinn	Boston Univ.

Sunday

(days) Harvard:
617 UN 87600 x3954
(evening) 617 653 5609

Dear Mr. Watters,

Enclosed are the Agenda and Participants List for the proposed meeting. I hope you have a chance to read it before you hear from Hudson Institute.

Letters of invitation have been sent to Andrew Young of S.C.L.C. and Jim Foreman of S.N.C.C. I would appreciate it if you would contact them both and encourage their participation.

Regards

Howard Hubbard
(Hubbard)

PA

FYI

PW

Thanks – my but twas an explosive meeting!

Howard Hubbard
67 S. Main St.
Sherborn, Mass. 01770
ZIP CODE

8¢
U.S. AIR MAIL

BOSTON, MASS.
AM
1966
NNEX 19

VIA AIR MAIL
CORREO AEREO
PAR AVION

Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Ga.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

SUBJECT:

Kit Havice, Bob Childs, Claude Richardson, Donna Credone, members of the Freedom Medical and Housing Corps

RE:

Ltr written by PW asking for additional information on organization to be considered for NEW SOUTH.

SEE:

"F" file.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A Special Report

from the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

75

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS
IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a three-month field survey of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States. Other conclusions drawn from the SRC survey, which was conducted by Paul Anthony, will be presented in later reports.

November 19, 1956

SR/1

THE RESISTANCE GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The following is a brief summary of resistance group activity in eleven Southern states. This information was collected during a three-month field study conducted in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee and South Carolina. Information on Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is drawn from the Southern Regional Council's files and correspondence.

In the majority of these states the groups concerned use the designation "Citizens' Councils." This alteration of the original "White Citizens' Councils" is a significant index to the striving for respectability. To eliminate confusion, this report will refer to all groups that use any form of the Citizens' Council title as "WCC's." Such groups now exist in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Fifteen other states have similar organizations which are closely associated with the WCC's, including the Georgia States Rights Council, Inc., and the North Carolina Patriots, Inc. To coordinate the activities of the state groups there is now a "Citizens' Councils of America" with offices in Greenwood, Mississippi.

Resistance groups claim a total membership of more than half a million and, based on the information gathered during this survey, they do have well over three hundred thousand in the eleven states covered. Funds at the disposal of these groups are estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. Their influence and effectiveness vary widely state by state. But in general it may be said that they represent a considerable and growing power.

Following is a state-by-state summary of the status of the organized resistance movement during the latter part of 1956.

ALABAMA - "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

Alabama has a strong WCC movement, headed by Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, a planter and state senator. Other major leaders include Walter C. Givhan of Safford, also a planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, an attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, an attorney; and, Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, an attorney and state senator.

This group does not have the support of the state administration, but it does have considerable support from the legislature, as indicated by the nature of the WCC leadership. In turn, the WCC is particularly active in politics and can be expected to have a significant influence on future state elections.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident at the state university have been helpful in recruiting members, though it is difficult for the WCC leadership to maintain the emotional pitch created by these controversies. The membership of some 80,000 is located primarily in the central and southern portions of the state, with the greatest concentration being in the Montgomery area, site of the state association headquarters. There is little membership in the extreme southern portion of the state and none in the upper third of the state north of Birmingham. Membership fees vary from $3 to $5, of which a minimum of $1 is designated for the state office.

A second organization, the North Alabama Citizens' Council, has been expelled from the state association because of its extremist approach. As a result the majority of the members in the original NAWCC have transferred to the state association. Asa("Ace") Carter, the leader of this expelled faction, has little influence in the state but remains active throughout the South.

Ku Klux Klan activity, centered in the Tuscaloosa and Montgomery areas, is on the increase.

ARKANSAS - "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

This state has a weak resistance movement, though in the past year the WCC has shown considerable growth under the direction of James D. Johnson of Crossett. Johnson, who leans to emotionalism and advocacy of extreme measures, is a former state senator and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in the May 1956 Democratic primary. He is assisted in the movement by Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, a professional bigot with a long record of resistance-group activity. Membership claims run high, but 20,000 is probably the maximum figure.

By comparison with several Southern states this Arkansas group is not powerful, but it is capable of doing considerable damage in localities where integration might be considered. Although there is no information available on finances, the WCC activities would indicate limited funds.

FLORIDA

While there are several resistance groups in Florida, none has achieved a position of importance. A WCC movement, largely directed by former Klan leaders, has had little success. A. C. Shuler, a retired Baptist minister, is reported to serve as acting president of the WCC of Florida and M. B. Sherill of Fort Pierce (a co-founder of the "Pro-Southerners"), serves as secretary. Thus far activity has been limited to the Jacksonville, Tallahassee and Tampa areas. These same areas have experienced some Klan activity during the past year.

A new movement, the National Association for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes, was chartered in Miami in September, 1956, with former Governor Fuller Warren as its attorney. Thus far nothing further has been heard from this group.

Resistance groups have less influence in Florida than in other Southern states. The growing pro-segregation atmosphere is such, however, that this situation could change if the proper resistance leadership presents itself.

GEORGIA - "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

The States' Rights Council of Georgia was incorporated on December 27, 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Marvin Griffin, 200 of the state's most prominent and influential political and business leaders met and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations."

The Rev. William T. Bodenhamer of Ty Ty, who is a member of the General Assembly, a Baptist Minister, and a former school superintendent, was appointed executive secretary and instructed to form local groups in each of the state's 159 counties, with a total membership of at least 150,000. There are no indications that any significant portion of this membership has been secured. However, the downtown Atlanta office of the group is active and distributes an unusually expensive collection of publications. A "visiting school teacher" who requested such literature was given a generous supply of "teaching materials" which included: a history of the organization; a statement of aims and purposes; a series of expensively reproduced pro-segregation statements by such historical figures as Jefferson and Lincoln; a booklet, "The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution, and the Shattered Bill of Rights"; "The Cause of the Confederacy"; Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook's booklet, "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP"; a copy of the third party movement newspaper, "Free Men Speak,"; and a copy of the highly anti-Semitic "Williams Intelligence Summary."

Since its formation the group has enjoyed the unqualified support of the Governor, the state Attorney General, Senator-elect Herman Talmadge, and most of the other significant political leaders of the state. It has not, however, developed into a grass roots movement.

GEORGIA - "The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"

During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since that time the group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings of robed but unmasked members.

At its inception, the caliber of leadership and strong public opposition to a Klan movement indicated that this new movement was to be of little significance. This may still be the case. However, during the past several months there has been a conspicuous flurry of public activity by the Klan. Public meetings, usually of an impressive size, have been held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. These states, with the possible exception of North Carolina, have formal organizations and officers, and all claim to be divisions or associates of the Atlanta group.

A pattern of Klan activity is now developing which gives some indication of adequate leadership and financing. This leadership may come from Edwards, and the funds may come from membership fees (of $10.). The Klan effort to recruit mass membership can be a highly lucrative endeavor. However, if the current trend continues, the possibility must be considered that leadership and financing has been injected which is far superior to that represented by the known Atlanta group.

Under any circumstances the development of a new Klan movement, its leadership, and its support comprise that area of resistance group activity which most commands attention in the near future.

LOUISIANA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana"

The Louisiana WCC has its headquarters in Homer, site of the first organized resistance activity in that state. The group has an impressive list of officers headed by the chairman, State Senator William M. Rainach of Summerfield, and the executive secretary, attorney W. M. Shaw. Others are J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport, a member of the L.S.U. Board of Supervisors; Malcolm Dougherty of Baton Rouge, president of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation; Dr. Emmett Irvin of New Orleans, past president of the Louisiana Medical Association; C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproof, an attorney and farmer; and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans, president of the American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The WCC claims a membership of 75 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans, however, it is doubtful if there are actually more than half that number. The membership fee of $5.00 includes $2.00 for the state office. In addition, considerable wealth is represented among WCC supporters - for example, B. H. J. Balter, a prominent realtor in whose downtown office building the New Orleans WCC has its headquarters.

The group is having a growing influence in the state, especially through the legislature where the WCC state chairman is also chairman of the Legislative Segregation Commission. The original legislative program of the WCC has been accomplished and it is now turning its attention to Negro registration. Chairman Rainach has issued this warning: "...We are going through the familiar pattern set by registration of Negroes in the early days of reconstruction. Our forefathers knew well the disastrous consequences of that pattern in the South."

(Article 8, Section 1 of the Louisiana Constitution requires that any applicant for registration shall be able to read or understand any clause in the constitutions of Louisiana or of the United States. Any two qualified voters may challenge the qualifications of a registered voter or of a person desiring to register. The WCC has served notice that, through these two approaches and through the support of the Legislative Segregation Commission, the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way.")

Other groups in the state include, the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); the Ku Klux Klan, (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge); the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity, (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans -- largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians, (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans -- inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

MISSISSIPPI - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

The Mississippi WCC headquarters are in Greenwood, with "administrative" offices in Jackson. Robert B. Patterson, planter, businessman, and founder of the WCC movement, is executive secretary. W. J. Simmons, a Jackson businessman, is "administrator."

A few counties in the northern part of the state and others along the Gulf do not have WCC units, but this state movement is the strongest in the South and will have considerable influence for years to come. The Major opposition to the movement comes from the governor and others of the state Democratic Party, who have refused to lend their official support to the WCC and who took issue with WCC support of the third party movement in the Fall of 1956. This is primarily a fight for political control, however, and does not represent a weakening of the nearly universal white pro-segregation sentiment of the state.

From slightly more than 80,000 members, plus a women's auxiliary, the WCC collects a membership fee of $5.00, of which $1.00 remains in the local unit, $2.00 is sent to the state office, and the remaining $2.00 is used as a subscription to the Citizens' Councils, the official paper.

This state is the fountainhead of the region-wide WCC movement and it is significant that the "temporary national office" of the Citizens' Councils of America is located in Greenwood. The basis of the movement was well expressed in the Mississippi WCC second annual report (1956) which stated: "The best prophet of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!"

This movement has the support of, or is feared by, the majority of the people of Mississippi. In the smaller communities, and generally throughout the Delta, the WCC is almost all-powerful. In these areas, elementary steps in race relations toward achieving the fundamentals of a democratic society have yet to be taken.

NORTH CAROLINA - "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

A charter for the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was filed in Raleigh on August 22, 1955 bearing the patriotic date July 4th. It also carried the names of 356 men and women from 59 North Carolina counties about whom the Winston Salem Journal and Sentinel commented: "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members. For that reason it is unwise to dismiss lightly the Patriots of North Carolina. The group represents something more than a scrubbed-face revival of the Ku Klux Klan in new haberdashery."

The Patriots estimated to have some 20,000 members, is headed by Dr. W. C. George, a professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Its executive secretary, with offices in Greensboro, is

A. Allison James, a Winston Salem druggist and one-time head of the U. S. Savings Bond Sales in North Carolina. Among the charter members and officers are three former Speakers of the state House of Representatives, a trustee of the University of North Carolina, several major industrialists, a former U. S. Attorney, a former state commander of the American Legion, and several respected ministers. This caliber of leadership has set the tone of resistance as being restrained but uncompromising in opposing any possible move toward desegregation. The recent acts of the state legislature are some indication of the measure of their success.

Outside elements have recently attempted a Klan revival in the state, especially in the Kannapolis area. They may be successful, since a potential Klan membership exists there.

SOUTH CAROLINA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

The South Carolina WCC is a moderately strong movement with a membership of approximately 30,000. The largely inactive state office is located in Charleston and a businessman of that city, Micah Jenkins, serves as chairman of the group. S. Emery Rogers, an attorney in Summerton, is executive Secretary and the actual leader of the movement. Through Rogers the group has become thoroughly involved in politics, especially in the 1956 third party movement.

Much of the work which might be done by the WCC is accomplished through the Gressette Committee, a legislative body charged with maintaining segregation in South Carolina. The Chairman, State Senator Lawrence M. Gressette, is a supporter of the WCC movement but very carefully distinguishes its activities from the work of his committee, presumably because he has political ambitions which require that he, not the WCC, receive the credit for maintaining segregation. This type of potential conflict among pro-segregation leaders represents one of the major threats to the continued effectiveness of the WCC.

A number of South Carolinians who might otherwise support the WCC have failed to do so because of these political activities and conflicts and because of the extreme measures, including economic reprisals, taken by the WCC. Economic pressure and other means of intimidation have lessened, at least temporarily. Political activity and support of the third party movement grew during the Presidential campaign and were probably more evident in the South Carolina WCC than in any other statewide resistance group.

The state has denied a charter to the Klan, but considerable and increasing Klan activity is led by Georgia Klansmen.

TENNESSEE

There are several resistance groups in Tennessee, each active in its own area to the general exclusion of the rest of the state. All, however, claim to be statewide organizations.

In Chattanooga there is the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation headed by Arthur A. Canada, long a disruptive influence in organized labor in the state. Canada and his group receive substantial support from Judge Raulston Schoolfield and attorney Charles Coleman, both political figures of Chattanooga.

In Nashville there is the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor of English at Vanderbilt University. This group has a slate of officers, largely business executives, who represent considerable wealth and influence in the area.

In Memphis there is the WCC headed by the Rev. Wayne Cox, pastor of Woodlawn Terrace Baptist Church. This group has gone through several reorganizations and seems to have much difficulty with membership and finances. Also in Memphis, the Tennessee Citizens for Progres has been formed reportedly as a partial revival of the old Crump organization, interested primarily in political power through a pro-segregation platform. All of the leaders of this group have been identified by Memphis newspapers as being "former lieutenents" of the Crump machine.

The resistance groups of Tennessee, all of whom have insignificant membership, have found it difficult to cooperate with each other and are often in open competition for attention, membership and finances. Therein lies their greatest weakness. All, with the possibl exception of the WCC, are primarily interested in politics and one questions whether the activity is a primary end in itself or merely a means to an end.

Klan activity, which is light, has been limited to the Chattanooga and the Georgia-Tennessee border areas.

TEXAS - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Texas"

Texas has several resistance groups, of which the WCC is the strongest. Dr. B. E. Masters, retired educator and former junior college president, is chairman of the Association, and attorney Ross Carlton of Dallas is chairman of the WCC executive committee.

Thus far the major activity of the group has been that of campaigning for the pro-segregation referendum of the Democratic primary election of July 28, 1956. More recently WCC members have been active in the several disturbances which have occurred where integration has taken place, as in Mansfield. The estimated membership of 25,000 and its activities are located largely in east Texas.

Ku Klux Klan activity has shown an increase during the past year though the Texas Attorney General has publicly stated his opposition to a revival of the Klan movement.

VIRGINIA

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These groups cannot claim credit for the considerable change in atmosphere in Virginia during the past year. However, partially because of that change, the state could become a fertile ground for a "respectable" resistance movement.

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MEMBERSHIP, BY STATE, AND ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP FEES PAID.

(Omissions represent those areas where a meaningful estimate cannot be made)

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South Carolina	30,000	50,000.
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Texas	25,000	- - **
Virginia	15,000	- - *
TOTAL	315,000	$990,000.

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These estimates indicate that approximately $1,000,000 is represented in membership fees. It might be assumed that memberships where no evaluation is made, plus contributions and fund drives, would account for at least $1,000,000 more.

A Special Report

from the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PRO-SEGREGATION GROUPS
IN THE SOUTH

This is a summary report of a continuing field study of the pro-segregation "resistance" organizations in the Southern States, prepared by Paul Anthony.

Revised
May 23, 1957
SR/7
(See Supplement)

SUPPLEMENT

(May 23, 1957)

The resistance movement is currently characterized by three developments: (1) a substantial decrease in total membership, probably to the lowest level in several years, (2) a continuing growth of Klan activity, and (3) a change in tactics.

Reports indicate substantial losses of membership in South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana -- three of the states with the largest WCC memberships. Mississippi, where the Councils are most firmly entrenched, continues an active program, though the group is no longer enjoying the uncontested growth and influence of a year ago. Only in this state does the WCC movement continue to reflect widespread "grass roots" support. The South Carolina group, much involved in state politics, has not announced the appointment of a new executive secretary following the December 1956 resignation of S. Emory Rogers.

In North Carolina, Dr. W. C. George has resigned as executive secretary of the Patriots. The group is still organized, capable of action, and seems to enjoy considerable financial support, though it is probably at its lowest point in membership and activity since it was founded. There has been some Klan activity and the KKK has announced a goal of at least one meeting in every North Carolina county during 1957.

Of the Southern states, Florida has experienced the strongest recent WCC and Klan organizing activity. In February 1957, Robert Patterson, founder and chairman of the Mississippi WCC, helped to organize a state-wide Florida WCC. Homer Barnes, a Tallahassee drug clerk, has become the secretary-treasurer of the new group. This movement is now stronger than at any time in the past, though still with a small membership. John

Kasper was very active in the state during 1957 until his former associations with Negroes in New York's Greenwich Village came to light. This and other information were disclosed during a special legislative committee investigation of the NAACP and several of the resistance groups. There has been much Klan activity in Florida. Bill Hendrix, one-time gubernatorial candidate, claims to be "National Adjutant of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," presumably the Atlanta headquartered group. W. J. Griffin of Tampa, who disbanded the"Florida KKK" in 1955, has announced official revival of that group.

The strongest Klan group continues to be the U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, whose Imperial Wizard is Eldon Edwards of Atlanta. Recently, through national magazines and television, Edwards has enjoyed considerable notoriety. The Klan is unquestionably growing, but it is unlikely that it has reached the 100,000 mark estimated by several sources. The group's biggest problem remains that of competition among rival Klans, especially in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. This rivalry has caused one Florida Klan official to complain that Klan groups are springing up like "rabbits and rats." The movement has attracted a number of opportunists.

Public acceptance, too, continues to be a problem. In South Carolina, a Klan group (rival of Edwards' Klan) has been refused a charter by Secretary of State B. Frank Thornton. The refusal was based on an opinion of Attorney General T. C. Callison that "public policy" would not be served by chartering the group. In Montgomery, violence has been attributed to the Klan and several Klansmen have been arrested. In Birmingham, Ace

Carter, recently defeated in his bid for police commissioner, is under indictment charged with shooting two men at a Klan meeting. One of the victims has testified that Carter was leader of the group and the argument arose over the handling of funds.

Despite considerable growth and activity, the Klan has not achieved a position of importance. Its growth does indicate current feeling among extremists and their disappointment with the WCC. The Klan's major significance is its ability, with even a small membership, to create disturbances, violence, and fear.

The new tactics of the more established resistance movement are aimed at swaying public opinion -- especially that of the rest of the country. The recent losses of membership probably do not greatly disturb the top WCC leadership. This was not in the strict sense a grass roots movement and new surges of membership may be expected where segregation is threatened. Of more importance is the move (carried on in many instances in conjunction with state governments and/or officials) to sell to the nation the idea that "the South must be allowed to handle this problem." Current successes in Congress by the opposition to civil rights legislation have encouraged these efforts to influence national opinion.

The fact that the resistance movement is losing in membership should not be misinterpreted. This is a disadvantage to them to be sure, but it may very possibly be only a temporary one. The real strength of the pro-segregation movement has not been its mass membership, but its access to the institutions of power and control. By these standards the resistance forces remain strong. State legislation, national opinion, attacks against pro-integration forces, and increased restriction of the ballot, all indicate continuing unity and effectiveness among state WCCs and related groups.

In many of the Southern states the once clearly defined resistance group membership may well have been absorbed into the larger society. At no time since May 1954 has public opinion been more akin to the expressed opinions of the WCC.

THE RESISTANCE GROUPS OF THE SOUTH

The following is a brief summary of resistance group activity in eleven Southern states. This information was collected during a three-month field study conducted in Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, and South Carolina. Information on Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia is drawn from the Southern Regional Council's files and correspondence.

In the majority of these states the groups concerned use the designation "Citizens' Councils." This alteration of the original "White Citizens' Councils" is a significant index to the striving for respectability. To eliminate confusion, this report will refer to all groups that use any form of the Citizens' Council title as "WCC's." Such groups now exist in Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. Fifteen other states have similar organizations which are closely associated with the WCC's, including the Georgia States Rights Council, Inc., and the North Carolina Patriots, Inc. To coordinate the activities of the state groups there is now a "Citizens' Councils of America" with offices in Greenwood, Mississippi.

Resistance groups claim a total membership of more than half a million and, based on the information gathered during this survey, they do have well over three hundred thousand in the eleven states covered. Funds at the disposal of these groups are estimated to be in excess of $2,000,000. Their influence and effectiveness vary widely state by state. But in general it may be said that they represent a considerable and growing power.

Following is a state-by-state summary of the status of the organized resistance movement during January, 1957.

ALABAMA - "The Citizens' Councils of Alabama"

Alabama has a strong WCC movement, headed by Sam Engelhardt, Jr., of Shorter, a planter and state senator. (Currently, Engelhardt is also Chairman of the Citizens' Councils of America.) Other major leaders include Walter C. Givhan of Safford, also a planter and state senator; Alston Keith of Selma, an attorney; Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, an attorney; and, Albert Boutwell of Birmingham, an attorney and state senator.

This group does not have the support of the state administration, but it does have considerable support from the legislature, as indicated by the nature of the WCC leadership. In turn, the WCC is particularly active in politics and can be expected to have a significant influence on future state elections.

The Montgomery bus boycott and the Autherine Lucy incident at the state university have been helpful in recruiting members, though it is difficult for the WCC leadership to maintain the emotional pitch created by these controversies. The membership of some 80,000 is located primarily in the central and southern portions of the state, with the greatest concentration being in the Montgomery area, site of the state association headquarters. There is little membership in the extreme southern portion of the state and no organized activity in the upper third of the state north of Birmingham. Membership fees vary from $3 to $5, of which a minimum of $1 is designated for the state office.

A second organization, the North Alabama Citizens' Council has been expelled from the state association because of its extremist approach. As a result the majority of the members in the original NAWCC have transferred to the state association. Asa ("Ace") Carter, the leader of this expelled faction, has little influence in the state but remains active throughout the

South. Carter's participation in the Clinton, Tennessee, disturbances and his association with John Kasper of Washington, D. C., has given new strength to his movement. In addition to his NAWCC Carter has been active with the Alabama KKK.

ARKANSAS - "The Citizens' Councils of Arkansas"

This state has a weak resistance movement, though in the past year the WCC has shown considerable growth under the direction of James D. Johnson of Crossett. Johnson, who leans to emotionalism and advocacy of extreme measures, is a former state senator and an unsuccessful candidate for governor in the May 1956 Democratic primary. He is assisted in the movement by Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, long active in resistance-group activity. (Membership claims run high, but 20,000 is probably the maximum figure.)

The strongest WCC unit in the state is located in Little Rock. There, in December, 1956, the WCC and White America, Inc. merged and adopted the name, Capital Citizens' Council. Robert Ewing Brown, promotion and publicity director of Little Rock stations KTHV and KTHS is president.

FLORIDA

While there are several resistance groups in Florida, none has achieved a position of importance. A WCC movement, largely directed by former Klan leaders, has had little success. A. C. Shuler, a retired Baptist minister, is reported to serve as acting president of the WCC of Florida and M. B. Sherill of Fort Pierce (a co-founder of the "Pro-Southerners"), serves as secretary. Thus far activity has been limited to the Jacksonville, Tallahassee and Tampa areas. These same areas have experienced some Klan activity during the past year.

A new movement, the National Association for the Protection of White People and Fair Treatment of Negroes, was chartered in Miami in September, 1956, with former Governor Fuller Warren as its attorney. Thus far nothing further has been heard from this group.

Resistance groups have less influence in Florida than in other Southern states. The growing pro-segregation atmosphere is such, however, that this situation could change if the proper resistance leadership presents itself.

GEORGIA - "The States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc."

The States' Rights Council of Georgia was incorporated on December 27, 1954. On September 23, 1955, at the invitation of Governor Marvin Griffin, 200 of the state's most prominent and influential political and business leaders met and voted to support the movement as "a statewide organization dedicated to the preservation of constitutional government and the maintenance of harmonious race relations."

The Rev. William T. Bodenhamer of Ty Ty, who is a member of the General Assembly, a member of the State Board of Education, a Baptist Minister, and a former school superintendent, was appointed executive secretary and instructed to form local groups in each of the state's 159 counties, with a total membership of at least 150,000. There are no indications that any significant portion of this membership has been secured. However, the downtown Atlanta office of the group is active and distributes an unusually expensive collection of publications. A visiting school teacher who requested such literature was given a generous supply of "teaching materials" which included: a history of the organization; a statement of aims and purposes; a series of expensively reproduced pro-segregation statements by such historical figures as Jefferson and Lincoln; a booklet, "The Supreme Court, The Broken Constitution, and the Shattered Bill of Rights"; "The Cause of the Confederacy"; Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook's booklet, "The Ugly Truth about the NAACP"; a copy of the third party movement newspaper, "Free Men Speak,"; and a copy of the anti-Semitic "Williams Intelligence Summary."

Since its formation the group has enjoyed the unqualified support of the Governor, the state Attorney General, Senator Herman Talmadge, and most of the other significant political leaders of the state. It has not, however, developed into a grass roots movement.

GEORGIA - "The U. S. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan"

During August 1955, announcements were made that an Atlanta auto-assembly plant worker named Eldon L. Edwards had been appointed Imperial Wizard of a revived Klan movement. Since that time the group has obtained a charter and has begun to hold public meetings of robed but unmasked members.

At its inception, the caliber of leadership and strong public opposition to a Klan movement indicated that this new movement was to be of little significance. This may still be the case. However, during the past several months there has been a conspicuous flurry of public activity by the Klan. Public meetings, some impressive in size, have been held in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas. These states, with the possible exception of North Carolina, have formal organizations and officers, and most claim to be divisions or associates of the Atlanta group.

A pattern of Klan activity is now developing which gives some indication of adequate leadership and financing. This leadership may come from Edwards, and the funds may come from membership fees (of $10). The Klan effort to recruit mass membership can be a highly lucrative endeavor. However, if the current trend continues, the possibility must be considered that leadership and financing have been injected which are far superior to that represented by the known Atlanta group.

Under any circumstances the development of a new Klan movement, its leadership, and its support comprise that area of resistance group activity which most commands attention in the near future.

LOUISIANA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana"

The Louisiana WCC has its headquarters in Homer, site of the first organized resistance activity in that state. The group has an impressive list of officers headed by the chairman, State Senator William M. Rainach of Summerfield, and the executive secretary, attorney W. M. Shaw. Others are J. Stewart Slack of Shreveport, a member of the L.S.U. Board of Supervisors; Malcolm Dougherty of Baton Rouge, president of the Louisiana Farm Bureau Federation; Dr. Emmett Irvin of New Orleans, past president of the Louisiana Medical Association; C. Carneal Goldman of Waterproff, an attorney and farmer; and Harry P. Gamble, Sr., of New Orleans, president of the American Association for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity.

The WCC claims a membership of 75,000 to 100,000 with over 50,000 members in New Orleans; however, it is doubtful if there are actually more than half that number. The membership fee of $5.00 includes $2.00 for the state office. In addition, considerable wealth is represented among WCC supporters - for example, B.H.J. Balter, a prominent realtor in whose downtown office building the New Orleans WCC has its headquarters.

The group is having a growing influence in the state, especially through the legislature where the WCC state chairman is also chairman of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature. The original legislative program of the WCC has been accomplished and it is now turning its attention to Negro registration. Chairman Rainach has issued this warning: "...We are going through the familiar pattern set by registration of Negroes in the early days of reconstruction. Our forefathers knew well the disastrous consequences of that pattern in the South."

In October, 1956, WCC units began challenging the qualifications of registrants in 13 parishes. Thus far some 10,000 names, mostly Negro, have been removed from the lists of qualified voters.

(Article 8, Section 1 of the Louisiana Constitution requires that any applicant for registration shall be able to read or understand any clause in the constitutions of Louisiana or of the United States. Any two qualified voters may challenge the qualifications of a registered voter or of a person desiring to register. The WCC has served notice that, through these two approaches and through the support of the Joint Segregation Committee of the Legislature, "the problem of Negro registration will be solved in a legal way".)

Other groups in the state include the Federation for Constitutional Government, (James U. Barr, New Orleans); the Southern Gentlemen, Inc., (J. B. Easterly, Baton Rouge); the Ku Klux Klan (Edgar Taylor, Baton Rouge); the Society for the Preservation of State Government and Racial Integrity (Harry P. Gamble, Sr., New Orleans -- largely inactive); and the Knights of the White Christians (Alvin A. Cobb, New Orleans -- inactive). Free Men Speak, a newspaper devoted largely to third party movements, is published in New Orleans by Kent H. Courtney.

MISSISSIPPI - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi"

The Mississippi WCC headquarters are in Greenwood, with "administrative" offices in Jackson. Robert B. Patterson, planter, businessman, and founder of the WCC movement, is executive secretary. W. J. Simmons, a Jackson businessman, is "administrator."

A few counties in the northern part of the state and others along the Gulf do not have WCC units, but this state movement is the strongest in the South and will have considerable influence for years to come. The major opposition to the movement comes from the governor and others of the state Democratic Party, who have refused to lend their official support to the WCC and who took issue with WCC support of the third party movement in the Fall of 1956. This is primarily a fight for political control, however, and does not represent a weakening of the nearly universal white pro-segregation sentiment of the state.

From slightly more than 85,000 members, plus a women's auxiliary, the WCC collects a membership fee of $5.00, of which $1.00 remains in the local unit, $2.00 is sent to the state office, and the remaining $2.00 is used as a subscription to the Citizens' Councils, the official paper.

This state is the fountainhead of the region-wide WCC movement and it is significant that the "temporary national office" of the Citizens' Councils of America is located in Greenwood. The basis of the movement was well expressed in the Mississippi WCC second annual report (1956), which stated: "The best prophet of the future is the past. History proves that the supreme power in the government of men has always been public opinion. Public sentiment is the law!"

This movement has the support of, or is feared by, the majority of the people of Mississippi. In the smaller communities, and generally throughout the Delta, the WCC is almost all-powerful. In these areas, elementary steps in race relations toward achieving the fundamentals of a democratic society have yet to be taken.

NORTH CAROLINA - "The Patriots of North Carolina, Inc."

A charter for the Patriots of North Carolina, Inc., was filed in Raleigh on August 22, 1955 bearing the patriotic date July 4th. It carried the names of 356 men and women from 59 North Carolina counties about whom the Winston Salem Journal and Sentinel commented: "All in all few North Carolina corporations can boast a more impressive list of charter members. For that reason it is unwise to dismiss lightly the Patriots of North Carolina. The group represents something more than a scrubbed-face revival of the Ku Klux Klan in new haberdashery."

The Patriots, estimated to have some 20,000 members, is headed by Dr. W.C. George, a professor at the University of North Carolina Medical School. Its executive secretary, with offices in Greensboro, is A. Allison James, a Winston Salem druggist and one-time head of the U. S. Savings Bond Sales in North Carolina. Among the charter members and officers are three former Speakers of the state House of Representatives, a trustee of the University of North Carolina, several major industrialists, a former U. S. Attorney, a former state commander of the American Legion, and several respected ministers. This caliber of leadership has set the tone of resistance as being restrained but uncompromising in opposing any possible move toward desegregation. The recent acts of the state legislature are some indication of the measure of their success.

Outside elements have recently attempted a Klan revival in the state, especially in the Kannapolis area. They may be successful, since a potential Klan membership exists there.

SOUTH CAROLINA - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of S. C."

The South Carolina WCC is a moderately strong movement with a membership of approximately 30,000. The largely inactive state office is located in Charleston and a businessman of that city, Micah Jenkins served as first chairman of the group. S. Emory Rogers, an attorney in Summerton was first executive secretary and the actual leader of the movement. Through Rogers the group has become thoroughly involved in politics, especially in the 1956 third party movement. Rogers resigned in December, 1956, due to poor health and, thus far, no replacement has been selected. T. D. Keels, an original worker in the WCC movement and former chairman of the Sumter WCC, is current state chairman.

Much of the work which might be done by the WCC is accomplished through the Gressette Committee, a legislative body charged with maintaining segregation in South Carolina. The Chairman, State Senator Lawrence M. Gressette, is a supporter of the WCC movement but very carefully distinguishes its activities from the work of his committee, reportedly because he has political ambitions which require that he, not the WCC, receive the credit for maintaining segregation. This type of potential conflict among pro-segregation leaders represents one of the major threats to the continued effectiveness of the WCC.

A number of South Carolinians who might otherwise support the WCC have failed to do so because of these political activities and conflicts and because of the extreme measures, including economic reprisals, taken by the WCC. Economic pressure and other means of intimidation have lessened, at least temporarily. Political activity and support of the third party movement grew during the Presidential campaign and were probably more evident in the South Carolina WCC than in any other statewide resistance group.

The state has denied a charter to the Klan, but considerable and increasing Klan activity is led by Georgia Klansmen. A second and smaller Klan group is now functioning in competition with the Georgia affiliated group.

TENNESSEE

There are several resistance groups in Tennessee, each active in its own area to the general exclusion of the rest of the state. All, however, claim to be statewide organizations.

In Chattanooga there is the Tennessee Society to Maintain Segregation headed by Arthur A. Canada, long a disruptive influence in organized labor in the state. Canada and his group receive substantial support from Judge Raulston Schoolfield and attorney Charles Coleman, both political figures of Chattanooga.

In Nashville there is the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, headed by Donald Davidson, well known writer and professor of English at Vanderbilt University. This group has a slate of officers, largely business executives, who represent considerable wealth and influence in the area.

In Memphis there is the WCC headed by the Rev. Wayne Cox, pastor of Woodlawn Terrace Baptist Church. This group has gone through several reorganizations and seems to have much difficulty with membership and finances. Also in Memphis, the Tennessee Citizens for Progress has been formed reportedly as a partial revival of the old Crump organization, interested primarily in political power through a pro-segregation platform. All of the leaders of this group have been identified by Memphis newspapers as being "former lieutenants" of the Crump machine.

A second WCC group, with headquarters in Clinton, was chartered in December, 1956, and is led by John Kasper.

The resistance groups of Tennessee, all of which have insignificant membership, have found it difficult to cooperate with each other and are often in open competition for attention, membership, and finances. Therein lies their greatest weakness. All, with the possible exception of the WCC, are primarily interested in politics and one questions whether the activity is a primary end in itself or merely a means to an end.

Klan activity, which is light, has been limited to the Chattanooga and the Georgia-Tennessee border areas.

TEXAS - "The Association of Citizens' Councils of Texas"

Texas has several resistance groups, of which the WCC is the strongest. Dr. B. E. Masters, retired educator and former junior college president, is chairman of the Association, and attorney Ross Carlton of Dallas is chairman of the WCC executive committee.

Thus far the major activity of the group has been that of campaigning for the pro-segregation referendum of the Democratic primary election of July 28, 1956. More recently WCC members have been active in the several disturbances which have occurred where integration has taken place, as in Mansfield. The estimated membership of 25,000 and its activities are located largely in east Texas.

Ku Klux Klan activity has shown an increase during the past year though the Texas Attorney General has publicly stated his opposition to a revival of the Klan movement.

VIRGINIA

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These groups cannot claim credit for the considerable change in atmosphere in Virginia during the past year. However, partially because of that change, the state could become a fertile ground for a "respectable" resistance movement.

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South Carolina	30,000	50,000.
Tennessee	- -	- - **
Texas	25,000	- - **
Virginia	15,000	- - *
TOTAL	320,000	$1,015,000.

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The following are publications in regular circulation among Southern resistance groups. Sample copies or subscriptions may be obtained by writing to the indicated addresses.

The Citizens' Council
("Official Paper of the Citizens' Councils of America."
originated as official paper of the Mississippi WCC.)
605 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

The Augusta Courier
1300 Southern Finance Building
Augusta, Georgia
Roy V. Harris, Editor & Publisher
(Weekly - $4.00 per year)

(The *Courier* is an independent weekly paper, not published by any group, however it receives considerable circulation among pro-segregation forces, especially in Georgia.)

The White Sentinel
("Official Organ of the National Citizens' Protective Association")
(Published outside the South but distributed by a number of WCC groups, in lieu of printing a local paper)
P. O. Box 156
St. Louis 3, Missouri
(Monthly - $2.00 per year)

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Resis Groups, Info. Mat.

SPECIAL REPORT

**SOUTHERN
REGIONAL
COUNCIL**
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Fall, 1959

From: Southern Regional Council, Research files
63 Auburn Avenue N. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

ALABAMA

At least five groups have operated in recent years:

1. U. S. Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Hdqs. in Georgia; Eldon Edwards of Atlanta is Imperial Wizard.)
2. Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (Incorporated: 1957)
3. Gulf Coast Klan (reportedly now defunct)
4. Florida Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
5. Ku Klux Klan of the Confederacy (reportedly now defunct; inc. 1957)

No reliable estimate of membership.

Robert M. Shelton was Alabama's Grand Dragon of the U. S. Klan, Knights of the KKK until late 1959; he was replaced by Roy Hartley, of Tuscaloosa.

ARKANSAS

Until recently, the KKK was inactive since 1920's. Two groups in the news in 1959:

1. Association of Arkansas Klans
2. A branch of the Georgia-based U. S. Klan, Knights of the KKK

   A. C. Hightower was listed as resident agent for legal service in 1959; he resigned in mid-August and 72-year-old J. R. English was named resident agent (English said he had no other function and had never been a member). English resigned during fall, 1959.

No membership estimate.

FLORIDA

1. Association of Florida Ku Klux Klans

   Disbanded in 1955; revived by 1957 under leadership of W. T. Griffin.

2. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, headed by Bill Hendrix, active in 1957-58. Their present status is unknown.
3. By early 1958 at least seven separate Klan groups reported in the state.

No membership estimate available.

GEORGIA

1. U. S. Klans, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

   Headed by Eldon Edwards, Atlanta. In 1957 Edwards claimed a membership of 50,000 in Georgia and other states. In 1958 the Anti-Defamation League estimated the total at 12,000 to 15,000.

   Lee Davison (of Macon ?) is Georgia grand dragon.

2. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.

   Incorporated in December 1959. Listed as incorporators: H. J. Jones, Jonesboro; R. L. Bing, Sr., Stockbridge; W. B. Parr, Jonesboro; and J. T. Campbell, Jonesboro -- all of Georgia.

3. Christian Knights of the KKK, headquarters in Columbus, Ga.

No other membership estimates available.

LOUISIANA

An April, 1958, Anti-Defamation League report terms KKK activity in Louisiana sporadic and insignificant.

MISSISSIPPI

No recent information. Indications are that Citizens Council has monopolized the resistance movement in the state.

NORTH CAROLINA

U. S. Klans, Knights of the KKK active during 1957, but by 1959 "in its death throes." (Atty. General Malcomm Seawell)

Reportedly this group split in two during 1958 or 1959. Name of second group unknown. Membership thought now insignificant.

SOUTH CAROLINA

At least four groups have been active during last four years. The S. C. Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and the Association of the S. C. Klans (hdqs., Columbia) are among them. No additional information. To all appearances, activity is insignificant and factionalism is high.

TEXAS

No recent information, other than this: in 1959 a Waco resident, Horace Sherman Miller, registered with the legislature as a lobbyist for the Aryan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Religion. Some recruiting activity from other groups reported; particularly in Texarkana area, Summer 1959.

VIRGINIA

No recent information. Attempts to organize Klaverns reportedly met with bitter hostility from residents.

TENNESSEE

No recent information. Occasional Klan activity reported in Chattanooga area and along Georgia border generally.

Resistance Groups

RALPH Atl Const.

McGILL

5-7-63

Treadmills Of Frustration

In West Africa earlier this spring some of the questions, particularly in Muslim areas, were about the Black Muslims in America. African followers of Mohamet knew the American exploiters of the Prophet's name were not really Muslims. Other Africans were aware of them as a secret, direct action group which was trying to separate itself from America. Some were informed about the acts of violence committed by its members.

These questions were, in a sense, welcome. It is at once obvious that the Black Muslims attract the same sort of persons who join Ku Klux Klans, White Citizens Councils, Birch Societies, and other psychologically related groups. The membership of such organizations is, in large measure, composed of persons who, when confronted with a sociological situation or human condition they cannot understand or accept, seek to meet it with secrecy, violence, ritual, robes and much mumbo-jumbo stuff which seems to attract the insecure and the maladjusted. There is in them all a wish to withdraw, to separa to become alien.

Right Wing

Not all Klans and Councils, to be sure, are hate groups, but many are. This also is true of some of the right-wing organizations. All contain persons who are quite willing to do violence and harm. The Muslims are a hate group, theoretically committed to destruction of the white race everywhere, but that many members have private reservations is undenied. That the more violent are matched by members of some of the Councils, Klans and individuals is made plain by the murder in Alabama of the postman who was making a pilgrimage into Mississippi to protest against segregation, by the snipers in the Oxford mob who killed only two men before their position on a nearby roof was made untenable, and by other individual and mob actions.

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All of which is a prelude to discussion of a study paper recently presented to the Public Personnel Association in Washington by George Gregory Jr., a New York Civil Service Commissioner. Commissioner Gregory, a Negro, is a former all-American basketball player at Columbia University. Since 1948 the commissioner has been a member of the New York City Youth Board.

His theme is irrefutable. It is relevant to why we have hate groups, delinquency, and crime. The population drift to cities, he says, has brought "a whole new set of problems inexorably working against equal opportunities for minorities. . . . It may become an explosive subject tomorrow."

"The problem is not merely of the Negro," he properly says, "but also that of a dozen other minorities, including Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, American Indians and the equally uneducated, untrained Southern white migrants already identified in the larger industrial cities of the nation as 'those hillbillies.'"

Educational System

Using the Negro "illustratively," Mr. Gregory, in discussing the problem of employment, said that the Negro considers himself riding a treadmill of frustration. His segregated educational system is not preparing him to compete in a white world. Hence, lacking training, he is unemployed, has no earning power, has a poor self image . . . and eventually is robbed of the will to try . . . surrounded as he is by poor family and community motivations his children have the same difficulty getting off the treadmill . . . educational inadequacies lead to lack of training, unemployability.

This picture of the minority problem applies equally to hundreds of thousands of white persons, a high percentage of whom are from the South. A region that did not, and does not now, have the income to finance one good school system has maintained two poor ones. As a result several generations of Southern children, Negro and white, have been and still are being penalized.

The growing cities are a new problem. The cities, states and the Congress are slow to see this. Their governments, often dominated by reactionary or rural forces, are unwilling to allow the vital federal participation. Meanwhile the explosive possibilities become probabilities. It is folly not to act.

RALPH

McGILL

Atl. Con. 7/19/63

Communism's Ready Helpers

Resist. Grp. KKK.

At a recent meeting of Georgia's Ku Klux Klan, held in the welcoming climate of Albany, a southwest city not far north of the Florida line, one of the speakers reportedly was a judge of a city court (a not unusual combination in small Southern towns) who made an emotional exhortation.

Anti-segregation demonstrations, he said, are Communist inspired. "This is a nationwide matter that is being fostered by the Communists in Russia," said the dispenser of justice. "Russia! The Machiavellian hand of Khrushchev is behind this agitation."

There was more of the same. His audience, which had arrived in pick-up trucks, old cars, and a scattering of small foreign cars, seemingly had no idea about the identity of the Florentine Prince Machiavelli, but apparently accepted him as an Italian pal of Mr. Khrushchev's . . . and that was all that mattered.

Curious Consistency

One of the curious consistencies of the speeches and writings by the White Citizens Council essayists and by the Klan exhorters is the charge that the attack on segregation is Communist-inspired; that the U. S. Supreme Court has sold out to communism, and that any of those who uphold the court and the decisions supporting equal citizenship are Communist stooges, or in the pay of Khrushchev. Hate letters will inquire, "How much is Khrushchev paying you to support the Communist Supreme Court?"

It does not seem to occur to such persons that what the KKK speakers are really saying is a very dangerous thing; namely, that:

1. The right to vote is communism.
2. The right to education on a non-discriminatory basis is communism.

1. The right to vote is communism.

2. The right to education on a non-discriminatory basis is communism.

3. The right to equal opportunity is communism.

4. The right to use public facilities is communism.

Communism, of course, uses this sort of nonsense as valuable propaganda. In African and Asian countries one finds the remarks of such speakers as the judge in Albany widely printed.

Best Propaganda

Communism could not ask for better propaganda support than it gets from the Councils and the Klans—from the Bull Connors and those who deny that the Constitution guarantees equal citizenship. Communism argues (untruthfully) that in Russia and Communist bloc countries, minorities are treated equally. So they are very grateful to those Americans who—in writings and speeches opposing the efforts of 18 million Negroes to be allowed to vote, to be trained and educated, and to have decent housing and use of public facilities—shout and rant that such actions are communism at work in America. The various KKK and Council writers and podium pounders may be sure—Mr. Khrushchev thanks them.

The fact that a city court judge appeared in the role of a KKK exhorter will not go unnoticed nationally—or in foreign countries. Eyebrows will be raised and minds will ask questions.

What confronts us is not, of course, communism. It is, however, a revolution . . . and it remains to be seen whether or not sanity will prevail and that it will be a revolution lacking bloodshed. We have seen Birmingham . . . Detroit . . . New York . . . Chicago . . . Jackson . . . Albany.

Surely, by now, it must be plain to every thoughtful citizen that it is the responsibility of accountable men and women everywhere to establish the clearly established legitimate aims of the Negro population—aims which give no public rights not already held by other citizens—with as little damage to the respective communities and the nation as possible. We all know that only about a third of the qualified Negro voters have been permitted to vote; that about 10 years after the school decision there are states and communities which still make much of defiance; that there have been, and are, inequities in education and opportunity.

Surely we have the honor and the courage to do what is right.

And surely American citizenship aims are not communism.

"hate groups"

October 18, 1963

Mr. James Foreman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Foreman:

Enclosed is the "action" section of my report on the church and racism. I hope you will find it helpful in your article you are writing. Since it is from an unpublished and unedited manuscript, you will understand that we cannot authorize quotes from the manuscript. I did not include the body of the thing because it represents only my own interpretation of the events of the year in the church's belated recognition that racism is destroying it from within. I am sure that you know this better than I, and that your own conclusions will be more valid.

You also asked to receive some material on "hate groups" and I am attaching excerpts from the letter I wrote to another inquirer on this subject. If you need them, I can make copies of some WCC meetings held here and there over the South--but all they indicate is that the White Citizens Councils are making a lot of noise. Most of the magazine articles I found for 1962-1963 are on the subjects of the radical right or the Black Muslims. Most of the more recent pamphlets published are on the same two groups. We have a few things on the Klan, but all describe it as a last-gasp organization, deserted everywhere but Alabama by persons of influence--especially politicians.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosures:
  Action section of Report on Church and Race
  Summary of information on Klan and WCC

hate groups

October 16, 1963

Mr. Emory Via
School of Workers
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Emory:

Paul Anthony asked me to get together some materials for you on "hate groups." Enclosed is copies of news clips (recent), some articles and "pass-out" leaflets of meetings held, and lists of magazine articles and pamphlets (of which we have only one copy in our files). If you are not able to readily obtain copies of any of these latter listings, and find that you particilarly want them, let me know and I will make copies.

If we were not so very rushed in research, I would have compiled some of this information for you; Paul, however, suggested that I send it as is because we are not certain just what you will wish to use. If you have any specific questions not adequately answered, please write and we will try to give you answers.

I think the KKK material is fairly complete, but I give you a quote from a letter written by Staige Blackford which sums up the latest information on the Klan membership:

> In January 1961, the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: 'in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less.' Moreover, my source said that while Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, he is dead certain that Rice's 1958 estimate is way off, way too high. He pointed out that the Klan has a habit of going "way overboard' in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since gone from this earth). He did say, though, that there were some indications of a slight increase in Klan strength this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, he estimated that: 1) KKKhas held its own this year in Alabama; and 2) has shown definite signs of increase in Georgia up to September and October

(but very probably falling off now since the old political order has collapsed). At any rate, whatever increase there has been this year or in the past eight years, there is no indication of the Klan rising anew. Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hard locals and state has-beens.

You are safe in saying that Klan membership has fluctuated widely in the past decade, but at the most never exceeded 50,000 and is likely to have been considerably less throughout the whole period.

Regarding the White Citizens Councils (called by various names in various states) there is some slight difference of opinion. Paul thinks there is some resurgence because of increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. Les Dunbar thinks that although they are presently making more noise, they are not really growing appreciably. They remain strong in Mississippi and may be a little stronger this year, after Oxford and the strong voter registration pro= grams. However, note that funds from the State Sovereignty Commission have been cut and the new head of this commission is Erle Johnson, who last year rebuked the Citizens Councils (see clips). In Alabama is making a lot of shrill noise and having many meetings. But Les thinks they may be slipping there and in Louisiana and Georgia. In all other areas they have lost influence on politicians. At a recent rally in Atlanta (see clips) no state official attended.

Les thinks the most dangerous development is the kind of group Lester Maddox organized to boycot businesses which desegregate (see enclosures). Of the 35 restaurants which desegregated this spring, only 12 (and we are not sure of that number from day to day) remain desegregated after picketing and boycotts. Hotels are desegregated only to the extent of including Negroes in large conventions provided no more than 5% attend. One motel has made an exception for the SRC annual meeting. Only one small hotel will accept Negroes and dark foreign visitors at any time and without any restrictions.

I have included material on the radical right--which we consider a "hate group" too. If you wish, I can give you also a list of the radical right religious groups, leaders, and publications, which I compiled for another purpose.

Clips were not available on Mobile and Selma, so I give you this from Paul's travels: In Mobile the WCC holds weekly meetings in the city auditorium; Wallace was a recent speaker. Attendance runs up to 2,500. When Bull Conner spoke very recently, he lost the crowd completely when he told them it was all right for police to use extreme measures to "keep the peace" but if they did it hurt the cause and lost national sympathy and local support. He urged them to leave all violence to the police! Selma has an active WCC; some 6,500 persons attended a recent meeting when Gov. Wallace spoke.

We have one or two file copies of Paul's 1956 report on prosegregation groups; I could lend you this. I did not include it becuase I thought you would want more recent information.

Emory, I hope I am sending you what you need. If not, do not hesitate to let me know and I'll do another "search".

Regards to your wife.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosures:
list of magazine articles
list of pamphlets
copies of news clips and articles
extra copies of several things
New South: Black Muslims

For Emory Via : Recent Magazine articles
Hate Groups

1. Radical Right

Christian Century, May 9, 1962 - "Social Sources of the Radical Right," by Robert Lee
________________ July 4, 1962 - "I Went to a Schwarz 'School'"
*________________ May 16, 1962 - "Rightest Weather Map,"by Harold E. Fey
Sat. Evening Post, April 28, 1962 - "Doomsday Merchant on the Far, Far, Right," (Billy James Hargis) by Harold H. Martin
New York Times Magazine, 6-17-63, "The Threat of the Radical Right," by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
____________________, 4-29-62, "The Liberals Have Helped the Radical Right," by Harvey B. Schechter.
____________________, Nov. 26, 1961, "Report on the 'Rampageous Right'" by Alan Barth
____________________, 12-10-63, "How Some Birchers Were Birches," by Thos. S. Starke (California)
Harpers, Oct. 1961, "Houston's Super Patriots," by Willie Morris
The New Republic, 9-24-63, "The New Conservatism," by Peter Vierick
_____________, 3-5-63, "Seeds of Schism on the Right"
_____________, 5-28-62, "The Anti-Communist Hoax," by Irving Brant (who are the right wing's real enemies?)
The Nation, 11-11-61, "The Armed Super Patricts in the Mid-west," by Peter W. Salsich Jr.
________, 3-10-62, "Anti-Communism in the Classroom: Education or Propaganda?," Lawrence E. Metcalf.

2. Black Muslims

Christian Century, 6-5-63, "Malcolm X: Charismatic Demagogue," by Albert B. Southwick
Playboy, May 1963, "Malcolm X: interview"
Liberator, April 1963, "The Black Muslims," by August Meier
New York Times Magazine, 5-12-63, "Two Ways: Black Muslim and NAACP," by Gertrude Samuels
Saturday Evening Post, 1-26-63, "Black Merchants of Hate," by Alfred Balk and Alex Haley

Pamphlets

Am. Jewish Committee, Bigotry in Action (organized anti-Semitism) 1963.
National Conf. of Christians & Jews, Anti-Communism, The Extreme Right and the Church, by Richard Horchler
Putnam Letters, Nat'l Putnam Letters Committee, P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y. 1963. These are the Guilty; Letter to U. S. Attorney General; Letter to the President.
Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House, The UltraRight Wing Today: Problems in Containment. 1961. Mimeographed.
Facts, Nov.-Dec. 1962, Anti Defamation League, "The Case of Fred Schwarz." (I think they also have one on the John Birch Society).

Far Right Wing

RALPH McGILL

11-5-63

Once Again The Bully Boys

Reading telegrams of apology sent U.N. Ambassador Stevenson by state officials and those of the City of Dallas, Texas, stirred the memory of anyone who was in Germany in the pre-war Hitler years. The substance of the messages also invoked consideration of our domestic discontents. Those people (and their counterparts) who spat at Adlai Stevenson and cursed and reviled him and the police are a frequent feature of news in this and the past decade. An important national question was implicit in Dallas Mayor Cabell's statement, "The demonstrators were not our kind of folks."

In Berlin, the Storm Troopers were impressive in their conformity of personality and appearance. The old Prussian stiff-legged parade step was a choreography of symbolic, stamping arrogance. Off duty, in the beer halls, the bully boys were given to laughter that seemed unconsciously strident. They exuded a thinly veneered willingness to brutality and force. They had been recruited largely from the ranks of the unemployed and of what we now call drop-outs.

The Storm Troopers

The writer recalls these troopers most vividly in February of 1938 in Berlin and of late March and early April in Vienna, Austria. In February, Hitler spoke at the Kroll Opera House diagonally across from the burned-out Reichstag. (The arson-plot destruction of it enabled Hitler to bring the Nazis to power through a fast-moving coup of political machination and the use of force.) . . . Inside, when he spoke, there was hypnotic hysteria. He had the power to ignite emotions.

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Hitler had indicated he would absorb Austria. In March he did. In Vienna the bully boys openly persecuted Jews on the streets and in their shops. In the beer halls fights erupted nightly for a week or so, and many a citizen was beaten by the uniformed toughs.

On April 9, Hitler and the notables of his regime paraded with the shrieking of perhaps a million persons in their ears. One remembers the stamp of booted feet, the shouted slogans: "Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuhrer."

After them came two hours of parading Hitler youth—some fetched from Germany. They went by, arrogant and proud, singing the harsh songs with their promise of terror and blood. One remembers a correspondent saying, "My God, look at their eyes and faces. They frighten me." (Most of these were to die for the Fuhrer in the devastating world war that was even then coming.)

Depths of Depravity

The Nazis' concentration camps gave evidence of the depths of a depravity to which a human being may descend. General Eisenhower, on visiting the first to be liberated, was sickened by what he saw.

At one of the liberated concentration camps a shocked correspondent said, "Thank God we don't have people in America who could do that."

He quickly was corrected. We do.

The Dallas Times Herald referred to "storm trooper tactics" and said, "The jeering, bullying mob was not attacking the United Nations. It was battling the right of you and me to hold our separate beliefs."

At Oxford, Mississippi, at Little Rock, in Birmingham and other troubled cities reports have noted the "unknown outsiders," "the leather-jacketed toughs," "strangers to the local people," who were active in violence. We have had dynamiters of churches, Sunday schools, synagogues.

Who are these persons? What is their background? Why do they hate so violently? Why do they feel no link with their country and its laws and principles?

We need to know.

RALPH

McGILL

11-15-63

Dr. Bunche Is Impressive

United Nations Notes: A recent speech by Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United Nations Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs, is just now gaining circulation among members of the General Assembly and the U.N. staffs by virtue of the good words of all those who have read it. Dr. Bunche made the talk at the small Negro college of Tougaloo Southern Christian at Jackson, Mississippi. The college was the only organization in the state to observe United Nations Week.

The address was made without fanfare. Dr. Bunche spoke from notes. But the talk was taped and copies of it are now being read. The effect is, on the whole, solid. Those who read it ask what American, or, for that matter, any other person of fair mind, could challenge Dr. Bunche's conclusions.

Racist Virus

Dr. Bunche was, for example, equally critical of the Negro "carriers" of the racist virus as of the white "supremacists." He leveled irrefutable, analytical criticism at Adam Clayton Powell, Governors Ross Barnett of Mississippi and George Wallace of Alabama, and Malcolm X, leader of the extremist Black Muslim organization. Dr. Bunche asked the white leadership of the nation to consider that if 170 million persons deny the legitimate aspirations to equal citizenship of 19 million Americans, they thereby would play into the hands of extremists and create bitterness and resentment in the rank and file. There is no need for the nation to be injured by unreasonable, irrational denial, he said.

In speaking of Congressman Powell, Dr. Bunche said:

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In speaking of Congressman Powell, Dr. Bunche said:

"I always find it difficult to understand how a Negro, like the white supremacists, can espouse separation of the races, even for different reasons," he declared, continuing:

"I regard Powell's attacks not only as stupid and irresponsible but as revoltingly racist. I reject racists and racism, whoever and wherever they are, and whatever their color, as poisonous and vicious, as evidenced by the infamous so-called White Citizens Councils. I deplore Negroes' embracing, as the Black Muslims and Adam Clayton Powell have done, a black form of the racist virus."

An American

Dr. Bunche said some in Mississippi undoubtedly would look upon him as a Northern busybody, but he had come to that state to speak his mind as an American. From that standpoint, he gave his credo:

"This is my country; my ancestors and I helped to build it. I say my color has nothing to do with it. I have a stake in this country, and I am determined that I and my children and their children will cash in on it. I am determined to fight, therefore, for what is mine.

"I want no one — Malcolm X or anyone else — to tell me to give up this fight because equality is unattainable and to look elsewhere, in some mythical, fanciful state of black men, for my salvation. I say that is surrender and escapism and I want none of it."

To individuals and organizations involved in the movement for racial equality, he added an appeal for careful planning and a warning against emotionalism.

Dr. Bunche thought, for example, that the proposal that Negroes boycott Christmas gift-buying was misguided and impractical. It would not help the Negro cause to avoid buying toys for children, particularly in stores staffed by Negro clerks, he said.

Dr. Bunche's address does challenge the conscience. It asks that we abandon stereotypes and myths; that we stop looking at the weakness of the racial dilemma and consider its strengths — and to recall that we are, for better or worse, Americans and that we live or die with our country and its future unity and strength.

MA-files

John Birch & other far right

December 4, 1963

Mr. C. L. Winne
Box 24
Finch Circle Road
Hoodsport, Washington

Dear Mr. Winne:

You have set yourself quite a task. I'm sure you already know that moral issues are never popular, and that debating with Birchites is like shadow-boxing because nothing you say will convince them. If a person believes that our government is of, by, and for the people, then he has one set of values. If a person believes that our government is infilterated with people that are part of a sinister conspiracy to the point of calling ex-President Eisenhower, Dr. Bunche, Justices Douglas, Black, Harlan, and Warren, ex-vice-president Nixon, and Gov. Rockefeller and others Communists, then he is so paralyzed by unreasoning, irrational fears that reason and logic cannot get through to him. Public debate with such people is not usually constructive, because they quote from material they consider reputable and accurate. In order to be able to refute them you would have to undertake a course of study of books and articles exposing the extremists and their doctrines, and you would also need to read and study their own publications. If you don't want to take on such a project, you can simply stand firm on democratic principles and question those that are un-democratic.

An example of how these people operate is that of the Circuit Riders, Inc., organized in 1951 by a grop of Methodists, meeting in Chicago, to protest the Methodist Federation for Social Action. Expanded since 1952 to seek out alledgedly subversive influences in many other denominations, education, and the press. Basic activity of CR in recent years has been writing and publishing of "compilations of public records" of various groups and individuals suspected of subversion. These are offered for sale and free distribution. Clergymen of the following denominations are the subjects of separate books: Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodists, Baptists, Unitarians, and Jewish Rabbis. Each volume consists of names with "listings" which appear to come from communist publications, the House Un-American Activities Committee, etc. A full-scare refutation of the volume on Methodists was written in 1961 by Dr. Philip Wogaman at the request of two Methodist groups and published as "The Methodist Ministry and Communism: The Truth Behind the Charges." Dr. Wogaman examined the 2,109 Methodist ministers implied by CR to have been in communists fronts, finding that only 545 were even named in the book and that only a few of these were ever connected with groups declared subversive by the Attorney General.

In the late 30's some people now prominant in government and other circles belonged to organizations which were considered at that time to be liberal. Some of these organizations were later infilterated (or were said to be) by some Communisis and were listed as suspect by the House Un-American Activities Committee, etc. But no one, to our knowledge, has ever come forth with any proof that these people were, themselves, Communist. I think you need to look at their positions today and judge them by what they are, what they say, and what they do.

It is true that the Communists did try to infiltrate the Negro organizations concerned with civil rights. As no less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover has repeatedly testified, it is a fine commentary on the good sense and deep patriotism of this group of Americans that the Communists have failed so completely in this effort. (See Masters of Deceit, J. Edgar Hoover; Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1958.) The pamphlet "Communism, Negroes, and Integration" gives the impression of substantial documentation. Yet it is interesting that no individual or organization is identified as author or sponsor. It is a highly questionable procedure to accept at face value any document for which its author(s) will not accept public responsibility, particularly when such a document raises serious questions as to the loyalty of established citizens and organizations.

American Opinion is a monthly magazine published by the John Birch Society. Robert Welch is editor, Scott Stanley, Jr. is managing editor. The magazine has reported to the Post Office that it distributed an average of 26,411 copies each month last year--about 15,000 to subscribers and 11,000 on newstands, etc. I am sorry, but I did not find any mention of "Alliance, Inc." Is this a publication, a radio or TV program, and is it local or national? "Alliance", directed by Archibald Roosevelt, is a right wing group.

There is considerable affinity, political and otherwise, between the right-wing groups (including the John Birch Society) and the segregationists. Most groups and organizations and individuals that have been associated with liberal opinion and civil rights have been labelled as "communist" at some time and by some right-wing group. In October of 1961 Mr. J. Edgar Hoover concluded a report prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with these observations:

> Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.
>
> These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them.

One of the current projects of the Birchers, as well as other far-right organizations, is an attact on the Federal Communication Commission's newly-stated doctrine that broadcasters must present a balance of views on controversial issues.

Who is against the right-wing activities? Recent statements include those by a diplomat, two Senators, a professor, a Governor and a Republican editor:

Saturday Review, Nov. 9, 1963, Joseph A. King tells how his community, Tulare County, Calif., was torn apart by a Birch front; he also tells, byexample, how to take the thunder out of local extremist movements. Prof. King teaches at the College of Sequoias.

Look magazine, former Ambassador to Russia and Yugoslavia says that over-militarization of cold war thinking and fear of the "powerful influence of the ringht wing" are destroying American strength abroad.

Senator Herman Talmadge, conservative Georgia Democrat, has critized "extreme and unreasonable attacks" on the federal government by "extremist groups which leap before they look." Talmadge answered groups seeing great harm in executive orders signed by President Kennedy to take over communications, transportation and other utilities in case of national emergency. And Senator Jacob Javits wrote in the New York Times Magazine that the radical right threatens unwelcome changes in the GOP.

Bruce K. Chapman, publisher of a liberal Republican journal called Advance, Fall issue, asked: "Is There A Threat From The Radical Right?" He answered that there certainly is in an article analyzing the GOP position vs. the right wingers.

Governor Frank Morrison, of Nebraska, addressing the AFL-CIO convention of his state, accused the political far right of being opposed to every concept of democracy. It would crush those with whom it disagreed, he said.

Enclosed are some copies of articles from our files, and a list of books and articles you probably can easily locate at your public library.

We wish you luck, and we wish there were more like you--and the small group of college professors who attended a California right-wing hate meeting and, at the close of the speech, stood and demanded documentation and proof of the statements made. This broke up the meeting, as most of those present got up and left when no proof was forthcoming.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
Photocopy, N.Y.Times Magazine, 12-10-63,
"How Some Birchers Were Birched," by Thos. M. Storke
Progressive, 11/62, "Freedom Under Fire, A Case History," by Wm. Botwright
Release from office of Senator Jacob K. Javits, "What Is the Radical Right?"

The last report made by the Southern Regional Council on the strength of the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, and States' Rights or States' Sovereignty groups was in 1956. (See attached photo-copy of the summary at end of report).

In January 1961 the Anti-Defamation League got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum,the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." The report said that while Klan member-ship has fluctuated since 1954, the Klan has a habit of going way out in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases ceased to be). There were indications that Klan membership may have increased in 1962, but not significantly. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, it appeared that: 1) the KKK held its own in Alabama; 2) showed definite signs of some increase in Georgia up to September and October of 1962, but very probably fell off when the old political order collapsed. Klan meetings after that date were shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hards and state political has-beens.

Regarding the White Citizens Councils, in late 1962 and early 1963 there was an increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. This spread in late 1963 to South Carolina and other deep-south areas, notably parts of Louisiana. In Mississippi the WCC remained strong and may have picked up some strength in membership. However, the State Sovereignty Commission cut off funds to the WCC and the new head of this commission is Earle Johnson, who last year (late 1962) rebuked the Citizens Councils for some of their extreme statements and actions. In Alabama the WCC was making much noise and having many meetings, but actually may have been slipping in influence there in 1963.

For 1964, see photo copy attached of April 22, 1964 summary.

References to news stories, magazine articles, & books attached.

Reference and Reading list

Books

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Donald Janson and Bernard Eismann, *The Far Right*, McGraw-Hill Co., 1963 (Journalistic report of each major right personage)

Magazine Articles

Wilson, Joseph and Edward Harris, "Hucksters of Hate--Nazi Style," *Progressive*, June 1964

Cook, Fred J., :Radio Right--Hate Clubs of the Air," *The Nation*, May 25, 1964

Friedman, Saul, "The Tussle in Texas,; *The Nation*, February 3, 1964.

Marine, Gene, j"New Hope of the Far Right," January 27, 1964

McMillan, George, "The Klan Scourges Old St. Augustine," *Life*, June 26, 1964.

________________, "The Birmingham Church Member," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 6, 1964.

Long, Margaret, "The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan," *N.Y.Times Magazine*, July 5, 1964.

Cleghorn, Reese, "The Segs," *Esquire*, January 1964.

Newsweek, 8-28-63, "Button Down Bed Sheets"

Saturday Evening Post, Oct. 22, 1949, "The Truth About the Klan Today,"

American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y. *For Your Information*, "Review of Ku Klux Klan Activities" June 1959

New York Times, 7-8-63, "Klan Chief Urges Savannah Rally"

New York Times Magazine, 8-11-63, "Once More--The K.K.K."

Other

David Wesley, *Hate Groups and the UnAmerican Activities Committee*, 1961, revised 1962, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 7th Avenue, New York 1, N. Y. 25¢

Anti-Defamation League *Facts*, January 1961, "The Ku Klux Klans"

Harold Martin

12-26-63

Want to Know When Lester Used Language of Violence?

Mr. J. Wayne Craig, Chamblee, Georgia
Dear Mr. Craig:

You, and a Miss Blanche McMorris of Decatur, and another lady, whose letter I seem to have lost, all have written in to challenge me to prove that Lester Maddox ever used intemperate language in his ads that might incite people of unbalanced minds to violent action. Well, let's see. Just offhand, I can recall a couple.

In his column of Sept. 7, 1963, Mr. Maddox, after referring to "the race mixing publisher, editor, public official, minister and professor" as being either "stupid or renegade whites," later on in the same paragraph says, "the white renegades should be tarred and feathered and run out of Georgia."

I don't know whether a bystander would consider tarring and feathering an act of violence or not, but I have a feeling that the man who was being tarred and feathered would view it in that light.

In the same column Mr. Maddox says, "those who boasted they peacefully integrated the University of Georgia, a governor or so, and others" should hang their heads in shame. "Oh you rascals," said Mr. Maddox.

I guess governors, like newspapermen, get used to having people call them names, but "rascal" might be considered an intemperate word by the average citizen. The mildest dictionary definition of "rascal" is "a bad, dishonest person."

There was one other of Mr. Maddox's statements which didn't run in but one edition of the paper, for it obviously was a call to violence, so it was thrown out.

On Jan. 26, 1963, Mr. Maddox wrote: "Those responsible, white or black, who blockbust white neighborhoods—should be shot."

In a situation as touchy as the racial situation is today, it seems to me it ought to be clear to anybody that a public appeal to tar and feather folks, and run them out of the state, or to shoot them, is dangerous and inflammatory talk.

Yours truly,
Harold Martin.

PICKRICK SAYS:

LESTER MADDOX

I will not be able to meet with you folks at the Macon City Auditorium, Monday evening, December 16th, to hear Gov. Ross Barnett as planned, because due to circumstances not previously known the meeting has been postponed until Monday evening, January 27, 1964. Hope to see you in Macon at that time. In the meantime it would be good to see you at The Pickrick when you are in Atlanta.

12-14-63. Const.

WE COMMEND

those patriotic Georgians of the Sumter County Grand Jury for their "Special Presentment" that takes a strong stand for sensible and constitutional government, gives encouragement and support to City of Americus and County of Sumter officials for their honorable, courageous and American stand against the lawless agitators who invaded Americus. Yes, also, for the strong and needed statement dealing with the threat to all Americans and all state and local governments that could come from a dictatorial centralized government in Washington. We say THANKS to you fine citizens for being American enough to speak up for freedom and liberty.

LISTENING TO THE RADIO IN

Valdosta, Ga. one morning recently, I was delighted to hear, promptly at 7:00 a.m. about two minutes of religious comment and prayer by a leading minister in the city. And even happier upon calling the station to find that the same thing takes place every morning at 7 o'clock. This experience caused me to be thankful and to hope and pray that in some way that every broadcasting outlet in America, at 7:00 a.m. each morning could give two minutes to God. Wouldn't it be wonderful? Hope you will ask all stations you know, both radio and TV, to join in this move. Sure, I know that many of them are doing much more and I am thankful, but what a blessing it would be if at 7:00 a.m. each day all stations would give two minutes to God and all America receive the blessing that would be sure to come. How about it Mr. Broadcaster, will you help?

AND CONGRATULATIONS

to members of the "Mayors' Motorcade" that visited Gracewood State School and Milledgeville State Hospital with gifts for Georgia's mental patients. What a wonderful thing that you would take time to remember our fellow Georgians and help to bring gladness, joy and Christmas to so many of them.

OUR SPECIAL TONIGHT

Order Of PICKRICK SKILLET FRIED CHICKEN	Breast & Wing	Drumstick & Thigh
	50c	25c

Please—no carry-out orders at this special price!

AND NOW THE HAROLD MARTIN

column on the Atlanta Journal-Constitution editorial page of last Sunday. I think Mr. Martin's column was the ugliest, most shameful and uncalled for writing ever written in the Atlanta papers. I'm surprised that the Editors and Publishers of the Atlanta papers would permit such. Mr. Martin wrote, and I quote only a small part of his writing that should qualify him for an early appointment with the Southern Regional Council: "I feel that Mr. Maddox's ads could have the effect of causing men of unbalanced minds to take the same violent action against the mayor of Atlanta, or the publisher and the editor of this paper, or anyone else on whom Mr. Maddox trains his guns, as the demented assassin, Lee Oswald, took against President Kennedy in Dallas."

I hope that Mr. Martin will be asked by all who read this column why he would use his free space in the Atlanta papers to make such an untrue accusation. Does he not realize that he has put the thought of shooting and killing into the minds of the "unbalanced"? Is he expecting such a dreadful thing to happen to the mayor of Atlanta, or to the publisher or editor of his paper? Could his writing about the possible shooting and killing of others encourage some "unbalanced mind" to shoot or kill Lester Maddox? Is Mr. Martin attempting to get readers for his seldom-read column? Is Mr. Martin attempting to put The Pickrick out of business? Does not Mr. Martin know that we did not have the racial tension and strife in Atlanta and in America until the Communist-inspired racial agitators disrupted the progress and well being of Atlanta and America? And his further statement, "But I do feel that by couching his political views in intemperate language, and by aligning himself, and all who believe as he does, on the side of Christianity and patriotism, while imputing atheism and treasonable conduct to those of different views, Mr. Maddox unthinkingly fans the fires of hatred in unbalanced minds, and gives impetus to acts of violence." Why would Mr. Martin write such an untruth when every reader of this column knows that I have never suggested that all those who disagree with me are atheists and tyrants? I have relatives, friends in church, business, civic and social life who disagree with my opinions, and I with theirs, but we are still friends, still Christians and still Americans and thank God as long as we are free, unequal and preserve the right to discriminate—we shall retain our strength and leadership—while still being at liberty to disagree. I have said, the Communists have said, members of our U. S. Congress have said and most Americans not behind a paper curtain, know, that unGodly and bloody Communism is supporting, inspiring, financing and planning much of the racial agitation, integration and amalgamation in America. It is the truth and Mr. Harold Martin cannot prove otherwise, neither can his paper that permitted him to launch an attack upon me and the way our business advertises. And there is nothing in that statement that suggests that relatives, friends and customers who disagree with me are either atheists or tyrants.

AND his remark, "The press is under no obligation to print matter which violates the canons of good taste, or which incites others to overthrow the government by force and violence."

These papers frequently exercise that right of control where Mr. Maddox's ads are concerned.

The Pickrick defies Mr. Martin to produce one statement his paper has removed from our ads " . . . which incites others to overthrow the government by force or otherwise." I think Mr. Martin owes an apology to me, my family, my friends (those who agree and those who disagree with me) and the newspapers owe Mr. Martin to some other employer.

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OUR SUNDAY MENU

(and our business remains segregated, whether Mr. Martin, or officials in City, State or Federal government and the "great black father" like it or not.)

ROAST YOUNG TURKEY, with dressing, giblet gravy and cranberry sauce	**55¢**
BREADED VEAL CUTLET	**55¢**
FRIED FILLET OF HADDOCK	**50¢**
BRAISED SHORT RIBS OF BEEF	**55¢**
COUNTRY FRIED CALVES LIVER	**65¢**
ROAST ROUND OF BEEF	**70¢**
SKILLET FRIED CHICKEN	**50¢**

Choice of vegetables, fruit and vegetable salads at 10¢, 15¢ and 20¢ each.

PICK-
TO SELECT - TO FASTIDIOUSLY EAT

RICK-
TO PILE UP OR TO HEAP, TO AMASS

You PICK it out . . . We'll RICK it up

THE pickrick

891 HEMPHILL AVE.
LUCKIE ST 5 BLOCKS NO OF GA TECH

RALPH
McGILL

1-11-64

Not To Be Shrugged Off

Disturbed by all that is contained in the popular attitude that the assassination of President Kennedy might have taken place "any place else," and that to suggest otherwise is to libel the industrious and conservative population of Dallas, businessmen of that city have moved to seek new directions.

Stanley Marcus, an owner of the legendary Nieman-Marcus Company, said in a public statement that "chiefly this community has suffered from a spirit of 'absolutism' in recent years." He defined an absolutist as "the man who thinks that he alone possesses wisdom, patriotism and virtue."

"The rejection of this spirit of 'absolutism' and the acceptance and insistence by all citizens on toleration of different points of view seem to us to be essential for the future health of our community," he stated.

Citadel City

Dallas has become the citadel city of extreme conservatism and much of its press reflected that condition. Before U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's appearance there, at which time he was attacked and abused on the street by a small group of young toughs and shrieking women, one newspaper had been writing of the ambassador as "Add-A-Lie" Stevenson. The day of the President's arrival a page ad of at least semi - inflammatory content had appeared in one of the newspapers signed by a non-resident visitor representing a nonexistent organization. The person who inserted the ad was an unemployed Encyclopedia salesman who was quoted as saying he came to the city because the money to pay for such an ad was there. Possibly because of these, and other factors, the city's businessmen have asked for presentation of balanced views on controversial issues.

The assassination could have happened in any other city.

If, as some of her critics have said, the city has shrugged off recent criticism, she has not been alone. One of the more curious of the post-assassination developments is the number of people attempting to shrug off the presence in this country of a poisonous amount of hate. This hatred has come from the extremes of right and left—as it did in Dallas. Since 1957 we have grown used to seeing the snarling, hate-filled faces of children and mothers and fathers in integration riots and picket lines. We have had children dynamited to death while in Sunday school; men killed by sniper fire in the riots of Oxford, Mississippi, and an NAACP official ambushed by night and gunned to death. Since 1947 men have hated enough to dynamite people, churches, synagogues, schools and homes. Evangelists have preached political and racial hate instead of the Nazarene. The absolutists of race have presentation of balanced views on controversial issues.

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Hate Tolerated

No one seriously argued that this presence of hate was to be fastened on all the people of America or that a national responsibility, or guilt, existed for the President's murder. But that we have grown somewhat used to tolerating hate is hardly to be denied. No amount of shrugging it off or protesting removes the fact of hate in the national blood stream. It also is true that in some areas extremist or absolutist opinions have full sway. In some areas the racist absolutists already are saying that soon "the South" will hate Lyndon Johnson as much as it did the Kennedys. In some cities and states there is no dialogue. The public has no opportunity to balance the voices speaking on controversial issues, to know the alternatives. This, if one reads them aright, is what concerns the leadership speaking out in Dallas—as it might concern that in other cities. Violence is a product of hate.

Maddox Gives Rights Folders To Solons

1-29-64

Lester Maddox, Atlanta segregationist and restaurant owner, appeared at the state Capitol Wednesday and distributed anti - Communist and anti-civil rights handbills to legislators.

Lester Maddox

Mr. Maddox has been active in denouncing recent racial demonstrations here by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The segregationist carried three bundles of handbills into the Capitol building. One set of pamphlets, published by the coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc., of Washington, D.C., describes the 1963 Civil Rights Act in Congress as a "blueprint for total federal regimentation."

TWO OTHERS, put out by publisher Kent Courtney of the Independent American Newspaper of New Orleans, warn of "Communist agitation and racial turmoil" and a federal "power grab" for control of private property, business establishments and education.

Mr. Maddox also has fired off a telegram to Mayor Allen accusing him of "appeasement and surrender to lawless racial agitators" causing the "grave racial crisis now facing our great city, Georgia, the South and much of the nation."

While making his rounds in the legislative halls Wednesday morning, Mr. Maddox encountered Negro Sen. Leroy Johnson of Fulton County. The segregationist gave him a handful of pamphlets, then told the senator he was the only member of the Atlanta legislative delegation "whose stand I can be sure of."

Mr. Maddox said the pamphlet distribution campaign was jointly sponsored by the Peoples Association for Selective Buying and the Committee on Human and Property Rights.

Esquire
Jan. 1964

PEREZ, HARRIS, SHELTON, MADDOX, SIMMONS, THE FIVE MOST INFLUENTIAL MEN IN THE SOUTHERN RESISTANCE, TELL YOU EXACTLY WHAT THEY THINK **BY REESE CLEGHORN**

THE SEGS

The late Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi said Negroes should be kept in their place, uneducated as well as segregated, so society would not "spoil a good field hand and make an insolent cook." White supremacy was simpler in those days: Senator Bilbo saw no paramount need to prove Negro inferiority, because to him and most of his constituents it was obvious.

Times have changed, and today the South's leading segregation spokesmen argue their case with what they consider to be clear evidence from genetics, anthropology, anatomy, history, and political science. If their contentions are rejected by the overwhelming majority of geneticists, anthropologists, anatomists, historians and political scientists, they nevertheless can argue that scientists and academicians have been notably wrong before. Even the Supreme Court has reversed itself, and they appear confident that one day it will reverse its recent decisions against segregation.

All this may seem implausible and even preposterous to most Americans. But the hopefulness of what seems a hopeless cause in the South can be understood only in terms of this rationale, developed by what might be called, in the spirit of the times, the Segregation Establishment. When Governor George Wallace proclaims, in the face of heavy evidence to the contrary, "We are winning," he speaks from beliefs that are unknown in most of the country. When university students riot in hope that segregation may yet be preserved, they are acting upon ideas that could be startling on campuses elsewhere.

What are these beliefs and who keeps them alive? The Segregation Establishment can best speak for itself. Outside the South, its spokesmen are virtually unknown. Although fame has come to the bitter-end segregationist governors—Alabama's George Wallace, Mississippi's Ross Barnett, and, less dramatically at present, Arkansas' Orval Faubus—few newspaper readers know much about Leander H. Perez, Sr., Roy Harris, Robert Shelton, Lester Maddox, and William J. Simmons. These five might be called the permanent leaders. They are not all alike in their sentiments or even their goals, but each owes his fame across the South to his professional status as a segregationist. Each works regularly at it. Each has developed a view of life in accordance with that work, a *Weltanschauung* to which he adheres even as his cause seems to be undergoing *Götterdämmerung*.

These five do not typify the Southerner who believes in segregation, any more than James Baldwin or Malcolm X typifies the American Negro who wants to end racial discrimination. Their views are fashioned by the fact that they must appear to be the uncompromising champions of a cause. Whereas a great sea of Southerners hold segregationist views without ever having to fortify their reasons, or even know their reasons, these five men must be masters of the polemics of segregation. They must speak of genetics and perceive the lessons of history. (That Muse, in particular, somehow seems to speak more distinctly to them than to other men.)

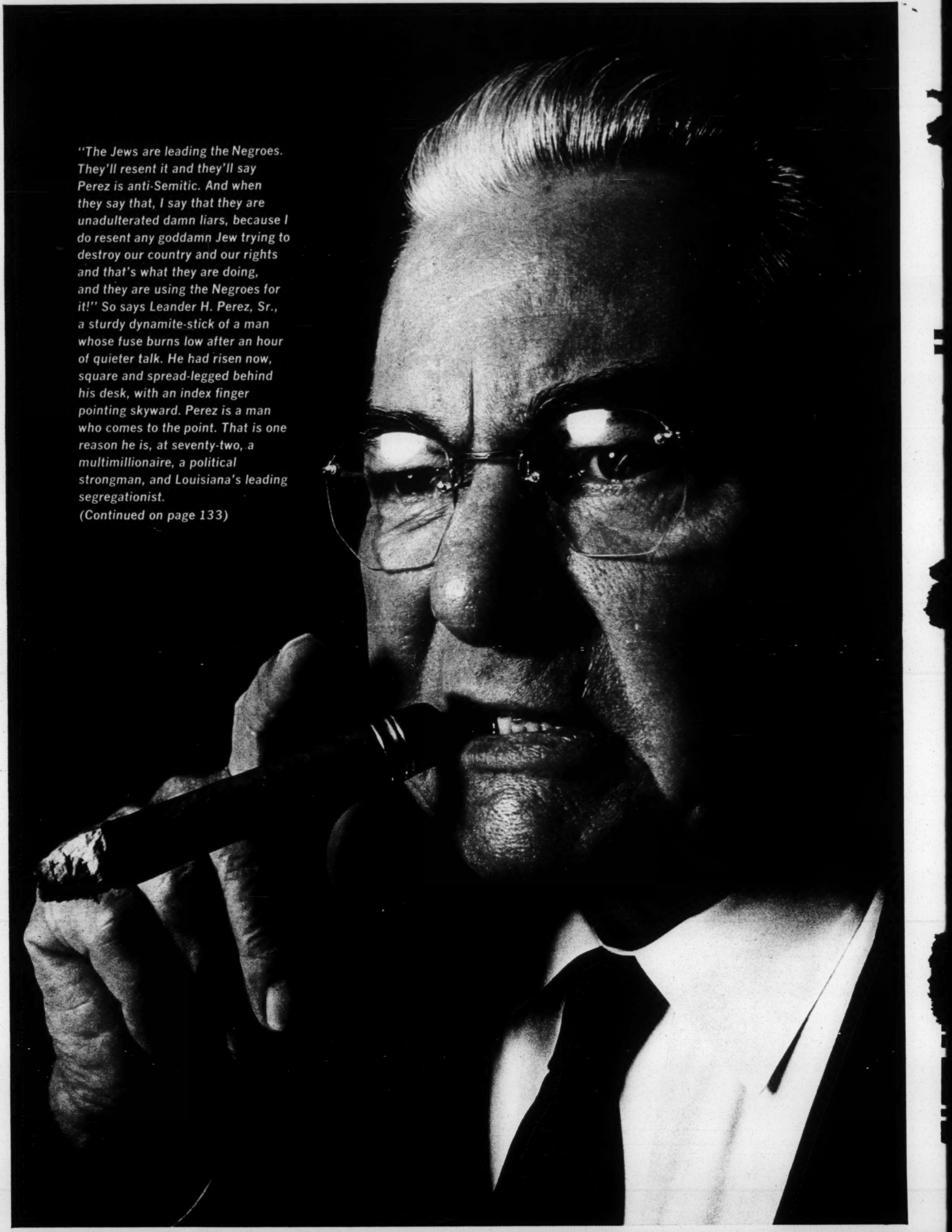
So these are not typical white Southerners, or even typical Southern leaders. They are, however, the men who often may be found behind the headlines from the South, or even from Washington, if you look far enough back into the foliage behind the event. When a George Wallace or a Ross Barnett takes office, he is armed with judgments and arguments fashioned by a Bill Simmons or a Roy Harris, and he takes office because of the political climate such men create. When certain Southerners of scrupulous solemnity take the Senate floor to speak, they use arguments from the fact-and-idea mills of the Segregation Establishment.

The products of these factories are tonier now than they used to be, a fact which reflects the growing sophistication of even the no-compromisers. A treatise widely distributed after the Supreme Court's 1954 schools-desegregation decision likened Negroes to lizards. Today, although a Leander Perez may explode with wild ferocity, the greater demand among the dedicated segregationists is for material about the fall of Egyptian civilization, constitutionalism, judicial tyranny, and the consistency of segregation with Christianity.

These segregationists frequently cite what "history tells us" and "anthropology says." But they also sometimes reveal that their thoughts, like Senator Bilbo's, are derived largely from their own way of looking at Negro field hands and Negro cooks. Roy Harris, as a lawyer, has dealt with too many Negro "cuttin's and shootin's." Bill Simmons has seen Negroes shuffling like Africans. Leander Perez has observed that the Negro, after six years, cannot master his hay baler. These would seem to be the real stuffings of the segregationists' beliefs.

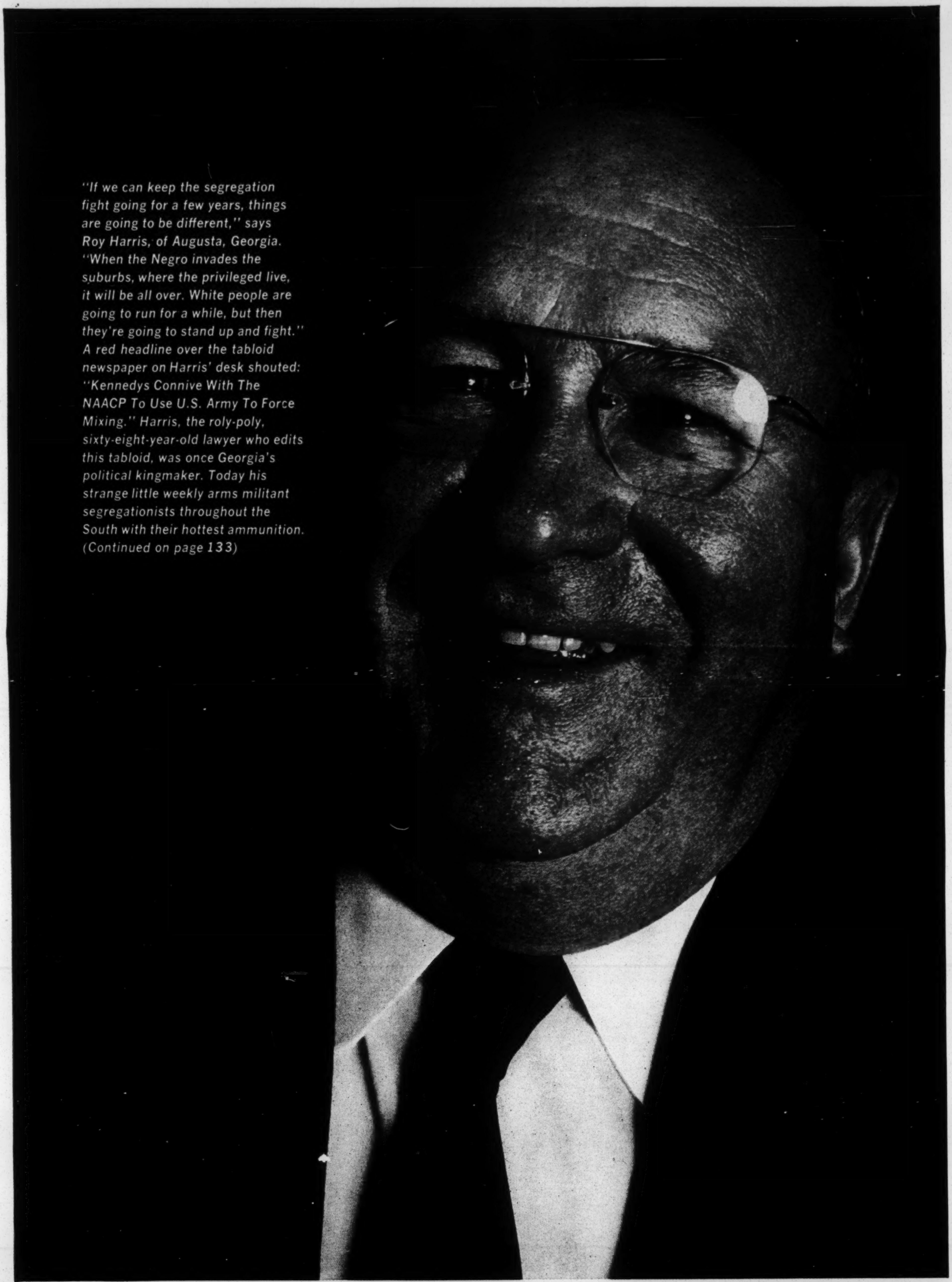
But now let the Segregation Establishment speak for itself. ###

Photographs on following pages by Carl Fischer



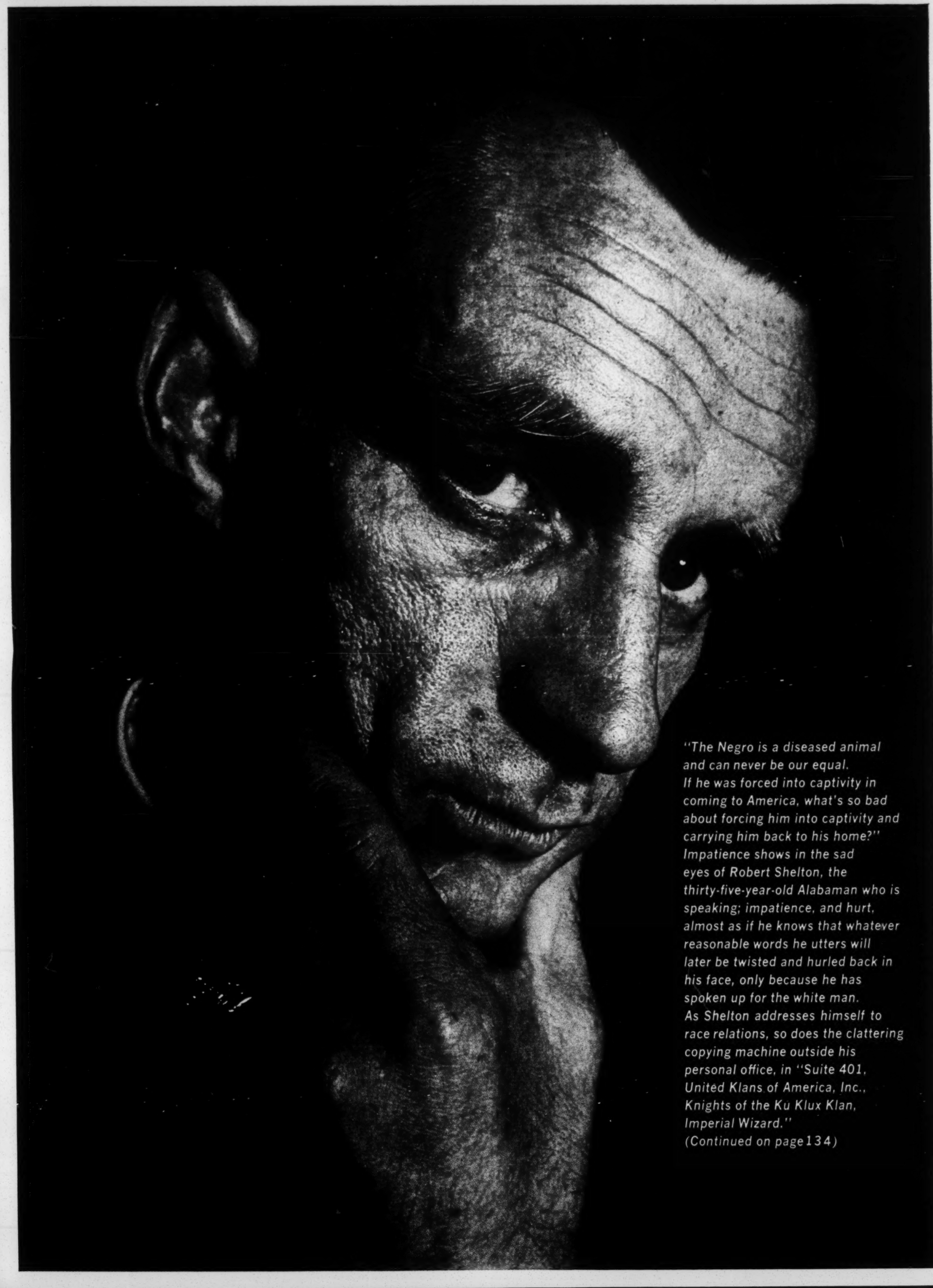
"The Jews are leading the Negroes. They'll resent it and they'll say Perez is anti-Semitic. And when they say that, I say that they are unadulterated damn liars, because I do resent any goddamn Jew trying to destroy our country and our rights and that's what they are doing, and they are using the Negroes for it!" So says Leander H. Perez, Sr., a sturdy dynamite-stick of a man whose fuse burns low after an hour of quieter talk. He had risen now, square and spread-legged behind his desk, with an index finger pointing skyward. Perez is a man who comes to the point. That is one reason he is, at seventy-two, a multimillionaire, a political strongman, and Louisiana's leading segregationist.

(Continued on page 133)



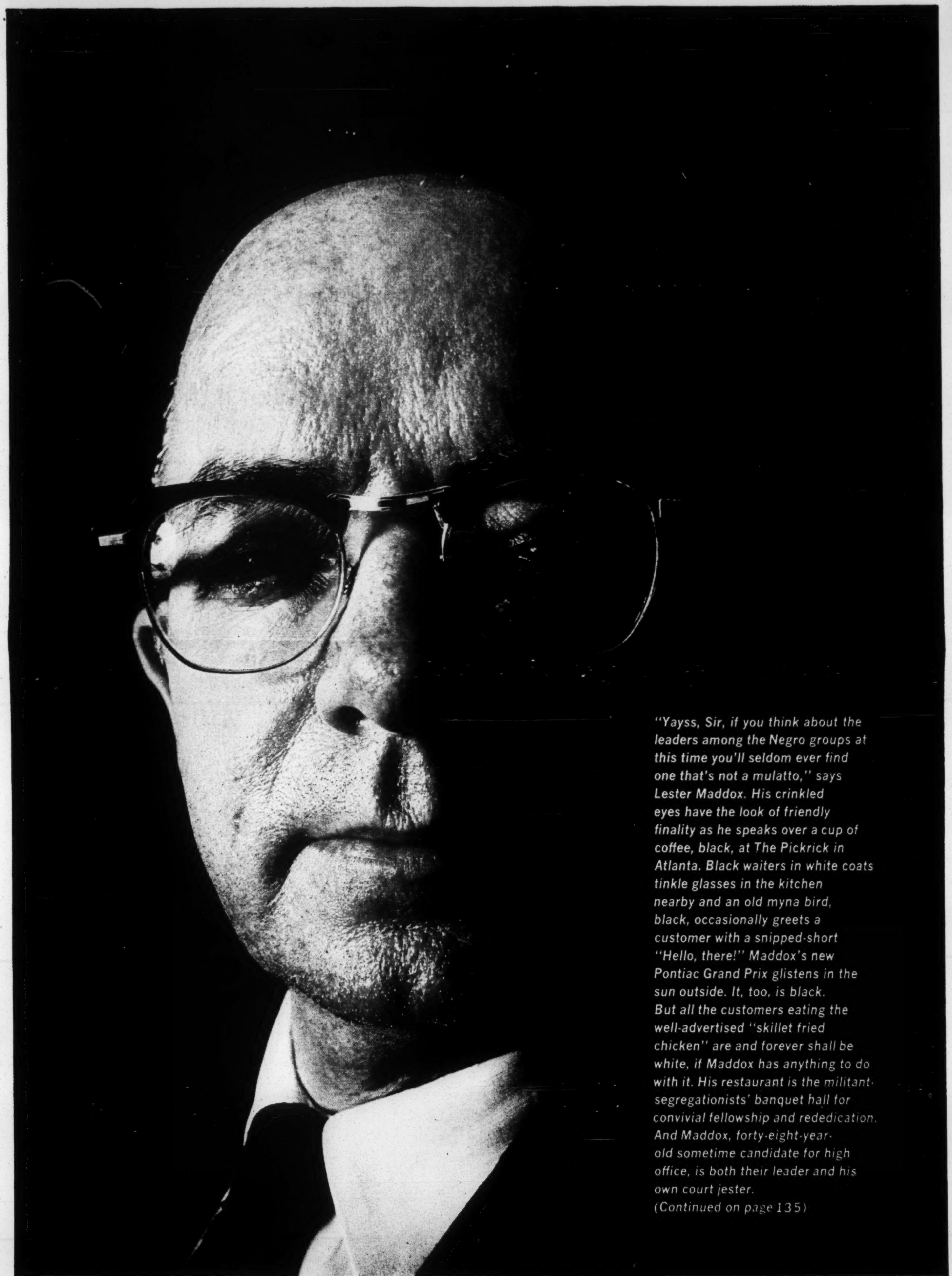
"If we can keep the segregation fight going for a few years, things are going to be different," says Roy Harris, of Augusta, Georgia. "When the Negro invades the suburbs, where the privileged live, it will be all over. White people are going to run for a while, but then they're going to stand up and fight." A red headline over the tabloid newspaper on Harris' desk shouted: "Kennedys Connive With The NAACP To Use U.S. Army To Force Mixing." Harris, the roly-poly, sixty-eight-year-old lawyer who edits this tabloid, was once Georgia's political kingmaker. Today his strange little weekly arms militant segregationists throughout the South with their hottest ammunition.

(Continued on page 133)



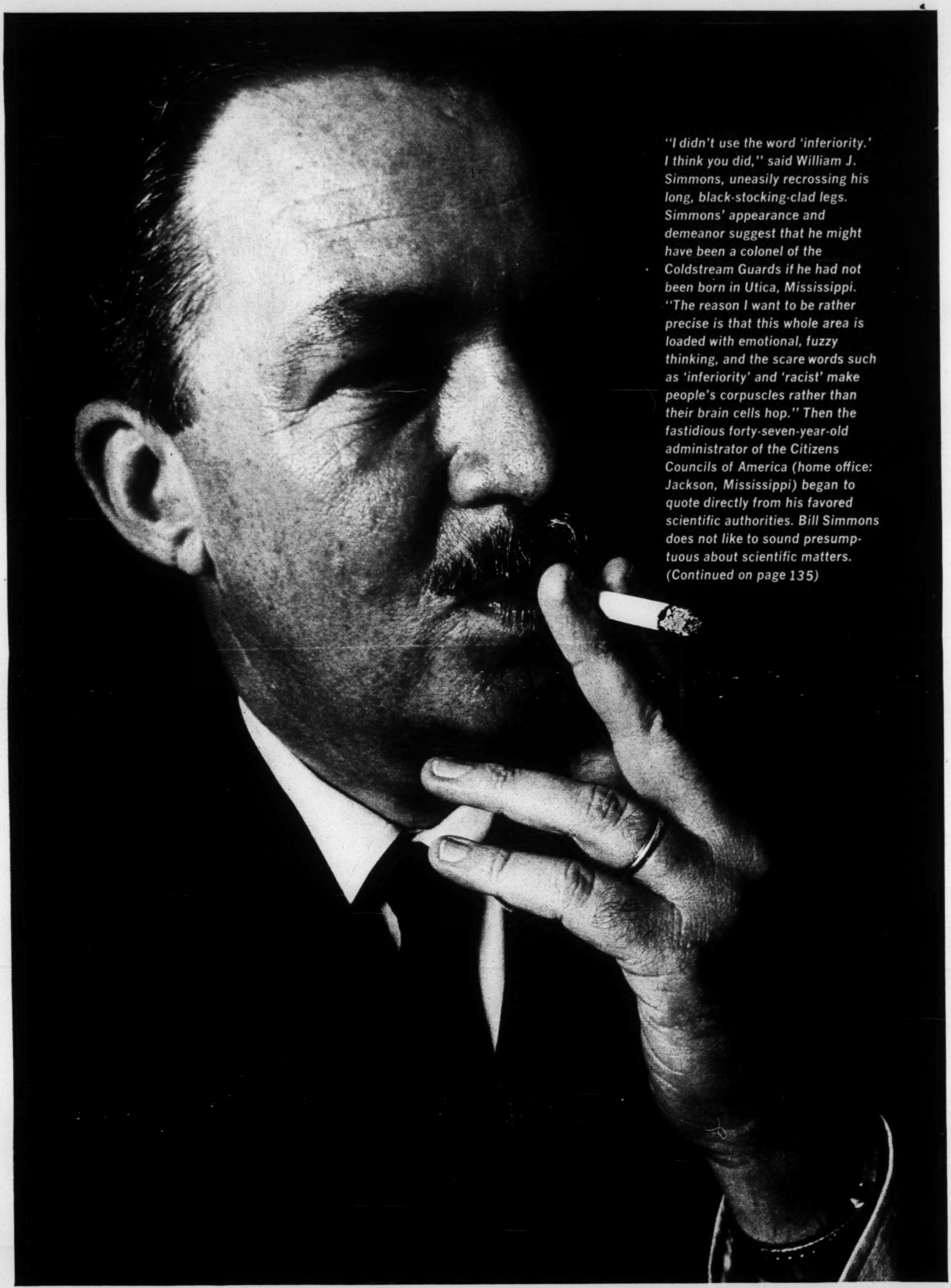
"The Negro is a diseased animal and can never be our equal. If he was forced into captivity in coming to America, what's so bad about forcing him into captivity and carrying him back to his home?" Impatience shows in the sad eyes of Robert Shelton, the thirty-five-year-old Alabaman who is speaking; impatience, and hurt, almost as if he knows that whatever reasonable words he utters will later be twisted and hurled back in his face, only because he has spoken up for the white man. As Shelton addresses himself to race relations, so does the clattering copying machine outside his personal office, in "Suite 401, United Klans of America, Inc., Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Imperial Wizard."

(Continued on page 134)



"Yayss, Sir, if you think about the leaders among the Negro groups at this time you'll seldom ever find one that's not a mulatto," says Lester Maddox. His crinkled eyes have the look of friendly finality as he speaks over a cup of coffee, black, at The Pickrick in Atlanta. Black waiters in white coats tinkle glasses in the kitchen nearby and an old myna bird, black, occasionally greets a customer with a snipped-short "Hello, there!" Maddox's new Pontiac Grand Prix glistens in the sun outside. It, too, is black. But all the customers eating the well-advertised "skillet fried chicken" are and forever shall be white, if Maddox has anything to do with it. His restaurant is the militant-segregationists' banquet hall for convivial fellowship and rededication. And Maddox, forty-eight-year-old sometime candidate for high office, is both their leader and his own court jester.

(Continued on page 135)



"I didn't use the word 'inferiority.' I think you did," said William J. Simmons, uneasily recrossing his long, black-stocking-clad legs. Simmons' appearance and demeanor suggest that he might have been a colonel of the Coldstream Guards if he had not been born in Utica, Mississippi. "The reason I want to be rather precise is that this whole area is loaded with emotional, fuzzy thinking, and the scare words such as 'inferiority' and 'racist' make people's corpuscles rather than their brain cells hop." Then the fastidious forty-seven-year-old administrator of the Citizens Councils of America (home office: Jackson, Mississippi) began to quote directly from his favored scientific authorities. Bill Simmons does not like to sound presumptuous about scientific matters.

(Continued on page 135)

February 4, 1964

Mr. Robert B. Boettcher
326 N. College Street
Auburn, Alabama

Dear Mr. Boettcher:

You have requested information which is very hard to come by, and we cannot help you very much.

Regarding the infiltration of the Negro movement in the South by communists or communists sympathizers, we think the best reply to these charges is found in the book by J. Edgar Hoover, Masters of Deceit. (We have only a file copy.) He firmly disproved the idea that all the Negro organizations were infiltrated by communists. In October 1961 Mr. Hoover concluded a report prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee with these observations:

> Unfortunately there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the communists are so adroit at exploiting.
>
> These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history judged them.

The only information we have about Karl Prussion, former counter-spy for the FBI, is that he wrote a pamphlet smearing California's Governor Brown (during the last national political campaign) so blatantly that it was widely publicized and repudiated by Richard Nixon. Prussion is still lecturing. He is not listed on the boards of directors or trustees of any of the more important right-wing groups.

If you would cite specific charges about which you have a concern, or send us names of other people, we will send you anything we have refuting the charges and/or concerning the persons.

To get some general (and perhaps specific) ideas about answering charges which may be made by the speakers in your area, perhaps it would be helpful to read some articles from national magazines and/or pamphlets from other organizations. I am enclosing such a list. If you are unable to find any of them in your library, and will check several you would particularly like to read, I could send you photo copies from our files.

I am sorry we cannot be of more help to you. This whole area is so vague that really factual information is very hard to obtain. The only people who really know who the active and dangerous communists are would be the FBI and the CIA -- and they do not give out such information to just anyone who asks.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

326 N. College St.
Auburn, Alabama
January 15, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta,Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am interested in obtaining some authoritative information concerning the charges of communist infiltration and supervision of the civil rights movement.

I am a student at Auburn University, and write a weekly column for the student newspaper, THE AUBURN PLAINSMAN in which I regularly speak out in support of human rights.

For my own knowledge, and as material for future columns, I am compiling information on "communist infiltration" of the Negro movement in the South. I am particularly desirous of information on Karl Prussion who for 13 years (1947-1960) was a counterspy for the FBI, and who now claims to have all sorts of knowledge of communist tie-ups with Negro leaders such as Rev. Martin Luther King. Prussion is an outspoken advocate of the position of Gov. George Wallace, and reportedly is planning a speaking tour through the South this spring to inform people of communist duplicity on the part of Negro leaders.

I shall appreciate any information, or any references to other sources of information, that you might give me.

Yours truly,

Robert B. Boettcher

Robert B. Boettcher

Hoover Look

Clips

Prussion spoke at Winkler - Plaza - 2 months ago

[illegible] –
If you will cite specific charges = [illegible]
[illegible]

Wednesday, February 5, 1964

LIBERTIES UNION BACKS KLAN RALLY

The recently formed Georgia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) took its first formal public stand Wednesday—a sharp criticism of Mayor Allen's refusal to recommend the Ku Klux Klan's use of a public park unless it reveals its membership.

The ACLU — noted more for its support of unpopular liberal causes—took the unusual action as a result of a letter from Mayor Allen to Calvin Craig, Georgia Grand Dragon of the United Klans of America, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Incorporated.

The letter advised Mr. Craig his request to use Hurt Park in March for a Klan rally would be turned down unless he revealed Klan membership and also clarified whether his particular Klan organization is related in any way to other Klan groups on the U.S. attorney general's subversive list.

THE ACLU, in its statement issued Wednesday, declared the U.S. Constitution prohibits public officials from conditioning the use of a public park on either of these grounds.

"This policy, if pursued, constitutes an unwarranted invasion of the fundamental rights of freedom of assembly and association conferred by the First and Fourteenth amendments," the ACLU asserted.

"The right of a group, whether the Ku Klux Klan or the NAACP, to use a public park for the purposes of peaceful assembly and discussion is well established," the ACLU continued.

THE STATEMENT said the U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld the right of organizations to keep their membership confidential, regardless of state and municipal attempts to compel disclosure.

The ACLU also declared that affiliation or nonaffiliation with subversive groups is immaterial to a city's decision to grant use of a public park.

"No principle is more clearly established than that these rights may not be interfered with except when their exercise produces a clear and imminent danger of violence in the community," the ACLU said.

"A municipality may not close its parks to those with whom it disagrees," the statement contends.

Atlanta Board Of Aldermen Ask UnAmerican Activities Committee To Probe Red Activities Here

The Atlanta Board of Aldermen, without a dissenting vote, has asked the House Committee on Un-American Activities to launch an investigation here so "that any local Communist activities may be exposed and legitimate organizations cleared on any suspicions of disloyalty". This came after serious charges had been made by several responsible sources.

The resolution was offered by Alderman Ed Gilliam and was approved without debate.

During recent disorderly street demonstrations, and sit-ins charges had been made from several sources that known Communists and Red sympathizers were taking part in the flare-ups.

The resolution came after a news story appeared in Sunday's Journal-Constitution by Bill Shipp, Constitution state news editor, in which it was revealed that certain named persons, previously identified as Communists, had taken part in the disorderly demonstrations and had been arrested by police.

Alderman Gilliam's resolution declared that "there have been lately various recial demonstrations in the public streets and in business houses, calculated to injure the good name and image of Atlanta throughout the nation; Atlanta — a city which has been a leader in the South in the field of better race relations.

"Some of these demonstrations," it continued, "would indicate a desire to injure not only Atlanta but the entire nation in its international relations."

The resolution then noted Shipp's article "indicating that a number of professional agitators have come to Atlanta lately and aligned themselves with certain organizations, which said persons are either Communists or belong to Communist-front organizations."

The House Committee on Un-American Activities "is hereby requested," the resolution said, "to investigate the subject matter contained in said article, to the end that any local Communist activities may be exposed and legitimate organizations cleared of any suspicion of disloyalty."

Bell's Charles Hardy '64 State Chairman For Cancer Drive

Charles H. Hardy, General Traffic Manager for Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, has been named state chairman for the American Cancer Society's 1964 Education-Funds Crusade.

Hardy's appointment was announced this week by J. Arch Avery, Jr., Georgia Division president.

THE STATEMENT said the U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly upheld the right of organizations to keep their membership confidential, regardless of state and municipal attempts to compel disclosure.

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"No principle is more clearly established than that these rights may not be interfered with except when their exercise produces a clear and imminent danger of violence in the community," the ACLU said.

"A municipality may not close its parks to those with whom it disagrees," the statement contends.

GRAND DRAGON Craig has refused so far to answer Mayor Allen's request for information. He sent a letter of protest Feb. 1 to the Aldermanic Parks Committee, asking it to disregard the mayor's recommendation and to "look further than the horizons of the City Hall for the welfare of all Americans, regardless of whether you agree with their philosophy or not."

A spokesman for the committee, which considers park use permits, said the matter is "moot" as far as the committee is concerned until the mayor obtains the information he wants from the Klan.

MAYOR ALLEN'S letter to Mr. Craig says he wants the Klan membership list to determine if there are "sufficient Atlanta citizens to warrant the use of city facilities."

Mr. Craig angrily retorted in an interview that the city cannot justifiably determine park use on the basis of Atlanta or non-Atlanta participation.

"Look at all the groups from out of town—even out of the state—that go to Grant Park to see the zoo and the Cyclorama," he said. "Do they have to have a permit because they're not from Atlanta?"

—PAUL VALENTINE.

'Rabblerousers' Amid Negroes Hit

2-12-64

By RALEIGH BRYANS

The Negro community is now developing its own "rabblerousers" who act very much like their white counterparts of the past, and for the same reason, says former Mayor William B. Hartsfield.

Mr. Hartsfield expressed that view in a speech Tuesday night to members of Sigma Delta Chi, national professional journalism society.

William B. Hartsfield

"In the old days, you had the white rabblerouser who terrorized the better element in his community with threats. People were afraid to speak out. The rabblerousers kept them afraid.

"Now you are developing a Negro rabblerouser who is terrorizing the better element in his community by referring to them as Uncle Toms. You find the best Negro leaders in town being reviled as Uncle Toms.

"I say labor did the same thing after Franklin Roosevelt," he said. "Labor became so powerful until nobody got criticized. It wasn't until (Sen. Robert) Taft criticized them and ran a race against them and won that the situation changed.

"The Negro has got to accept public responsibility for his acts. He has got to be willing to accept public criticism. These people have got to accept their place in the total community and they have got to accept responsibility," Mr. Hartsfield declared.

OBVIOUSLY directing his remarks to the leaders of the current civil rights demonstrations, Mr. Hartsfield decried "modern reformers who sneer at the past and never realize the conditions that existed before them."

"Some of the Negro extremists of today, especially the younger ones, remind me of a bunch of hot rodders riding over a bridge, sneering, not considering that somebody got down in the dirt and engineered that bridge and laid the foundation.

"In evaluating the present, the most important thing is to evaluate what was going on earlier," he said. "What were the conditions? What helped or hurt?

"**I OUGHT** to tell you the conditions of racial relations then were rough. I had to listen to the governor excoriate us. The legislature would jump on us. I'm satisfied that if it hadn't been for the new constitution adopted in 1945 under Ellis Arnall they would have found a way to legislate me out of office . . .

"It was rough; most of you know it was rough. We saw the era when our schools were threatened. I'll never forget the time when Eugene Cook advocated a law that anybody who was for integration was guilty of a capital offense. . . .

"If we had not been willing to fight for decency and good racial relations here in Atlanta and to hold high a beacon for the South, then maybe Georgia would have gone down and we would have had an Alabama or a Mississippi."

MR. HARTSFIELD recalled that he had been in New York during a recent weekend when unruly demonstrations broke out in front of Leb's Restaurant here and he read newspaper accounts of happenings.

"I was horrified," he said. "And then all of a sudden I realized all those people were being hauled off by Negro policemen and not one time was there an intemperate statement by a city official. I became rather proud of the town.

"I think the people who got hurt in that demonstration were the Negroes in the town. I think they hurt themselves.

Mr. Hartsfield complimented Mayor Allen on his handling of things. "I said to the Rotary Club recently, 'Ivan is right in the middle of it. It might be easy to try to tell him how to carry the ball, and it might be easy to tell him he missed a play. But I think he is doing the best he can.'

"**I THINK** he realizes what a lot of our merchants don't realize. I think he realizes that we can't run this great metropolitan city under a set of rules different from those in Kansas City or New York or any other place. The hotel and restaurant people ought to learn the facts of life. The sooner we do it (desegregate) and forget it, the better."

Mr. Hartsfield, on another subject, urged the expansion of Atlanta's city limits. But he related this, also, to racial harmony. He warned white suburbanites from giving the central city to Negroes and he warned Negroes against accepting the "husk of something another fellow has abandoned." This would lead to trouble, he said. "And if (racial) trouble comes here it will not stop at the door of Sandy Springs or at the DeKalb County line."

2-13-64

Adlai Asks Protest Against Radicals

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 13 (UPI)—Adlai E. Stevenson Wednesday night asked the ordinary citizen to voice protest against outbreaks of slander and prejudice by fanatic organizations.

Adlai Stevenson

Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, said the demands for impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren and abolition of income tax were "creating a frame of mind among the ignorant and thoughtless in which extreme courses seem natural."

The former Illinois governor, in a Lincoln Day speech to the Abraham Lincoln Association, appealed for an end to "silent indifference" to extreme courses.

"Perhaps there is no greater service that the ordinary citizen and voter can do than to raise his voice against any evidence of slander, prejudice, muckraking and race baiting, from whatever side it may appear," he said.

"But one fact is more alarming still: The apathy, the silent indifference of so many enlightened men and women. In their hearts they condemn fanatacism, but they neither speak out or rebuke it.

"It is sad to see these eruptions of folly; yet it is sadder still to see so many good people passively inert in dealing with them. An aroused public sentiment can destroy their power for evil," he said.

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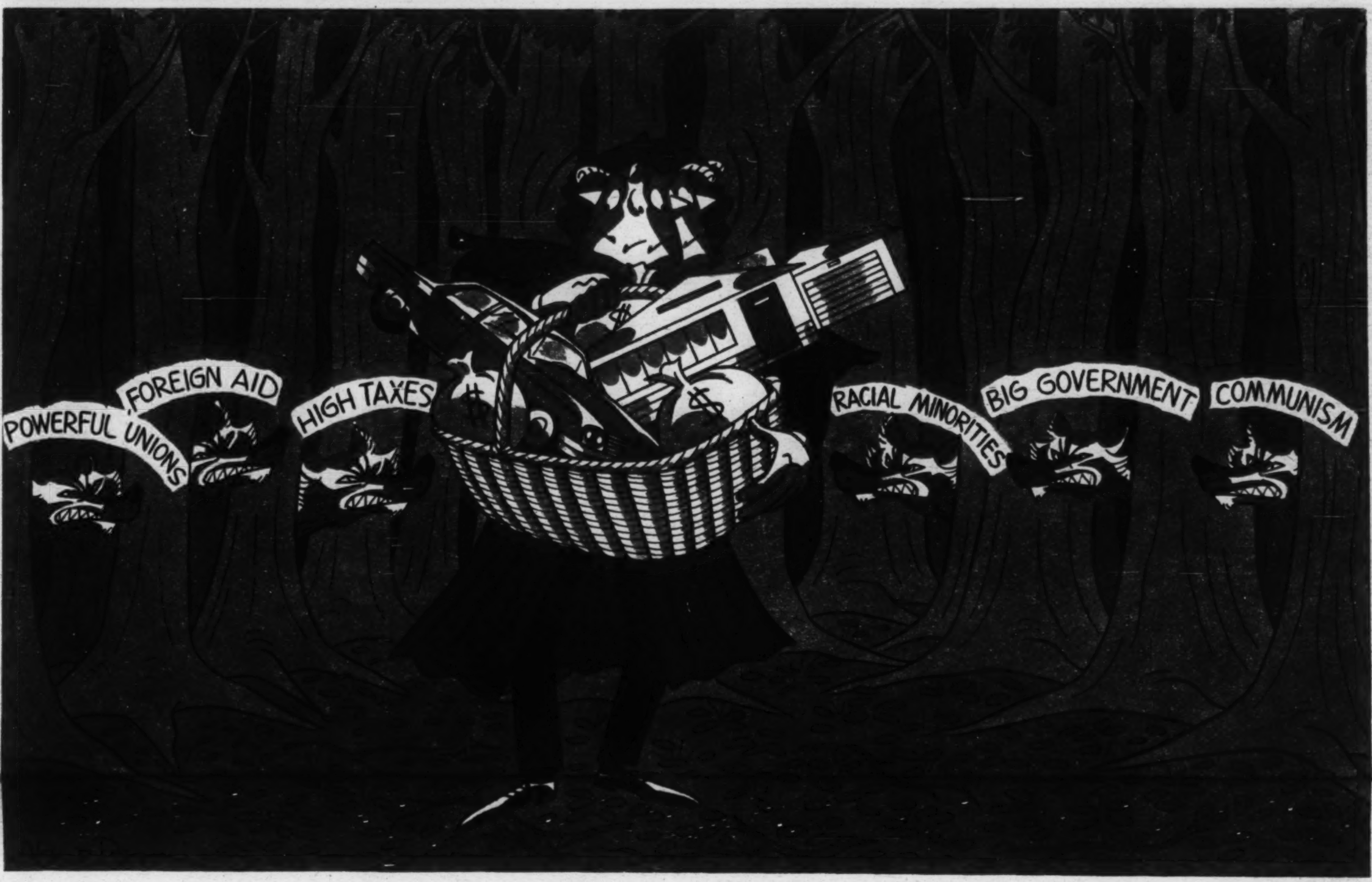
The New York Times Magazine



Drawing by Abner Dean.

Anti-Red Riding Hood—Today's affluent—but insecure—conservative fears Communism and many other things.

Inquiry Into the New Conservatism

Today's groundswell of conservative sentiment in America, suggests a political scientist, may reflect the fears, frustrations and concern for status of the newly prosperous.

By ANDREW HACKER

WITH a major contender for the Presidential nomination choosing to base his campaign on the premise that the country is growing more conservative, it is time to stop talking about textbook theories and to examine popular attitudes. For Barry Goldwater is persuaded that not only the Republican party but the general electorate is moving in his direction, and the Arizona Senator is a practical politician who claims to understand the drift of public opinion.

The rise of this political mood is interesting and important because the Americans rallying around Goldwater differ markedly from those customarily associated with conservative causes. Traditional definitions of conservatism are of little relevance here, as recent decades have seen the emergence of new citizens with new outlooks toward politics. If American conservatism is indeed on the rise, it would be well to spell out what it is *not* as well as what it is and where its current strength lies.

Textbook definitions of conservatism, largely derived from the writings of Edmund Burke and like-minded European authors, have never had much application to American life. Classical conservative doctrine was a well-knit theory intended chiefly for the gentry and their loyal retainers. It presupposed a stratified and hierarchical society where each person knew his place and unquestioningly accepted the station into which he was born. Those at the top might enjoy inherited wealth and privileges, but — so the theory ran — they had a deep sense of their obligations to those beneath them. By the same token, those consigned to humbler status would defer to their betters, not asking to participate in the official exercise of power. In such a setting, necessarily more agricultural than industrial, it was possible to talk of the blessings of tradition, order and community.

THE problem, of course, is that this brand of conservatism never really crossed the Atlantic. America has not had a prescriptive ruling class surrounded by a constituency of faithful followers. A few large Eastern cities have old and wealthy families but after the early 19th century they ceased to play a political role of any real importance. The Federalists were all too short-lived, for a political party based on a small class had no chance of survival amid an expanding electorate. Jackson's defeat of Nicholas Biddle on the national bank issue was probably the final blow to traditional conservative power, and the Irish-Americans' taking over of Boston from the Brahmins was simply a mopping-up operation.

If conservatism of this sort still lingers on, it is rhetoric more than reality. Books continue to be written in Burkean accents, displaying a nostalgia for a social order that never really had a chance to take root in the New World. Writers such as Russell Kirk may be used to provide a philosophical gloss on current conservative stirrings, but the fact that there is little similarity between the European tradition of deference and the American democratic mood does not trouble those who simply want a few quotations to give tone to a political speech or a popular article.

The current groundswell of conservative sentiment, then, is a homegrown product with few intellectual antecedents. At the same time, it would be a mistake to define this tide of feeling, as various sociologists have done, in terms of the "radical right." To be sure, many Americans are discon-

(Continued on Page 65)

ANDREW HACKER is an associate professor of government at Cornell and author of "Political Theory: Philosophy, Ideology, Science."

Inquiry Into the New Conservatism

(Continued from Page 7)

tented and frustrated over the way things have been going in recent years. The postwar period has seen McCarthyism, obsessive anti-Communism and indiscriminate attacks on the Supreme Court, the Department of State and leaders of both parties. Yet the actual number of Americans who have been activists in the John Birch Societies, the Christian Crusades Against Communism and even the White Citizens' Councils is still proportionately small.

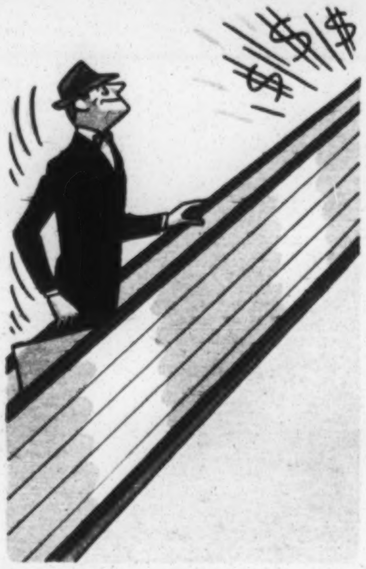
IT is saying too much to equate the current movement to the right with the extreme groups on the far fringe. The difference may be one of degree rather than of kind, but the intervals on this political scale are quite wide and the Goldwater fan in Fairfield County is a rather different animal from the John Bircher in Santa Barbara.

Indeed, those who cluster around "radical-right" groups are there more for personal reasons than as representatives of particular social groups. This does not mean that the "radical right" should not be taken seriously or that it has not produced ugly situations in many parts of the country. However, the distorted image of political reality, generally involving conspiracies, harbored by the typical right-wing extremist is a neurotic condition that cannot be changed by rational discussion. The answer is not psychoanalytic treatment—hardly a political remedy—but simply to outvote them in P.T.A.'s, library boards, party committees, and eventually at the polls.

The recent growth of conservative sentiment, therefore, cannot be explained by recourse to either Burke or Birch disciples. The reason is that this new tendency is a popular turn in the public mind, embracing millions of Americans who are neither philosophical in temperament nor maladjusted in personality. In fact, the conservatism that is emerging can claim to be part of the democratic process in that it is the outlook of quite ordinary men and women.

FAR from being bookish, the typical Goldwater supporter is an outgoing enthusiast who senses that he is part of a broadly based movement that has a chance of reaching majority proportions. Perhaps "only in America" could conservatism rise so quickly and ebulliently, becoming the mood of many rather than the settled preserve of an exclusive class.

Needless to say, there is a good deal of negative sentiment in this popular conservatism. There is opposition to high taxes, big government, powerful unions, Communism at home and abroad, foreign aid, and advances on the part of racial minorities. Yet as individuals, these conservatives are quite happy. Most are prospering as never before, and one has only to look in at a Goldwater rally to see beaming smiles rather than sullen countenances.



PROSPERITY—Instead of trudging up by our own efforts, most of us have had a free escalator ride.

The explanation for this apparent paradox—political discontent amid economic affluence and social headway — lies in the fact that progress has been at such a rapid rate that Americans who have been moving ahead are not fully convinced that they will be allowed to keep all they have so recently gained.

IF the conservative camp were simply confined to small-business men in small towns, it would hardly be a major force in national politics today. But the fact is that most of the emerging conservatives are employes rather than employers, not a few working for large corporations as engineers, salesmen or junior executives. Tired, perhaps, of the "organization - man" label, they nevertheless realize that the traditional middle - class ethic was created for an age of entrepreneurs rather than themselves. As they have neither the opportunity nor the desire to become their own bosses, they can at least protest their individuality by embracing the conservative mood. To speak in such tones is to sound like a self-made man—even if it is not an entirely accurate reflection of one's real life story.

The common characteristic of the conservative outlook is the sense of being a superior individual. Millions of Americans see how far they have come in recent years and are persuaded that this ascent has been due to their personal efforts. The trek from a blue collar to a white collar, or from the city to the suburbs, or from high school to college and on to a respectable job—these advances are seen as the result of intelligence, hard work and strength of character. In some cases this may be so, but in most instances it is not.

The affluence and the widening opportunities they have experienced in this country are due to favorable technological and economic conditions. Most of us have had a free escalator ride instead of having had to trudge up one stair at a time by our own efforts. But to admit this would be damaging to the ego, and conservative audiences are flattered when they are told they are genuine individualists rather than the products of impersonal social forces.

YET if recruits to the conservative cause are superior men and women, the natural question is: superior to whom? Most conservatives, when all is said and done, have quite unspectacular incomes, homes and backgrounds. The answer, quite simply, is that they picture themselves as superior to those who have failed to get as far as they have. There is little sympathy or fellow-feeling for trade unionists or the unemployed, for Negroes or other depressed ethnic groups, or for those who require public assistance because they cannot help themselves.

Indeed, the conservative sees himself as quite a different order of person from those of his fellow-citizens he deems to be his inferiors. In many ways he would like to make as clean a break from them as possible because they threaten him both politically and socially — politically, because they may have the votes that would lead to changes in the prevailing distribution of wealth and status, and, socially, because they remind him of what he himself once was and might become again.

UNIONS, for example, symbolize for him the mass man, led either by "crooks" (Hoffa) or "Socialists" (Reuther). The trade unionist demands across-the-board raises for everyone in a particular job classification regardless of a person's competence or contribution to productivity. Conservatives identify with management, and visualize their own promotions and raises as due to their unique qualifications. It is galling to see hoards of blue-collar workers coming up in the world *en masse*.

By the same token, the political power of the unions appears threatening, for it is clear that labor wishes to tax hard-working citizens so as to establish a welfare state for those unwilling to provide for themselves. The resentment against taxes is based on the

(Continued on Page 68)

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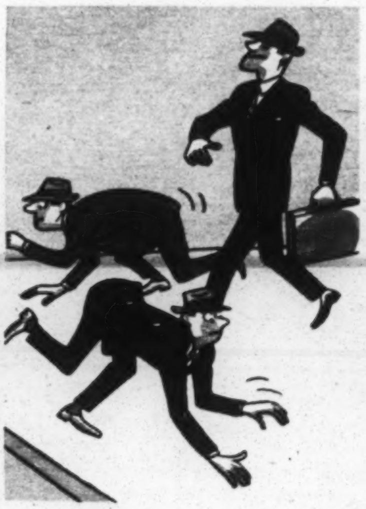
(Continued from Page 65)

feeling that this money ends up supporting the indolent (through unemployment compensation), the improvident (with public housing and medical care) and the immoral (by aid to unmarried mothers and illegitimate children). The conservative in America today sees himself beleaguered by powerful and insolent groups hoping to use government as an instrument to tax and destroy.

THE conservative outlook, as it is now taking form, has little or no compassion for Negro Americans in their struggle for equal status. It is wondered, first of all, why legislation—let alone force—is needed to ameliorate present inequities. Once again it is asked why individual Negroes do not work hard and raise themselves as individuals.

Moreover, the very presence of Negroes — in supervisory jobs, in schools and nearby neighborhoods — is a devastating threat to one's social status. A person who lives in close proximity to Negroes, or whose children go to a mixed school, runs the risk of being suspected of being unable to do better for himself.



DIFFERENT—The new-style conservative sees himself superior to those who have failed to get ahead.

The flight to the suburbs, to "nice neighborhoods" and "good schools" is, in fact, a conservative retreat. The truth is that people whose own status is tenuous cannot afford to be associated with elements in society thought to be inferior. (It is almost as if a little of the color might rub off.) Having run away from the problem, there is no desire to raise it again by helping minority groups to break out of the walls that confine them. Added to this is the concern with property values. A drop in the resale value of one's home, due to a Negro invasion, can seem like the end of the world.

Quite obviously anti-civil-rights sentiment, and hence an attraction to conservatism, runs deep in the South. More disturbing is the rate at which opposition to Negro equality is growing in the North, especially in middle-class suburbs. It used to be that antagonism toward Negroes was voiced privately—it was not a respectable sentiment to express in public. Now, however, Northerners are much franker in stating their feelings, a condition encouraged by the utterances of many conservative politicians.

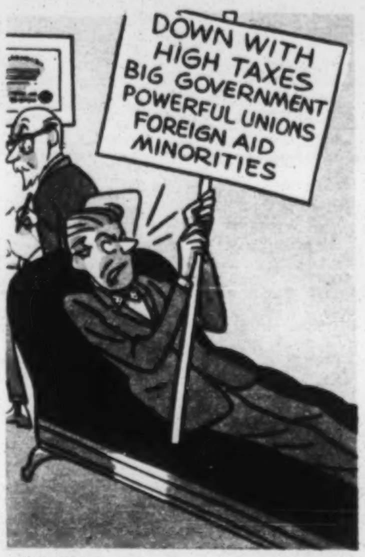
CONSIDERING that Negroes constitute only slightly more than 10 per cent of the American population, it might be thought that the remaining 90 per cent could make way without too much discomfiture. This, however, overlooks the fact that any rise on the part of Negroes is seen as bringing in its wake a lowering of status for those who can least afford it. When the protective tissue is so thin and the potential drop so far, resistance can be all but total.

Coinciding with these developments have been almost two decades of Communist expansion throughout the world. America may be a great world power but we have been continually frustrated in our efforts to contain Soviet inroads, now only 90 miles from the Florida Keys. Conservatives have a more firmly fixed image of Communist intentions than others and a steadfast mistrust of treaties or negotiations with the enemy.

There are several reasons why those attracted to conservatism adopt a tougher stance in international dealings. One is that having ascended to higher stations in life they have the leisure and education to think about foreign policy—often for the first time — and feel that their new status makes them responsible for defending the country that has done so well by them in recent years. Another reason is that many conservatives are of fairly recent immigrant stock and possess a half-conscious awareness that they will accelerate their assimilation by an articulate display of loyalty and patriotism.

Additionally, the tough approach — chiefly military in focus — rejects proposals that we raise the living standards of black, brown or yellow people in uncommitted areas. Such neutrals are not only seen as unreliable allies but the suspicion also remains that they are inferior races not quite worthy of our help or trust. Isolationist sentiment, now joined by a ready-to-go arsenal of nuclear weapons, has never really lost its place in the conservative mind.

THERE is no doubting that any growth in conservative strength will have a divisive effect on society. It will increasingly cut off group from group, separating those who have done well out of postwar advances from those who have been left behind. The one segment will show little tolerance for the misfortunes of the other, and will not happily acquiesce to measures designed to alleviate social problems.



REMEDY—The best treatment for the "radical right" is not psychoanalysis but defeat at the polls.

What is new in our time is that those who have failed to succeed do not constitute an electoral majority, and do not have the votes to translate their wants into legislation—despite conservative forebodings. The unemployed, dependent children, the indigent aged, and racial minorities actually stand in need of political goodwill from those who are better off. Not only has a helping hand been only grudgingly extended, in many instances it is being withdrawn. The conservative ideology has plainly hardened attitudes in this direction.

Finally, widespread social and geographic mobility has heightened the conservative appeal, for it is at base a moralistic creed. People who have moved upward and outward experience feelings of rootlessness, especially when they leave towns and neighborhoods where values were settled and expectations were modest.

LIVING in new and often fluid settings, they are anxious to demonstrate that they still believe in "fundamentals." Hence the support for a return to basic learning in the schools, to public prayers and like symbols of all that is steadfast in a changing society.

While most of those rallying to the conservative banner are in their present positions because of the accelerated transformation in the structure of our national life, now that they have made their climb they assert their belief in traditional standards and earlier values.

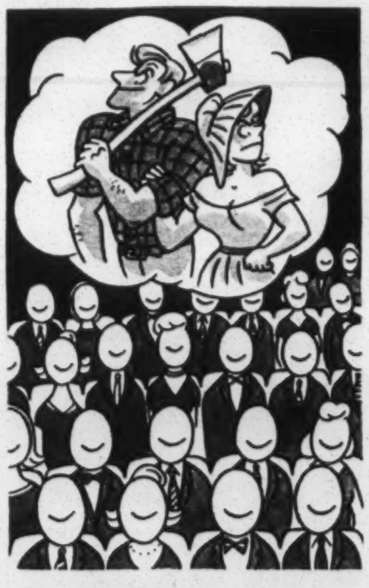
The New Deal, World War II and the postwar prosperity have all combined to create a new type of citizen, an individual whose social and economic gains have yet to be consolidated on any permanent basis.

A danger inherent in such an upsurge of conservative sentiment is that it could make Americans less tolerant and easy-going, less able to laugh at themselves or to put up with the inadequacies of others. The hardening of lines—around the mouth as well as between groups and classes—may make social relations rather more difficult for all of us. Hopefully, many of our fears and insecurities will begin to evaporate as succeeding generations are persuaded that prosperity can be made permanent and that questions of status need not be so obsessive. While the children of conservative households will, despite their initial advantages, still have to make their own climb through life, they may be able to do so in a more relaxed manner. The problem, after all, is not an entirely new one.

Well over a century ago, Alexis de Tocqueville saw that the breaking of traditional barriers could produce anxieties as well as affluence. "Eager and apprehensive men of small property constitute the class that is constantly increased by the equality of conditions," he wrote. "Hence in democratic communities the majority of the people do not clearly see what they have to gain by a revolution, but they continually and in a thousand ways feel that they might lose by one."

FOR "revolution" read "political change" and we have the conservative outlook toward civil rights, welfare legislation and any expansion of the Federal Government's powers.

Whether or not Barry Goldwater wins the Republican nomination or the Presidency itself, he will have helped to shape a popular conservative constituency that will make its weight felt for many years to come. Its very existence will give a sharper edge to our politics, and will arouse emotions and antagonisms that have hitherto remained unvoiced. But more than Goldwater, the new conservatism is the result of the democratic process itself: the widening of new opportunities for millions of Americans who have risen to a better location in life and who at all costs want to insure that they remain there.



OLD FRONTIER — Conservatives see themselves as individualists—not as products of social forces.

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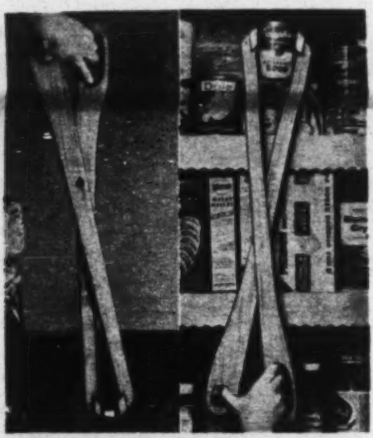

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Metro Herald
4-1-64

ATLANTAN NAMED CHAIRMAN

Conservative Council Of Georgia Organized At Macon Meeting With Over 2,000 In Attendance

Members of several conservative organizations throughout the State met in Macon, Georgia, on March 28, 1964, and formed the Georgia Conservative Council. Those in attendance represented over 2,000 Georgians.

Resolution adopted at this meeting made possible affiliation with the National Conservative Council with headquarters in Richmond, Virginia. Georgia thus became the 34th state to affiliate with the National Council. This is the first time that Conservatives across the nation have united for constitutional conservative action.

Officers elected at the meeting are: Chairman, Richard I. Williams, Atlanta; Executive Secretary, Mrs. J. Milton Lent, Savannah, and Secretary, Mrs. S. T. Turnipseed, Jr., Atlanta.

Objectives of the Georgia Conservative Council will be to promote coordinated conservative action using the already established political machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties and any other legal means;

To support and encourage Georgia delegates to the Republican National Convention in 1964 to cast votes for Senator Barry Goldwater;

To support and encourage Georgia delegates to the Democratic National Convention in 1964 to cast votes for Senator Strom Thurmond or another constitutional, conservative candidate;

To establish a ballot position in order that the Constitutional Conservatives of the State of Georgia will be assured a Constitutional Conservative candidate's name will be placed on the ballot in case the old party political machinery fails to provide one;

To promote change in Georgia election laws so that a political party can get a position on the ballot without the necessity of naming the candidate.

To encourage the candidacy of constitutional conservatives in both houses of Congress and in each Congressional District of Georgia and give them full support; and

Finally to align the activity in the State of Georgia with the National movement.

If the Republican and Democratic conventions do not nominate a candidate acceptable to the National Conservative Council, then the Council will meet in Convention in Chicago on July 23-26, 1964, to endorse a standard bearer in the 1964 presidential election.

Those wishing further information concerning the Georgia Conservative Council should contact Mr. Williams at 25, Highland Drive, N.E., Atlanta.

4-20-64 Journal

ANOTHER CRISIS

Practicality, Emotion and Race

By JOSEPH ALSOP

Washington.

THE SPOTTY Communist infiltration of the civil rights movement, which has been revealed, is merely one more sign that this agonizing problem is moving toward another crisis.

Though deeply disturbing, it is really less meaningful than others of a more public character. In New York, for instance, extremists in the Congress on Racial Equality have alternately been threatening to sabotage the World's Fair and the city water system.

On the other side, a shockingly large number of Wisconsin voters were willing to cast their votes for Gov. George Wallace of Alabama. And in Kansas City, an ordinance forbidding discrimination in housing escaped defeat by such a thin margin that one must conclude discrimination was actually favored by a majority of Kansas City's white people.

The fact of the matter is that unreason and excess on one side are promoting and encouraging prejudice and unreason on the other side. The CORE extremists, if they carry out their threats, will only provoke more opposition to their demands. The Wisconsin people who voted for Gov. Wallace only gave an argument to the civil rights movement's extremists.

RESPONSIBILITY

In these circumstances, a new burden of responsibility is cast upon the leaders of both sides. The Negro leaders now need more than the mere confidence in the justice of their cause. They need to be selective and practical in their aims and astute and coolheaded about their tactics.

The simplest illustration of the challenge facing the Negro leaders is the problem of de facto segregation that prevails in many Northern urban school systems.

It is clear that white majorities in Northern cities are not going to stand for forcible homogenization of their schools. Some are prejudiced; a great many more want their children to attend neighborhood schools.

This reaction has already begun in New York, where the Parents and Taxpayers Association has rapidly acquired a huge following. Among the Negro masses, there is little real desire for a homogenized school system.

New York again offers the proof; for parents these may opt to have their children carried to schools outside their own neighborhood. In one Harlem school visited by this reporter, 1,300 children were eligible to go elsewhere, but only 13 had chosen to do so. The city-wide percentage is not much more impressive.

It must also be noted that many children from deeply deprived neighborhoods cannot fairly be exposed to daily competition with more fortunate children. This has nothing whatever to do with race. Students of the problem have simply discovered the far from surprising fact that children brought up in conditions of extreme poverty tend to be behind in language and other skills. They need special help at the outset in order to compete on equal terms with other children.

SOLUTION

The sensible solution of the Northern school problem is a quite new kind of discrimination. Schools in deprived neighborhoods have twice as big a job to do as schools in happier neighborhoods, and they need twice as much money to do it.

If this were asked for, there would be no such resistance as the attack on neighborhood schools has encountered. But this is not being asked for, and it probably will not be, either, since the Negro leaders are in competition with one another. The competition is too emotion-charged to allow much room for down-to-earth practicality.

That makes it all the more urgent for the white majority to be both practical and generous. For if the Negro minority is not admitted to full membership in the larger American society, and given all the help that the minority needs to enjoy that membership, this country will surely find itself with a permanent anti-colonial war on its hands.
—(c1964.)

History

Des Moines Tribune

WILL DURANT, the historian and philosopher, has his roguish moments and he was in the midst of one the other day when he was interviewed about his recent experiences while helping with a movie on the Riviera, the home of the Bikini.

"So great was my devotion to duty that I didn't even get to the beach to see the bathing beauties," he commented. "I'm sure there was many an ankle that merited my attention."

Durant, who at 81 is writing a history of the world, doesn't plan to carry it beyond the year 1789.

His acquaintance with bathing suits must also be a matter of ancient history. It's been years since anyone noticed ankles.

Const 4-22-64

Hoover Says Reds Are Using Negroes

WASHINGTON (AP) — FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover says "Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement" and could play an important role in swaying masses without their realizing it.

In a closed session of a House Appropriations subcommittee, Hoover also described efforts by the Communists to recruit American students to their views.

In Jan. 29 testimony made public Tuesday, Hoover said the Communist party tries to expand its influence among Negroes and particularly has "sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement."

The party, Hoover said, tries to use "what are often legitimate Negro complaints and grievances for the advancement of Communist objectives."

The number of Negro recruits who may be attracted to party membership "is not the important thing," Hoover said. He cited "the old Communist principle: 'Communism must be built with non-Communist hands.' "

"We do know that Communist influence does exist in the Negro movement and it is this influence which is vitally important. It can be the means through which large masses are caused to lose perspective on the issues involved and, without

Continued on Page 8, Column 5

Reds Infiltrating Negro Movement, Hoover Says

Continued from Page 1

realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures."

At this point, Hoover asked to testify off the record, so the hearing transcript does not show whether he was asked for, or gave, specific instances of Communist influence among Negroes.

The FBI chief said Soviet bloc espionage agents made what he termed revolting use of blackmail and compromise.

"On two separate instances, an American college professor and a woman tourist went to Moscow where they were drugged while separately visiting the Soviet Union, photographed while unconscious, participating in acts of sexual perversion, arrested and their cooperation in obtaining intelligence information solicited under threat of prosecution and exposure," Hoover said.

Hoover said Communists have shown "considerable patience in recruiting American students," often offering to finance their college education, provided they would seek government employment after graduation and cooperate with Soviet intelligence. Soviet bloc intelligence personnel, he said, also have shown particular interest in scientists and emigres having relatives or property under Communist control.

"A highly important part of the Soviet bloc espionage apparatus operating against the United States centers around its growing use of 'illegal' — deep cover — espionage agents," he said. "These individuals are well-trained professionals, usually operate under assumed names and cleverly fabricated documents, and are supplied with the latest scientific equipment."

Hoover said the U.S. Communist party, directing an intensified program at youth, had spokesmen appear before 45 student groups, mostly in campus, during 1963. He said Daniel Rubin, national youth director of the party, remarked in June that of the young people attracted in the last recruiting drive, 65 per cent were students.

4-24-64 Const

King Raps Hoover for Red Charge

Accuses FBI Boss Of Aiding Racists

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King Thursday accused J. Edgar Hoover of helping Southern racists and right-wing extremists "smear" the civil rights movement with Communist charges.

Dr. King was referring to testimony by the FBI director before a House appropriations subcommittee that Communists are exercising influence in the movement and seeking to exploit its leaders.

The Negro leader said that Communists may have drifted into the civil rights movement "here and there," but that they do not make policy decisions.

His own group, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, investigates any leaders about whom it hears Communist charges, and has caused the resignation of one, Dr. King told a news conference.

He said that Hoover "has allowed himself to aid and abet the fallacious claims of Southern racists and extreme right-wing elements."

But he said the more significant truth is "the amazing lack of success" that Communism has had in winning Negroes, considering their desperate plight.

"Why is this issue being used now to smear the civil rights movement and the SCLC? he asked.

Dr. King went on to say that it is "difficult to accept the word of the FBI on Communist infiltration in the civil rights movement when it has been so completely ineffectual" in protecting the Negro from brutality in the Deep South.

He said it would be "encouraging" if Hoover and the FBI were as diligent in apprehending those "responsible for bombing churches and killing little children, as they are in seeking out alleged Communist infiltration in the civil rights movement."

The advocate of non-violence criticized the stall-in protest Wednesday at the opening of the World's Fair in New York as "a tactical error at this time."

He said that demonstrations should take place only after the failure of good-faith negotiations. In the New York protest, he said, most people didn't even know what the demonstrators were attempting to do.

King Attacks Hoover Report Of Communists

Journal 4-24-64

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Dr. Martin Luther King has accused FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of helping Southern racists and right-wing extremists "smear" the civil rights movement with Communist charges.

King told a news conference Thursday that Communists may have drifted into the civil rights movement "here and there," but that they do not make policy decisions.

King, referring to Hoover's testimony before a House appropriations subcommittee that Communists are exercising influence in the movement and seeking to exploit its leaders, said the FBI director "has allowed himself to aid and abet the fallacious claims of Southern racists and extreme right-wing elements."

He said his group investigates any leaders about whom it hears Communist charges and has caused the resignation of one.

But King said the more significant truth is "the amazing lack of success" that communism has had in winning Negroes, considering their desperate plight."

He said it is "difficult to accept the word of the FBI on communistic infiltration in the civil rights movement when it has been so completely ineffectual in protecting the Negro from brutality in the Deep South."

Const
5-2-64

"WHY DO THE HEATHEN RAGE?"

On the front page of The Atlanta Constitution, April 28, is an Associated Press Wirephoto of negro students in Nashville, Tenn., demonstrating against a segregated cafeteria. Some "lay and sat on the pavement on West End Ave. to block traffic on one of the city's busiest streets."

The following quote is a letter received on the 13th of the past February: "Enjoy your articles. Yours of 2/5/64 exceptionally good. Along this line do you observe this fact—"DEMONSTRATORS"—(the first six letters of the word were underscored, and a line drawn through the last seven letters, thus leaving just "DEMONS!") The letter was signed: "A constant reader." Have never learned the name of the writer, but I think this "doctor's" diagnosis "inspired!" However, if he doesn't object to my meddling, may I suggest that maybe he should not have marked out the last seven letters, but made the break-down and appraisal about like this: "DEMONS" plus "TRA(I)TORS" equals "DEMONSTRATORS,"—at least as often carried out recently. Demons usually have to stay hid and covered up in their dens and darkness unless protected by traitors to justice, righteousness, law and order, decency, etc.

This friend evidently had reference to our article of Feb. 8th. He called it "exceptionally good." From one viewpoint we thought it "exceptionally bad!" We had to deal with so much that was bad, so dirty, so vile, that we hate to have to bring it up again, but we are doing so as confirmation of our opinion that the man's diagnosis was inspired. Again, if light is not turned on the evil and vile there is not much chance of getting rid of it. (Take courage, you people who "believe in The God of The Bible," for God says the time is coming when "The vile person shall be no more called liberal, nor the churl said to be bountiful."—Isaiah 32:6, etc. You DD's, you scholars and educators, statesmen, lawyers, politicians, etc. who proudly call yourselves "liberals," I leave it up to your own judgment, won't it be mighty bad on you if, "when the mists have rolled away," you show up to be "vile" in the eyes of The Lord God Almighty? Thus saith The Lord: "The vile person shall be no more called liberal, — —.") We quote from the Feb. 8th article: "Whitfield was preaching to an immense crowd in Moorfields, England. Part of his audience was a brutal mob determined to break up the service. A merry-andrew finding that no acts of buffoonery were of any avail, got into a tree near the pulpit, and, as much, perhaps, in despite, as in insult, exposed his bare posteriors to the preacher in the sight of all the people. The more brutal mob applauded him with loud laughter, while decent persons were abashed; and Whitfield was himself, for a moment, confounded; but instantly recovering himself, he appealed to all, since now they had such a spectacle before them, whether he had wronged human nature in saying, with Bishop Hall, that man, when left to himself, is half fiend and half brute; or, in calling him with William Law, a motley mixture of the beast and the devil! The appeal was not lost upon the crowd, whatever it might be upon the wretch by whom it was occasioned. Demons plus trators, equals "demonstrators!"

The article then contrasted Whitfield's experience of over 200 years ago, with that of an Atlanta cafe owner the latter part of January in the year of our Lord 1964, as reported in a letter to this column: While "the restaurant was full of customers 20 negroes forced their way in and proceeded to urinate on the tables, dishes, and walls and break the furniture! The negro women squatted on the floor and evacuated. The police turned their backs and walked out and refused to arrest them." The letter further stated that for about a couple of days the restaurant was blockaded so customers could not enter.

"Demons," plus "Trators," equals "Demonstrators!" The writer recalls seeing pictures of demonstrators in Africa, Japan, England, America, and maybe other places. In every instance, if we mistake not, the first and strongest impression made was that of the "demoniac" expression on the faces of the poor wretches. Did not see demonstration in which one of the top churchmen of our nation took part, purposely disobeying the law of the state and community (treachery, I appraise it) in order to get himself arrested—understand he had his collar on backwards. (Probably you have heard the story of the drunk who offered a clergyman a drink of liquor: "I don't drink," said the parson. The retort was: "You lying rascal, you are drunk now, got your collar on back'ards!"

These type "demons" are traitors to decency, good manners, courtesy (The Bible says, Be courteous), law and order, character, integrity, and above all make a mock of the true Spirit of Christianity which demands self-denial, and solemnly warns that "whosoever exalts himself shall be abased," and this warning is made over and over again in The New Testament. The clergy, church, denomination boards, courts, etc. that make pronouncements that segregation is unChristian, so far as the writer has seen, never attempt to support their position with Scripture, more Scripture, and more of The Word of God, but only speak in generalizations.

"Christ is the answer!" He casts out demons and devils. Over and over it is recorded in the Gospels. He arose from the dead, and is alive forevermore, "The same yesterday, today, and forever." He has been casting out demons and devils down through the ages. Witness what John Wesley said he had seen: "I have seen (as far as it can be seen) many persons changed in a moment from the spirit of horror, fear, and despair, to the spirit of hope, joy, peace; and from sinful desires, till then reigning over them, to a pure desire of doing the will of God. These are matters of fact, whereof I have been, and almost daily am, eye or ear witness. — — I will show you him that was a lion till then, and is now a lamb; him that was a drunkard, but not exemplarily sober; the whoremonger that was, who now abhors the very lusts of the flesh. These are my living arguments for what I assert, that God now, as aforetimes, gives remission of sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost, which may be called visions. If it be not so, I am found a false witness; but, however, I do and will testify the things I have both seen and heard."

"Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits." Christ's Sermon on The Mount, Matthew 7:15, etc. Genuine Christianity will cast out demons today. But not the christianity that has a non-virgin born christ, a christ who did not and cannot work miracles, a false christ who did not literally arise from the dead, ascend to heaven and sit down on the right hand of God, and a christ who won't be back with the holy angels—such a christ has not the power, even if he wanted to.

RALPH

McGILL

5-2-64

Extremists Aid Subversion

New York Notes: Mr. J. Edgar Hoover's testimony that the Communists are trying to exploit the legitimate objectives and aspirations of the Negroes was reasonably well comprehended by most Americans. But almost certainly, a majority of the average citizenship of the country was puzzled by his statement that it wasn't really important how many Negro recruits were attracted to party membership. Mr. Hoover went on to say it was the influence and exploitation by the party that was important. This exploitative use of the issue, he said, "can be the means through which large masses (Negro and white) are caused to lose perspective . . . and, without realizing it, succumb to the party's propaganda lures."

Mr. Hoover was not well understood on this point, because the Communist tactics are not well comprehended. We tend to think in terms of stereotypes of the Southern Cracker, the Negro, and the Communist, to mention only three.

Southern Racists

The Southern racists have been assured by their Klan and White Citizens Council leaders that the order to end racial discrimination in the public and citizenship sector in American life was a Communist plot. The racist will not at all follow Mr. Hoover when he says that the number attracted to the party is not important and he will think Mr. Hoover has succumbed to the do-gooders and liberals. The racist, who has a stereotype image of the workings of the Communist party, thinks that only Communists believe the aspirations of the Negro to be legitimate.

For almost 50 years the Communist Cominterns and parties have sought to attach themselves, leechlike, to the legitimate objectives of all discontented and exploited persons. During the depression, the C.P. worked very hard to infiltrate organizations of sharecroppers and tenants, many thousands of whom were on a starvation basis, mostly because of the breakup of the cotton system and the coming of mechanization. During the 1930s, the Communists were loud in their support of old age pensions, the Social Security system, various relief organizations, and the several campaigns by veterans for additional bonuses.

This is their practice.

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A Contribution

It is not at all facetious or inaccurate to say the Communists have been helped enormously by the various excesses of the Klans, White Citizens Councils, Birch-type societies, and so on. The Communists could not have organized the Birmingham and Oxford riots, or the murder of Medgar Evers, the NAACP official in Mississippi. All these things and others like them have been helpful to communism's efforts to do precisely what Edgar Hoover was talking about — to cause large masses to lose their perspective.

The stall-in movement at the World's Fair in New York was largely a failure because the Commies tried to move into it. The stall-in idea was not Communist inspired. It was conceived by desperate, emotionally committed persons who think 100 years is too long to wait for civil rights. The Commies hastily endorsed it. And the Negro, seeing this, drew back from it.

The backlash of opinion brought on by some few demonstrations, especially the widely advertised stall-ins at the fair, which fell so short of the mark, also fit into what Mr. Hoover was talking about. The backlash is the revelation of prejudices and attitudes that have long existed. There is danger the vital perspective will be lost—and this is just what the Commies are trying to do.

The Communists try to divide us. It will be an expensive, dangerous folly to fall into their trap.

Right-wing

Close-Up

5-2-64 Const.

Won't Anyone Be a Plain Old Bigot?

The English language, it would seem at times, was designed to be twisted. Or if not so designed, at least it is highly adaptable to that purpose.

The first rule of modern English usage is that calling a spade a spade is "out." Fake plastic flowers are "permanent flowers;" grinding poverty is "disadvantage;" primative nations are "underdeveloped," and toilets, by golly, are "powder rooms."

This suggests a second rule of modern usage: Calling a stinkweed a lily is "in."

Nobody much goes around calling himself a "Nazi" or a "Fascist" these days. They are very descriptive words, but unfortunately for Nazis and Fascists, the nouns have earned a bad reputation.

Certain words, regardless of their meaning, pack tremendous emotional punches. Communist, atheist, lustful—these are a few of the negative ones. Holy, American, patriotic, mother—these generally make the listener purr.

Advertising men and politicians have known all this for a long time. Demagogues long have won the proper knee-jerks just by shouting the right words. (I imagine calling someone a "monarchist" in 1780 was about like saying "red" now.)

So—beware of the "grrr" words and the "purr" words. Case in point today is an ad by the "committee of one million Caucasians to march on Congress," which bills itself as a "holy crusade" for liberty, God, constitution and patriotism; and against communism, enslavement, etc.

That redoubtable sleuth of Klan activities, reporter John Pennington, has discovered a common origin of this committee and the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Defensive Legion of Registered Americans and Christian Voters & Buyers League. The Legion speaks of our "traitor government," urges Caucasian Christians to arm themselves with 2,000-3,000 rounds of ammunition per gun; to stock up on canned food, to buy walkie-talkies and prepare codes—and to remember "it is WAR you are rehearsing;" i.e., race riots.

For $3, the Christian Voters & Buyers League will sell such phonograph records as "Kosher Foods Blackmail of Christian Households."

Well, I'm not arguing against the right of people to hold such views. But let's have a little more honesty in titles. Not too much honesty, of course, because who would give money to "The Guerrilla Warfare and Insurrection Club," "The Committee of a Million Bigots," or "Anti-Semites' Bloc Vote and Boycott Society"?—BRUCE GALPHIN.

COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION CAUCASIANS TO MARCH ON CONGRESS

JULY 4th, 1964

5-2-64
Const.

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS—
4553 RIVERDALE ROAD, COLLEGE PARK
OR
P.O. BOX 4846, FEDERAL ANNEX, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 766-4943, Area Code Atlanta 404

Unless the Christian citizens resist confiscation of their God-given liberties and private property rights, they will be enslaved by the government they created.

If Congress is allowed to carry out its communist bondage under the guise of Civil Rights, our Constitutional Republic will die.

Until 1932 this Republic was a government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is now a Bureaucrat-Socialist government under which every piece of legislation is geared to special privilege for the Negroes. When legislation exists to confer special privileges on one segment or class of society, it destroys the co-existing rights of the remainder.

This Nationwide Holy Crusade of One Million Caucasians is to confront and demand a full redress of our grievances, as is our right.

Our demands are many and they are just. They are legal because they are in strict conformity with the Constitution of our forefathers.

LIST OF THE DEMANDS ON CONGRESS, ACCEPTABLE TO COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION CAUCASIANS

AS THE WILL OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE:

1—We demand the defeat or immediate repeal, if passed by congress before July 4th, 1964, of all 7 parts of the Civil Rights Bill. If it is passed we will defeat every member of congress who votes for any part of it.

2—We demand that Congress immediately remove all appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, as is its prerogative under the Constitution, in matters pertaining to education and religion, and permit the Christian God of our fathers to return to our schools, with return of the Holy Bible and prayers to be said by our children. We demand the same in all matters of voter qualifications, and in the representation in both Federal and State legislatures, all of which rightfully belong to the sovereign states of this union.

3—We demand immediate removal of the United Nations from the territory of the United States and of American withdrawal from that body. It is a subterfuge to call the infamous charter a treaty, when it supersedes our Constitution as our supreme law of the land. It has promoted wars, unrest, tension, fighting and killing through the world and costing numberless American lives on foreign soil.

MR. AMERICAN, large and small, it's your battle to save your freedom, your Bill of Rights and business.

ALL CITIES, towns and states of our great nation are organizing for this march on Congress. Caravans are being formed by many states.

THE COMMITTEE of one million Caucasians is not sponsored, managed or promoted by any individual or group, but every white patriotic group will be urged to join.

YOU ENLIST with your money, your presence in Washington and your work to mobilize your community, when you sign the coupon below and enclose your check.

ALL MONIES will go for advertising this movement, no one receives any salary.

COMMITTEE OF ONE MILLION CAUCASIANS TO MARCH ON CONGRESS
P.O. BOX 4846 — FEDERAL ANNEX, ATLANTA, GEORGIA
OR
4553 RIVERDALE ROAD, COLLEGE PARK, GEORGIA

"I MAY DIE UNDER DICTATORSHIP IN THESE UNITED STATES, BUT BY ALL THE LOVE FOR MY CHRISTIAN GOD AND MY COUNTRY, I WILL NEVER LIVE UNDER ONE."

NAME ______________________________

STREET ______________________________

CITY ______________________ STATE ____________

I HEREBY PLEDGE MY PATRIOTISM THAT I WILL

☐ RAISE FUNDS ☐ BE THERE

☐ DONATE WITH CHECK ENCLOSED

THIS AD PAID FOR BY PERSONS INTERESTED IN ONE MILLION CAUCASIANS MARCH ON CONGRESS—JAMES B. CRUSE, CHAIRMAN FINANCE COMMITTEE

RALPH McGILL

5-3-64

Fire-Bell In the Night

Tactics of an extremist group operating at the world's fair understandably angered and alienated many Americans. The means were wrong. They are as wrong as the White Citizens Councils' defiance of courts and laws, and the murders in Mississippi, and the violence in other areas.

J. Edgar Hoover notes that Communists seek to infiltrate the Negro protest movement by supporting the legitimate demands of the Negro citizens. It is the denial of these legitimate demands that create desperation and occasionally enables Communists and Black Muslim organizations to attain influence.

"Racial incidents are magnified and dramatized by Communists in an effort to generate racial tension," said the FBI's chief.

"Communists," he said, "then try to make propaganda abroad by asserting that this country is against equal rights for all races."

One of the best tributes to the American Negro is that he has resisted communism. The number of Communist members is smaller, on a percentage basis, than that of other races.

Great Folly

It will be the greatest folly — and danger — if the nation allows itself to be diverted by any extremist group — Communist, Black Muslim, white Klans or Councils — from the essential dilemma — that of making citizenship rights equal. A denial of rights plays into Communist hands and into the hands of all who are enemies of the American system and promise.

Oscan Handlin, one of the nation's most distinguished historians, has produced a small book — "Fire - Bell in the Night — The Crisis in Civil Rights."

He takes his title from a letter written in 1820 by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson, writing about the problem of statehood for Missouri in which was involved the issue of slavery, said: "This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only. . . . We have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go."

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Little Time

Handlin concludes his book as follows: "There is not much time. The question we have evaded for a century is now catching up with us. Can a nation which has, in the past, found strength in diversity and freedom in the ability of voluntary groups to coexist in equality now learn to make room for people whose color is the badge of ancient prejudices and injustices? The position of the Negro will not remain fixed; it will either improve as he grasps the opportunities of American society or deteriorate as he fails to do so. Whether conditions permit him to follow one course or the other may prove the crucial test of American democracy.

"This is our fire-bell that rings in the night! We must beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward to the task — which is no less than the fulfillment of the promise of this Republic, a nation of men made free by equality under the law. To extinguish the fire and rebuild the house on its ancestral foundation is a task worthy of, demanding of, our best efforts."

Mr. Handlin puts it well.

The New York demonstrations were by persons suspended by CORE. The murderers in Mississippi, the Dynamiters in Birmingham, and various Klan-type disorders do not represent the whole South. Yet, we all suffer.

White Supremacy Groups Stirring Official Concern

5-17-64

MISSISSIPPI

By KENNETH TOLER
Jackson Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., May 16—Mississippi's apparent fertility for organizers of white supremacy groups has created concern among state leaders who are doing more than just sitting on the sidelines of inaction or indifference.

Fact is, the top leadership is keeping abreast of the developments through special investigators, who, in many cases, have been able to identify in highly classified reports those behind the movements.

If and when occasion should arise, state leaders are in position to go to the "source." It has been reported that some of those "contacted" for affiliation have been admonished by certain state leaders against such participation.

AT THE MOMENT, two groups are making no secret of their organizational efforts in the state.

Americans for the Preservation of the White Race hold weekly meetings in many areas of the state, principally in the southwestern section, and invite the public. There is little secrecy in its table of organization as indicated by a recent invitation to a newsman to attend one of the sessions—he did and wrote about it but minus names of the participants. However, he said he recognized some "mighty important people" present.

A different organizational setup, however, is that of the Ku Klux Klan which is highly secret, selective in its membership which it boasts at 91,003 in Mississippi at this time.

However, there is no secret as to the klan's activity in Mississippi.

What was billed as "the largest klan rally in Mississippi" was held Saturday night at the Pike County fair grounds at McComb in southwest Mississippi. It was keynoted by Robert M. Shelton of Tuscaloosa, Ala., identified as the imperial wizard of the United Ku Klux Klan.

Reports from spokesmen were that the grand dragons of the klan from Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee were among those present. The same spokesmen said the Pike County chapter, sponsor of the meeting, has a membership of between 2,000 and 3,000.

TAKING cognizance of the movements, the state senate this week passed a bill sources said was primarily aimed at suppressing militant white supremacists from forming in the state. It is designed to outlaw what is called "criminal syndicalism," defined as:

"The doctrine or precept which advocates, teaches or aids and abets the commission of crime, sabotage, unlawful acts of violence and force, arson or other unlawful acts or methods of terrorism as a means of affecting any political or social change or for profit."

Senator E. K. Collins of Laurel, where the daily newspaper was dynamited earlier this week, said the measure, which now goes to the house, would outlaw advocation or acts of terror, the printing or distribution of any literature or organizing or joining groups formed to teach, aid and abet criminal syndicalism or the acts themselves.

ANYONE participating in a meeting of two or more persons for the purpose of "advocating, encouraging, teachind or suggesting terrorism" could be convicted under the law. The sentence carries a maximum fine of $200 and-or 10 years in the state penitentiary.

A companion bill provides for the punishment of a person "who at the time of causing a person to commit a crime within the state was outside the state."

"People in any place like Birmingham, Ala., where they have a lot of high powered explosions, who sent someone into Mississippi to blow up a newspaper or a church could be convicted under the bill," Senator Collins said.

MEANWHILE, a state agency has come in possession of klan literature urging every "Christian, American Anglo-Saxon to join to defend our constitutional republic by every means at their command." The pamphlet noted that "we have nothing dishonorable to hide, but we must remain secret for the protection of our lives and families."

The literature said the klan excludes "Jews, because they reject Christ and Roman Catholics because they bow to a Roman dictator, as well as Turks, Mongols, Tarters, Orientals and Negroes."

5-18-64

Close-Up

Dallas' Story and Why It Happened

The rebuttal to Warren Leslie's book on Dallas ("Dallas Public and Private," Grossman, $4.50) follows a familiar theme.

Dallas' hard-right politics had nothing to do with the assassination of President Kennedy, the rebuttal goes. The President was murdered by one man—and that man was a Marxist. So Dallas cannot be blamed. The assassination could have happened anywhere.

Indeed, it could have. But this rebuttal, no matter how fervently it is argued, misses the point. The point is that Leslie's book would be valid and valuable even if there had been no assassination, and even if President Kennedy had never gone last November to Dallas.

Leslie's book is largely a reporting job—and a good one, balanced and even and, in several spots, quite sympathetic. It is an effort to report and describe the political and social mood of Dallas. That mood had been plainly established long before the visit of President Kennedy. And if Leslie's account says that things had been going wrong for Dallas, that is not the fault of the account.

What went wrong?

The central problem is that Dallas is a city devoid of dissent. There has been only one view in Dallas. In political terms, it is a view that runs from Goldwaterism rightward.

There is little interplay of ideas. Thus different groups and spokesmen compete not on the basis of different views, but on the basis of who can state the same views in the most extreme terms.

Its social conscience blunted by far-right philosophies, Dallas has been quick to brand slum clearance "socialism," but slow to do anything about the slums. Community leadership is in the hands of a small, tight group composed mostly of businessmen.

A lady from Virginia complains to a Washington Post reviewer that any city's shortcomings can be catalogued and printed in book form. In a way, she is right.

And that brings us to an important point about Leslie's book. Other cities do indeed have many of Dallas' faults. The absolutists, the extremists and the hate groups can be found in every city.

Unless responsible people in other cities act where responsible Dallas people failed, and speak where Dallas people remained silent, there will be many more Dallases in this country.

So Mr. Leslie's book is a warning—and a very important one.—MARVIN WALL.

Reporter Gets Anti-Civil Rights Info From Segregationist Sources

5-30-64. Atl Inquirer

Racist Groups Linked To 'Investigation' Committees

Two of the sources that a white newspaper reporter has used as a basis for attacks on the civil rifhts movement have long been associated with anti-integration programs and individuals.

The reporter, Bill Ship, State Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, has tried during the past two years to link major civil rights organizations and local anti-segregation movements with Communism.

His usual sources for information on alleged Communists are the House Un-American Activities Committee, commonly called HUAC, and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), headed by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, one of the major forces against passage of the civil rights bill.

Shipp's stories in the Atlanta Constitution have tried to link the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Chatam County (Savannah) Crusade for Vo-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

Anti-Civil Rights Info

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ters with alleged communists.

He has accepted information from HUAC and SISS, two legislative groups which have long been active in trying to stamp out the civil rights movement in the United States.

HUAC was formed in 1938. Its first chairman was Representative Martin Dies, a Texas segregationist. Representative Dies was so successful in his attempts to smear civil rights and civil liberties movements in the United States, that the Federal Communications Commission said in 1942 he had received more favorable references from Nazi Germany than "any other living American." Dies received support from other sources also; James A. Colescott, then an Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, said the HUAC under Dies "so closely parallels the program of the KKK that there is no distinguishable difference between them."

The second man to run HUAC was Representative John Rankin of Mississippi, a man who tried to stop the Red Cross from dropping "white" and "colored" labels in blood banks, and a man Time magazine called the "number one Jew-baiter." Another HUAC Chairman was Representative John Wood of Georgia, a segregationist elected by only 6 percent of the eligible voters in his district.

In 1963, Representative Edwin Willis of Louisiana, another segregationist, assumed the HUAC Chairmanship. Willis presided over hearings in Atlanta in 1958. Vice-Chairman of HUAC under Willis was Representative William Tuck of Virginia, a strict segregationist who congratulated the Mayor of Danville, Virginia last summer for using fire hoses on nonviolent demonstrators.

Some HUAC chairmen have been Northerners. One, Representative J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, was sent to jail for conspiracy to defraud the government.

A clear link between HUAC and organized anti-Negro groups in this country was established during the chairmanship of another Northerner, Representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania. Investigations revealed that HUAC staff counsel Richard Arens, drawing a $16,000 government salary, was also receiving a $3,000 a year salary from a well-financed group that was interested in proving "Negroes were inferior to other people."

In recent years, HUAC's only supporters have been Southern Congressmen. Only 13 spoke in favor of it in 1963; except for HUAC members, all but two of these were Southerners.

Senator Eastland's group, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, has also moved against integrationists, rather than alleged Communists.

These are the men who will be out of office if the civil rights movement succeeds. These are the men who have the most to gain from stopping the civil rights movement.

Special targets of HUAC and the little HUACS, state investigating agencies, have been the NAACP, Martin Luther King, the Southern Conference Education Fund, and the Southern Regional Council.

The Georgia Education Commission, once headed by segregationist Judge Durwood T. Pye, has been active in the campaign against civil rights organizations.

This group tried to seize the records of the Atlanta Branch of the NAACP, and distributed copies of a speech made by Attorney General Eugene Cook charging that Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, and other leaders of the NAACP were communists.

Several famous Americans have opposed the activities of HUAC. Among them are:

* the late President John F. Kennedy, who said: Unscrupulous demagogues have used the power to investigate as tyrants of an earlier day."

* the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt: "The Committee is sordid — flagrantly unfair — and un-American."

* former President Harry S. Truman: "The House Un-American Activities Committee is the most un-American thing in America."

Newspaper reporters and authors have demonstrated that HUAC and organized racist and right-wing groups in America are directly associated, and that each feeds information to the other.

HUAC has never investigated the un-American activities of the Ku Klux Klan, or the White Citizens Council; it persists, instead, in investigating and smearing Americans who are fighting for Democracy.

And reporters like Bill Shipp of the Atlanta Constitution help HUAC and segregationists, by using their material to defame the civil rights movement.

ON GUARD

For Human Rights

24 Hours A Day

6-14-64

RIGHT WING STIRS STRIFE IN FLORIDA

Accused of Blocking Peace Efforts in St. Augustine

By JOHN HERBERS

Dispatch of The Times, London

ST. AUGUSTINE, Fla., June 13—The woman keeping St. Augustine's right-wing reading room looked a visitor in the eye and proposed a simple solution to Communism.

"Drop the bomb on them," she said without blinking. "We shuld have done it years ago."

"And I can tell you this," she continued, "the Communists are behind all this integration business."

A historian who has written several books and articles on the nation's oldest city believes that a strong arch-conservative faction here has contributed to the city's racial violence.

"They have opposed progress on every issue, not only on race," said Charles Arnade, professor of history at the University of South Florida.

Power Structure Blamed

::St. Augustine is dominated by a small, narrow-minded power structure, which can't see anything." Dr. Arnade said. "They are years behind in everything. The white community has not been able to produce moderate leaders. The tragdy is that the white supremists suppress all moderates."

Th St. Johns County chapter of the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies maintains an office and reading room on St. George Street in the heart of the old Spanish quarter. It brings together members of various right-wing organizations, including the John Birch Society.

The chapter, headed by a physician, Dr. Hargrove S. Norris, sponsors weekly lectures by right-wing speakers. Billy James Hargis, the fundamentalist radio minister, has made three appearances. An aide to former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker spoke this week.

Last Sunday, the chapter sponsored a two-page advertisement in The St. Augustine Record entitled, "Communism in the Civil Rights Movement." The ad was a reprint of the June 1 edition of the Dan Smoot Report from Dallas.

Among other things, the report said that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who is leading the Negro movement here, is "notorious" for his "associations with Communists, Communist fronters, Communist organizations and moral degenerates."

Leaflets in Bars

The chapter also distributed leaflets over town purporting to show Dr. King attending a Communist training school. The pamphlets were posted in at least two downtown bars.

One of the milder insults that a group of rough whites hurled at Negro demonstrators before beating and stalking them this week was "Communist niggers!"

Moderate whites said it was difficult to begin negotiations for a settlement of the city's problems in this climate of opinion. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. King is president, has presented a list of demands that include desegregation of public accommodations, hiring more Negroes in city jobs and creation of a biracial committee to negotiate other matters.

At the end of the third week of the rights campaign, conference leaders said city officials had put out feelers for the appointment of a biracial committee to arrange a truce.

A St. Johns County grand jury investigating racial troubles here was expected to recommend the creation of such a committee.

Some white leaders, however, were said to be holding out despite a sharp reduction in tourist trade as a result of the racial strife. The literature attacking Dr. King and the conference was reported to be a factor in their holdout.

Big Drop at Fort

The city of 1',000 persons derives 80 per cent of its income from tourists. The old Spanish fort, a national monument, is a good indicator of the tourist trade. The National Park Service said the number of visitors to the fort declined almost 45 per cent during the first 10 days of June, compared to the same period last year.

Whites point out, however, that only a small fraction of the city's 3,500 Negroes have taken part in the demonstration. Some whites are hopeful that the movement can be broken without making any concessions.

To counteract this, the conference is bringing in Negroes from other Southern cities. Seasoned demonstrators from Savannah, Ga.; Birmingham and Gadsden, Ala., arrived yesterday and more were to arrive from other cities.

The arrival of state police under orders of Gov. Farris Bryant brought an end to the more flagrant violence, which local authorities made little effort to curtail.

Metro Herald 6-24-64

Radicals Seem To Want Racial Conflict

Many are pondering one question these days. Will the passage of the Civil Rights Bill mean the now trite "demonstrations" will end or will they increase in intensity and number?

St. Augustine, Florida, has an explosive situation which could erupt into widespread violence most any time (see story this issue).

Recognizing the seriousness of the situation in St. Augustine, Governor Bryant of Florida issued an executive order banning night demonstrations by both white and colored participants. This action was taken because of the frequent parades of Negroes from the downtown "slave market," through white residential areas and competing parades of whites through Negro sections of town.

Now the integrationists are asking the Federal Courts to remove this ban imposed by the Governor.

What good purpose, other than to hasten a racial clash which could be bloody and costly, motivates this move few can understand.

St. Augustine, set to celebrate in 1965 the 400th anniversary of the founding of the city, seems to have been selected partly because of the approaching celebration of the event which has been in the planning stages for a number of years.

We can see little wisdom in turning loose two determined forces by removing the ban on night demonstrations—but then—we are not a judge.

Metro Herald 6-24-64

Chaos And Anarchy By Judicial Edict

Recent edicts by the United States Supreme Court and other federal courts have left this nation in a state of utter chaos, have given aid and comfort to those dedicated to the overthrow of our government and to vicious, convicted criminals; usurped the powers of the legislative and executive branches of the federal government; amended the Constitution by judicial fiat; and taken over the duties of state courts and state governments.

In fact, the run-away federal judiciary has become fanatic in its effort to put over on the American people its political and social ideology.

It has become so alarming that the veteran liberal columnist of the *New York Times*, Arthur Krock, wrote in his column on Wednesday that "the court has come more and more to usurp the constitutional roles of Congress and the executive by amending the Constitution."

He continued, "the court has done this on the concept that it is 'a general haven for reform movements' (the words of Justice Harlan) which the states and the other two federal branches have not activated and which conform to the political and social ideology of the court majority."

Within two weeks the Supreme Court has ruled (1) that the legislatures of the various states are illegally formed, which means that most acts passed by these legislatures are void, leaving few if any states with a "legal" legislative branch;

(2) put its stamp of approval on unhampered travel by American Communist party leaders, dedicated to the overthrow of the American system of government, and cut the heart out of our internal security laws;

(3) placed another stumbling block before enforcement of laws against murder and other felonious crimes;

(4) approved the snatching from state courts by federal district judges cases actually being tried in those courts;

(5) reversed long-standing decisions of prior Supreme Courts and ruled, in effect, that its own edicts may be changed only by constitutional amendment;

(6) and for all practical purposes, ruled that the owner of private property cannot be protected against invasion of hordes of "unwanted" guests.

Most federal district judges follow the philosophy of the Supreme Court when cases first come before them. The St. Augustine crisis is a good example. When both radical Negroes and radical whites started night demonstrations which could easily turn into murderous riots, city officials ordered night demonstrations halted. Martin Luther King had his attorneys go into federal district court and obtain a federal injunction against the ban.

The mayor obeyed the injunction and the situation became even more dangerous. Florida's Governor Farris Bryant, acting under his constitutional mandate as preserver of the peace, banned the night demontrations. Immediately he was ordered to face federal contempt proceedings by the same federal judge.

No wonder law-abiding people are confused. No wonder there is a growing disrespect for law and order. No wonder law enforcement officials cannot protect private citizens against violent, physical attacks.

If the Congress of the United States does not reclaim its constitutional legislative rights from the court and do it quickly, the American system of government based on checks and balances will be completely dead and the legislative branch will become just an appendage.

Meanwhile, the rights of the individual, law-abiding citizen will be lost, the right of the nation to protect itself against the Communist conspiracy will be destroyed; and state courts and legislatures may as well be abolished.

It is later than we think.

Close-Up 1-30-64 Cent Rtwg

How Can the Responsible Be Heard?

An article in this space several weeks ago about Dallas, Tex., and its frenzied hard-right politics brought a letter from South Carolina.

The article was, for the most part, a review of a book by Warren Leslie called "Dallas Public and Private." By describing what has happened in Dallas in recent years, the article commented, Leslie's book serves as a valuable warning of what can happen to a city when it allows its extremists, its absolutists and its hate groups to set the political mood for the community.

Unless responsible people in other cities speak out and act in situations in which the responsible people of Dallas kept silent, the article concluded, there will be many more Dallases in this country.

As the South Carolinian sees it, her city is already another Dallas. The political mood, like that of Dallas, runs from Goldwaterism rightward. A radio station broadcasts racist editorials. The local newspaper, she says, "advertises for members to join the Ku Klux Klan." And another broadcast, she adds, called Atty. Gen. Kennedy, Chief Justice Warren and President Johnson members of "the Communist conspiracy."

Her letter continues:

"I shudder to think what the children will believe. What loyalty will they have to our great country and how will they be able to perform as responsible citizens after getting a constant diet of Dallasism from the local news media?

"Recently a group of public school teachers called for keeping the public schools open. Immediately they received telephone threats. . . .

"How, oh how, can responsible people be heard in a place where those few who want to dissent from the hate and vituperation are afraid of some kind of reprisals?"

The lady asks a question that is becoming increasingly important to us all. Telephone threats, vandalism and more overt forms of violence are unsurprising outgrowths of, and natural auxiliaries to, the intemperate and free-wheeling campaigns of the absolutists. Yet some voices of reason must be raised. Otherwise, all of us will find more of Dallas in all our communities. — MARVIN WALL.

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8-3-64 C Rightwing

His Guest: the Republican Nominee

Like a dozen or so of America's finest military men, Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer has drifted in retirement into America's Far Right.

At one time, Gen. Wedemeyer even was associated with the Birch Society's Robert Welch.

Explains Mark Sherwin in a book called "The Extremists:"

"For a time Wedemeyer served as an adviser on Welch's 'American Opinion,' but resigned because he did not feel that Birch was the kind of man who deserved the adulation Welch and the society were giving him."

Another author, Richard Dudman ("Men of the Far Right"), listed Wedemeyer as a member of the advisory board of the Life Lines radio program.

And he is listed, too, as a member of the American Security Council, which Sherwin describes as "a rigidly doctrinaire right-wing organization."

Gen. Wedemeyer, along with Herbert Hoover Jr., has just played host at the exclusive Bohemian Grove in California to Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona.

If the Republican nominee got any political and military advice while he relaxed on the coast, there can be little doubt about the nature of it.

* * * * * *

Close-Up

8-8-64 c

The Common Denominator of Haters

LeRoy Collins, director of the Community Relations Service under the new Civil Rights Act, was bluntly asked during a televised interview last week about his 1956 statement that he was and always had been a segregationist.

He replied, in essence, that he had been raised in a segregated society and had for many years accepted its mores without question. But finally, he said, in the glaring light of court decisions, protest movements and violence, he had been forced to examine the issues and the moral questions more carefully. And he had changed his mind.

I believe Mr. Collins typifies many white Southerners—hopefully a majority—both those who have changed their minds and those who have not. That is to say, his early racial attitudes were born not of hatred, but of inheritance.

It would be unfair to accuse a man of "racial hatred" only because he believes in the segregation he grew up under. And it would be unwise, because it is on his basic decency and sense of justice that society must depend for peace as integration replaces segregation by law and by custom.

The man who really hates is quite another problem. He is obsessed with race. He talks about it almost to the exclusion of anything else. The other side is ALL wrong. Anyone who helps the other side is a villain.

Hatred saps the energy of the hater, and in the end it is an acid that consumes him.

I have done a certain amount of formal study of the emotion of hatred. I have found no simple explanations, but I have been able to reach one generalization:

I have never met a hater who was not lacking in self-respect.

If insecurity is a part of hatred, then there's plenty of opportunity for hating, because insecurity comes in many shapes: fear of losing one's job, a sense of inadequacy resulting from lack of education or skills, a general uneasiness over the dangers of war, vertigo from the whirling pace of racial change, etc.

To explain why he is frustrated in his wishes, a hater must have a scapegoat. And so he blames a race or an ethnic group or his political leaders or labor or capital. And his bruised self-esteem thus is soothed.

If we could study in depth the rioters in Harlem and the murderers of the Mississippi civil rights workers, I believe the common denominator would prove to be frustration and wounded self-respect.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

Mississippi

8-9-64 C

Mrs. Alice Phillips, wife of State Rep. Alton Phillips of Macon, has resigned as Democratic national committeewoman following her recent re-election. Her husband also withdrew as a national convention delegate. Mrs. Phillips said her resignation stemmed from an anticipated demand that she support the national party's presidential ticket "which I cannot do." She and her husband favor Republican Barry Goldwater for president . . . Also, Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson, who was named a national convention delegate, resigned after the recent state convention had elected him . . . He said he had not consented to serve unless Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.) or Gov. Paul B. Johnson, titular head of the state party, was in the delegation. Neither will be delegates by their own choosing . . . Successors to the three resigned representatives will be named by the State Executive Committee in session at Jackson next Friday . . . State Sen. George Yarbrough of Red Banks, new chairman of the powerful General Legislative Investigating Committee, said it will immediately "undertake a full investigation into the influences of the Communist Party and other subversive and un-American organizations in activities within Mississippi of CORE, COFO, SNCC and other civil rights organizations."

8-25-64
8

WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

The Far Right Out to Smear LBJ

By DREW PEARSON

Atlantic City.

WHILE THE rafters at Convention Hall are ringing with praise for President Johnson, fanatics of the right are flooding the nation with the most scurrilous literature ever written about a president.

They have dredged the gutters for accusations against him, which they are now spreading by pulp and paperback.

The volume of this right-wing propaganda has been astonishing. The John Birch Society has urged its members to mail anti-Johnson material to everyone on their Christmas card lists. Book stores and magazine stands report that the paperback books defaming the President are selling better than sex novels.

Of all the smear books, the best seller is J. Evetts Haley's portrait, "A Texan Looks at Lyndon," which characterizes the President as a vain and vicious man seeking "illegitimate power."

More revealing than the book, however, is the background of the man who wrote it.

LIFE'S LOOK

Long before Haley took his look at Lyndon, Life magazine took a look at Haley.

In its Feb. 9, 1962, issue, Life had this to say about Haley: "In the category of the crackpots, it would be difficult to outdo the destructive mischief of an organization called Texans for America. This is the invention of a wealthy West Texas rancher named J. Evetts Haley, who frankly advocates lynching Chief Justice Warren. Haley and his group specialize in snooping out Red subversion in Texas textbooks."

Haley's idea of the kind of leader America should have is Maj. Gen. Edwin Walker, who was relieved of his Army command for trying to brainwash his troops with the John Birch Society's indoctrination program.

In the spring of 1962, Haley invited Walker to his Canyon, Tex., ranch for a political powwow. Haley offered the support of his militant Texans for America if Walker would run for governor in the Democratic primary. The general agreed. When the votes were counted, the general had ended up last in a field of six candidates.

Aside from Walker, Haley and his madcaps have also campaigned for repeal of federal income taxes and the preservation of segregation.

When my associate, Jack Anderson, telephoned Haley for his side of the story, he was unavailable.

One of his disciples, Frank McGehee, who has turned his Dallas office over to the distributors of the Haley book, spoke instead.

McGehee claimed over three million copies of the book have been sold, one million in Texas alone.

Except for providing office space, McGehee claimed he has nothing to do with the distribution of Haley's book. This is handled, he said, by an outfit called Timely Publications.

OPERATED

This is reported to be operated by Harold Deyo Sr., and Robert Morris, who share P.O. Box 1226 in Dallas. Morris is an old follower of Sen. Joe McCarthy, served as counsel of the Senate's No. 1 witch-hunting committee, and in 1958 tried to defeat Sen. Cliff Case of New Jersey in the Republican primary. He was soundly defeated.

One of Morris' most recent efforts was an attack upon the Justice Department for its handling of Gen. Walker. Morris defended Walker in an article, "Psychiatric Angle Analyzed," which appeared in a publication called "The Aryan Views — White Folks News."

Only Deyo could be reached for comment. He said he distrusted newspapers and had no comment, except that he was handling only ten per cent of the Haley book distribution. He said Timely Publications was also distributing two other books—"None Dare Call It Treason" and "A Choice, Not an Echo"—both favorite reading for the radical right.
—(c1964.)

Rev. Roy McClain

9-2-64

Keep on Hating? It Will Kill You

When a person hates another, the desire to kill or to destroy is inherent in the hate. The horrible thought of actually taking another's life may never enter the mind of the person guilty of hating. Nonetheless, while the idea of murder is never expressed in deed, the dark forces of hatred seethe deep inside the human soul much as fires smolder inside an active volcano.

Unconsciously, guilt begins a corrosive process in the mind and body of the person who hates. Reared in a climate where religion has played some role, exposure to any force which would condemn hate merely intensifies the sense of guilt.

Rather than confessing the sin of hate and therefore removing the cancer of guilt, often the opposite course is taken. When guilt lies dormant it eventually gives rise to all types of personality woes. Guilt often causes a person to inflict self-punishment. Feeling that some sentence must be served because of the murder desire, it is left to himself to impose punishment. Indulging the strange desire to punish others, he imposes punishment upon himself.

This self-imprisonment begins to show through many behavior patterns. Denying himself legitimate things and activities, his only feeling of emotional security comes with the process of denial. Guilt must be atoned and atonement is best accomplished by self-imprisonment is his conclusion.

A negative outlook on life is another way of carrying out his sentence. Bright skies, beautiful flowers, soul-stirring music . . . all these leave him cold and unmoved. Such a person puts his emotions in deep freeze, feeling that enjoyment of anything is somehow not his right. Tragically, such desperation clutches at fragments of scripture to justify what he is doing as being "right" in God's eyes.

It is an understatement to call this person a killjoy. True, his presence is a miserable thing to endure — and an unnecessary thing. Ignoring the common sense advice to confess his guilt and to rid himself of hate, he rationalizes, justifies his belligerency and seeks company with those of similar misery. When a person walks the road of hate long enough, it will destroy him. Honest confession not only is good for the soul, it is absolutely imperative for any type of survival worth experiencing.

9-14-64

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

Issue in November Called a Simple One

The Editors: The corny catch-word, "over-simplification," is hurled indiscriminately at anyone who ventures a reasonable, non-mysterious explanation of current political phenomena.

But, to us, it seems the only real issue to be decided by the electorate on November 3 is too simple to be "over-simplified."

Our members would confine the federal government's activities to:

1. Maintaining adequate armed forces to defeat foreign armed enemies of this Republic;
2. Handling the mail;
3. Operating the coastal and inland lighthouse service.

We don't wish this existing Federal octopus to grow new tentacles from minute to minute for the purpose of ruthlessly exterminating the last vestiges of individualism.

If the voters want the Republic which Jefferson, Franklin and the other founding fathers gave us ("if you can keep it!") they will have to defeat the so-called "Democrat" ticket.

But, if they prefer a monolithic, corporate, socialized state, the power-mad Johnson-Humphrey mob will be happy to oblige.

FRED C. RILEY
Director of Research
Georgia Taxpayers Relief Association.
Atlanta.

✓ ✓ ✓

the other young men's organizations, and the companies who donated their time and their products for the week-end operation Coffee Break.

It was such a good way to get out, stretch muscles, and eat and drink something, all free too.

Those young men gave up their own holiday time and manned those booths day and night the whole long Labor Day weekend. I feel vastly cheered that such unselfishness still exists.

EDITH WYATT.
Decatur.

✓ ✓ ✓

Inevitable? It Depends

The Editors: "The voters must be convinced of the inevitability of our present course." These are the words of your editorial of Sept. 10.

For the block-headed idiots whose mental processes serve only in a capacity similar in nature to that of a mirror, your "inevitability land" becomes a very real and dangerous possibility. But for the civil-minded pragmatist, often referred to as the backlash element, the confrontation with your alleged unavoidable seems quite remote.

The issues of the coming general election are becoming clearly defined and quite sharp in their contrast. We may either return the present leadership to office and ar- [illegible] the inevitable, or we [illegible]!"

9-12-64
c

RALPH McGILL

goldwater

Oh, to Be A Kingmaker!

In 1954, a group of knowledgeable Americans and Europeans met, under the chairmanship of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, to discuss trans-Atlantic relations and measures that might improve the solidarity of the Western community of nations. Because it held its first meeting at the Hotel de Bilderberg in the Netherlands, it came to be known as the Bilderberg Group. Those attending came from both private and official life. They were present as individuals, not representatives.

There was but one policy — and it is one that since has been strictly adhered to — the group does not attempt to make policy or even recommendations on policy to governments. The results of this informal meeting and off-the-record discussions between men from the various Western nations, mostly NATO, were excellent; it was possible to replace rumor with fact, suspicion with confidence. A larger measure of cooperation between Western nations and allies was made possible by these relaxed and frank sessions in which there were only discussions — neither agreement on policy nor recommendations of policy. The strength of the West was increased. Communist propaganda, for example, which seeks always to divide Western countries, was made much less effective by the discussions.

Twice a Year

The Bilderberg Group meets usually twice a year. Two of the meetings have been held in the United States. The first was at St. Simons, Georgia, in early 1957. The group, with its invited guests, filled a small hotel. The second was at Williamsburg, Virginia, about four months ago. The late and distinguished General W. Bedell Smith, who had been ambassador to Russia from 1946 to 1949, was among those interested in having the group meet in this country. A number of Americans, many of them distinguished in industry, business and the professions, were invited as guests to the first and second meetings held in the United States.

The meetings are in no sense secret. Luncheons and a reception at the conclusion of each meeting, to which wives and children of participants were invited, were a part of the social program. News stories faithfully reported the holding of each meeting. Lists of those attending were not concealed.

The entire proceedings are simply private discussions designed to strengthen the Western community. Since that community is largely European, those attending the group meetings are predominately European. Politics, as such, are never discussed.

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Preposterous Charges

After the first of the two meetings in this country, an extreme right-wing writer proceeded to see something sinister in such a meeting. There were a few preposterous charges of secrecy, of the contents of waste baskets being burned, and so on. (What does one do with the contents of waste baskets? At the hotel where the group met the daily debris of papers, empty paper match packets, et cetera, were burned every evening, the year round, in the hotel incinerator.) The columnist had not heard of the Bilderberg Group and assumed, in error, this was its first session.

All of this is background to one of the more hilarious and preposterous pieces of Goldwater political propaganda now in circulation. In a book devoted to extolling the senator, the first of the two Bilderberg meetings in this country is given a few paragraphs toward the end of the book, and it is declared therein to have been a meeting of political "kingmakers" who for years have been nominating the wrong man to head the Republican party. That certainly will surprise the group, most of whom were Europeans.

The writer finds himself listed as one of these kingmakers. Alas, alas, would that it were true. The writer, if a kingmaker, knows whom he would designate as king.

Atlantan Tells How Reds Killed Birch

Dr. Dozier Cade, director of public relations and head of the Journalism Department at Georgia State College, was an intelligence operations officer in China during World War II. The Constitution learned Cade knew details of the slaying of Capt. John Birch of Macon, killed 19 years ago by Chinese Communists. A reporter went to Cade and the former office of Strategic Services officer reluctantly agreed to give details, as he recalled them, about Birch and his death. The ultra-conservative John Birch Society is named for the Macon officer. This is an account of Cade's recollections of Birch.

By BILL SHIPP

"I almost remember the exact time. It was in the afternoon, and I remember there was a brilliant sunset. We couldn't believe it when we heard," the 47-year-old college professor said. "Why would the Chinese Communists kill John Birch?"

Dr. Dozier Cade, head of the Georgia State College Journalism Department, recalled the day when he, as an intelligence officer in China, learned his fellow officer, Capt. John Birch of Macon, had been slain.

Birch was killed by Chinese Communists on Aug. 25, 1945, ten days after the end of World War II. Cade said he was mystified at first about the shooting.

LEARNS DETAILS

In September, Cade heard details of how Birch was killed. The account came from a Chinese Nationalist Army lieutenant who was with Birch at the time.

The Nationalist officer reported that immediately before he and Birch encountered the Chinese Reds, Birch said words to the effect "he didn't mind if the Communists killed him if it would wake up the United States so that the United States would stop the Communist menace with atomic bombs," according to the account.

Birch repeated the statement to the Nationalist officer while they were in custody of the Communists.

A few minutes later one of the Communists gave an order to shoot both Birch and his companion. The Nationalist lieutenant said he was shot first in the leg. A moment before he passed out, he heard a second shot and presumed Birch had been killed. The Nationalist officer said the Communists saw that he (the Nationalist) was not dead and when he regained consciousness he was struck across the nose with a rifle butt.

Both Birch and the Nationalist were buried in shallow graves near a railroad track near Hsuchow. The Nationalist survived to tell his story.

Birch's body was later exhumed. He had been shot once, but the bullet wound apparently did not cause his death, Cade said he heard.

INSPECTING AIRFIELD

Cade said both men were on a mission to inspect an airfield near Hsuchow when the shooting occurred.

The Nationalist officer said they were detained several times by Communist soldiers (then allies of the Americans) en route to the airfield.

Birch, a former Baptist missionary to China, became increasingly irritated by the Communists. Finally they encountered a detachment of 60 to 70 Chinese Communist soldiers, according to the account.

The Nationalist said he and Birch were surrounded by about 20 of the Red soldiers, and Birch was ordered to surrender his weapons. He refused. Birch also was questioned abou the nature of his mission.

OFFICER CAUTIONS

The 27-year-old 14th Air Force captain, who was attached to the Office of Strategic munists. Finally they encountered a detachment of 60 to 70 Chinese Communist soldiers, according to the account.

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OFFICER CAUTIONS

The 27-year-old 14th Air Force captain, who was attached to the Office of Strategic Services, repeatedly referred to his captors as "bandits."

The Nationalist officer said he cautioned Birch several times to be more "tactful" in dealing with the Communist troops.

The Communists held Birch and his companion for 30 to 60 minutes before the order to shoot was given.

Cade, former assistant city editor of The Atlanta Journal, was liaison officer between American and Chinese forces in Shanghai when he heard of the details of Birch's death. He said this was the first time he had heard of Birch's strong anti-Communist sentiment.

FAMILIAR WITH JOB

Cade said he was familiar with Birch's intelligence work as early as January 1945 when he (Cade) was intelligence operations officer for north China.

During OSS training in Washington, Cade said he was told about Birch and that Birch was rated an extremely able intelligence officer.

Cade said he concurred when he saw Birch's work first hand.

"He spoke Chinese fluently. He knew the Chinese well and he loved them," Cade said. "It was his job to train Chinese intelligence agents, get information from them and feed it back to us.

DATA USUALLY RELIABLE

"He was a very fine officer," Cade said. "His reports were clear and concise and his information was usually reliable."

Birch began his career as a military intelligence officer in China by rescuing and helping evacuate American fliers downed behind Japanese lines. He helped crashed fliers who participated in the famous Doolittle raid on Tokyo.

Later, in addition to gathering military information, Birch often "talked planes on to the target." He would station himself on the ground near an important Japanese target and, by radio, guide bombers in, Cade said.

WORKS BEHIND LINES

Birch was "a brave man," Cade said. "He was always working right in the middle or right behind the Japanese lines."

Thousands of Americans and their allies were killed in the war in China. But Cade said the death of Birch, a devout Baptist who neither smoked, drank or cursed, seemed "especially senseless because the war was over."

Birch's parents, Mr. and Mrs. George Birch, retired missionaries to China, now reside in Macon.

Close-Up

9-21-64 C

Comedy Hit from the Radical Right

I've been reading some of the current styfull of Radical Right books lately, trying to run down the source of the wilder political phantasies circulating these days.

It's not been the pleasantest experience of my life; my temper has flared at times, and my search for new ideas has gone unrewarded. But there has been one dividend. One book has turned out to be the comedy hit of the season. Maybe not so to Cap'n Eddie Rickenbaker and Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, under whose names hundreds of thousands of copies of Phyllis Schlafly's "A Choice Not an Echo" are being mailed out. But it brightened my day.

Miss (Mrs.?) Schlafly, an Illinois Republican official, occasionally takes time out to attack the Democrats. (E.g., "The Johnson administration is spending $6 billion per year to put a man on the moon . . . but . . . won't send a man to Guantanamo to turn on the water.")

But the bulk of her fight is with fellow Republicans. Her book was written before the Republican convention, to help Sen. Goldwater win the nomination. Its central thesis is that "a small group of secret kingmakers" within the GOP have run the show ever since they denied renomination to good ol' Herb Hoover back in 1936.

The author would have made a good Populist, for her villians are utility companies, Eastern capitalists, big labor unions—and intellectuals.

Life magazine, she reports scornfully, "said we must beware of Goldwater because he has one-sentence solutions for national problems. According to this peculiar line of egghead reasoning, present day problems are so complex that we must have sophisticated—not simple—solutions.

"Contrary to this argument, civilization progresses, freedom is won, and problems are solved because we have wonderful people who think up simple solutions!"

An example, she says, is the inventor of the sewing machine. "His invention depended on a very simple idea; just put the eye of the needle in the point instead of the other end."

Miss Schlafly must be in hog heaven now that her boy's nominated. She had already foreseen the downfall of the "kingmakers" and their friends:

"As the years passed, most of those who had stolen the Republican nomination for Eisenhower departed involuntarily from the political scene . . . Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge . . . Sherman Adams . . . Oveta Culp Hobby . . . Clare Booth Luce . . . Herbert Brownell . . . Donald Eastvold . . .

"Paul Hoffman, one of those who had persuaded Eisenhower to enter politics, failed in his efforts to keep the American Studebaker plants operating and finally married a liberal Democrat, Anna Rosenberg."

It's all downhill for the kingmakers.

BRUCE GALPHIN.

10-6-64

Eugene Patterson

A Book for The Wondering

But what, exactly, is wrong with the John Birch Society? Georgians repeatedly call up and ask. A reliable new book tells exactly what is wrong with it. The book, now available at bookstores, is named "The Strange Tactics of Extremism."

The authors are Harry and Bonaro Overstreet. Their approach is not partisan or political, but scholarly. They don't favor either extreme ideology; their major book previously was named "What We Must Know About Communism." It still is regarded as one of the important explanations of Communist subversion and how it works.

These two books are extremely valuable texts for the young who seek political maturity but who may lack experience in analyzing skillful dialectics.

* * *

Turning from the dangers posed by the extreme left to examine those posed by the extreme right, the Overstreets' new book cuts through the verbal veil that always shrouds extremist meanings and exposes the emptiness at the core.

It is not written for rightist extremists any more than their previous book on anti-communism was aimed at leftist extremists. Such people probably are already committed and will believe what they wish to believe.

Instead, the book is deeply researched and simply written for the quiet thinkers of the general public, who always wish they had the time to find their way through the din of contention to the quiet truth.

The Overstreets' book comes none too soon. The national consciousness has been hammered at so ceaselessly by meritricious nonsense printed in paperback, solicited so tirelessly by organizers trading on anxiety, and harangued so endlessly by itinerant lecturers and airwave evangelists, that many citizens are bewildered even though they may suspect that they are being flimflammed.

* * *

The thing has gotten so big that nothing short of a book can answer it. The book is here. It speaks for itself, though right-wing efforts to discredit it are predictable. It provides obviously authentic answers for the bewildered people who, at one time or another, have asked, "But how can you argue with what that fellow said . . .?"

The Overstreets do not regard the upsurge of rightist extremism as being a harmless aberration, any more than they wrote off the danger of leftist extremism with complacency. Americans are playing with fire when they let any group of determined extremists knock them off the conservative-liberal, or liberal-conservative, center where wisdom, justice and moderation have traditionally resided in America.

In this season, when so many Georgians are being intellectually patronized and hounded by pushers of a peculiar political pornography, the Overstreets offer a clear and disturbing insight into what's going on.

EXTREMISM

10-11-64
g.c

Overstreets' Book Hits Target Again

By EUGENE PATTERSON

"MOST CONSERVATIVES have not had as much experience with the tactics of extremists as liberals have had—because the Communists got on the job. working to deceive liberals, before today's Radical Rightists got on the job, working to deceive conservatives.

"But the time has come for the conservatives to do an intensive job of learning—in behalf of our society as a whole."

So write Harry and Bonaro Overstreet in their scholarly new book "The Strange Tactics of Extremism."

It is a readable and reliable book for every citizen who has heard, read or pondered such men as the Rev. Billy James Hargis, the Rev. Carl McIntire, Edgar C. Bundy, Dan Smoot, Tom Anderson, Myers G. Lowman, Kent Courtney, Robert Welch and his John Birch Society, and others of the American right wing. The book gives a revealing look at all of them and examines what they are doing and what's the matter with it.

Eugene Patterson is editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

....."Welch did what had not been done by either the genuine liberals or the genuine conservatives," say the Overstreets, who are the respected authors of an anti-Communist book, "What We Must Know About Communism."

A CHANCE

"He offered Americans at the local level a chance to study about communism and to get in on the defense of freedom; and he provided study materials.

"If these materials and the program in behalf of which they were offered were spurious—even though Welch himself probably thought them genuine—there was nothing spurious about the gratitude with which a host of concerned Americans responded to them."

But now, say the authors, "it is time for Americans to stop being passive dupes of Radical Rightist organizations."

Anyone who has taken the time to read the Birch Society's rightist materials—or even such current paperback vogues as "None Dare Call It Treason," "A Texan Looks at Lyndon" and "A Choice, Not An Echo"—owes it to himself to pursue his studies now to the reading of "The Strange Tactics of Extremism." It is an insistently honest book, abusive of no one, but intent on exposing the clear peril raised by some current right-wing tactics.

"There are, in fact, any number of ways in which people can be drawn into the service of a movement which they in nowise understand," write the Overstreets. "It is as unfair to label as a right-wing extremist every person who has joined a Radical Rightist group or who has been confused by Radical Rightist propaganda as it is to label as pro-Comunist every person who has signed an appeal sponsored by the Communists, or who has joined a Communist front, or who has been confused by Communist propaganda.

THE CENTER

"In terms of their make-up as individuals, many persons who have strayed to one extreme or the other belong to the liberal-conservative center. If we want them to come home to this center—to defect from the left or from the right, as the case may be—we do ill to put them on the defensive by careless or ruthless name-calling.

"But we do have every right to put on the defensive those who propagate the Communist and Radical Rightist lines."

This the Overstreets have done with vim. Their expose of right-wing tactics, following their earlier expose of Communist tactics, answers questions that nearly everybody has wondered about in this curious period when an estimated 6,600 rightist broadcasts are being hammered into the American consciousness every week over one out of every five radio stations in the country.

Above the din, the quiet voice of the Overstreets now explains the danger, with the authority of research, documentation and reason. The authors have provided conservatives with a dependable textbook for the "intensive job of learning" they prescribe. It may be the most important book of the year. And it shows again that a free society, which lays itself open to excesses, also produces its own defenders.

LOOK ■ OCTOBER 20, 1964 Volume 28, No. 21

WHAT IS AN EXTREMIST ?

THE EXTREMIST LIVES in an Alabama shack, a California housing development, a New York penthouse. He is a laborer, a farmer, a doctor, a company president. He wears a dark business suit or a beard and sandals. He is Leftist or Rightist, Negro or white, Republican or Democrat. The extremist is as various as America itself—a phenomenon as urgent as next month's election, a problem as old as man's first steps toward freedom.

"How do we know what is or is not an extremist?" cried out Sen. Peter H. Dominick (Colo.) at the Republican National Convention in July. Senator Dominick was arguing against the Romney amendment to the Republican platform, which would have condemned extremism and extremist groups. The delegates, loyal to instructions from the headquarters of Sen. Barry M. Goldwater, shouted the amendment down. They cheered later, when their Presidential nominee in his acceptance speech defended extremism "in the defense of liberty."

Then a strange thing happened. The cheering delegates in the Cow Palace may have thought Goldwater was praising the brand of extremism they had been debating—most particularly, that of the John Birch Society. Not at all. In the days and weeks that followed his speech, the Republican nominee loosed a running barrage of clarification and redefinition. To Goldwater, "extremism" is Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower leading Allied Forces into Normandy; an "extreme" feeling is the Senator's love for his own wife. This was certainly not the "extremism" that everyone else had been debating. Or was it? And could one man's redefinition of a word make a serious national problem simply disappear?

As long ago as 500 B.C., the philosopher Confucius pointed out the importance of precise language in a nation's life: "If language is not correct, then what is said is not what is meant; if what is said is not meant, then what ought to be done remains undone; if this remains undone, morals and art will deteriorate; if morals and art deteriorate, justice will go astray; if justice goes astray, the people will stand about in helpless confusion." Senator Goldwater may have acted diligently in letting the nation know what *he* meant or, better, what he did not mean. But his words did not make an estimated five to seven million U.S. political, religious and racial extremists vanish from the scene. Nor has the Senator's own personal definition of "extremism" relieved U.S. voters of their obligation to confront the very real challenge presented by such organizations as the Communist party, the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society.

The extremist exists. He is on the move. He is the elusive, yet powerful, force in a new U.S. political climate where the central conflict may not be so much liberal vs. conservative as extremist vs. moderate. Neither Republican nor Democrat can shrug him off. To the extremist, the traditional political dialogue is meaningless. He seeks radical change that would affect everyone reading these pages.

What is an extremist? He appears in so many and varied guises that it might seem no answer is possible. Truly, nailing down general definitions that apply to individual human beings is difficult and tricky. But we must try or "stand about in helpless confusion." Start with the old American tradition of political and social moderation; observe groups and individuals that have been called extreme. Certain words, attitudes and tactics, whether coming from Right or Left, begin to repeat themselves. Gradually, a portrait takes shape.

The Minutemen is a semimilitary, highly conspiratorial organization dedicated to the proposition that communism is likely to take over the U.S. by 1973, at the latest. Our big danger, say Minutemen leaders, comes from within. Indeed, one propaganda leaflet printed by Minutemen opens with the flat statement, "You are now living in a Communist-occupied country."

In small bands, armed Minutemen practice outdoor survival and guerrilla warfare. They plan, when the "take-over" is far enough advanced, to go into the hills and fight. Some Minutemen members prepare and distribute propaganda. Others infiltrate "Left-Wing" organizations, which include anything from Ban-the-Bomb groups to the United States Navy. The Minutemen was founded in Norborne, Mo.,

continued

BY GEORGE B. LEONARD LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

EXTREMISTS

They are humorless, rigid, afraid of change. They are prophets of treason and doom. They are the powerful, yet elusive, force in a new U.S. political climate, and they cannot be ignored. Neither Republicans nor Democrats can shrug them off. They seek radical solutions that would affect the lives of everyone reading these pages.

by Robert DePugh, a 41-year-old drug manufacturer with a pleasant, seemingly reasonable, way of stating the most startling and alarming opinions. Today, however, the center of Minutemen activity is southern California.

Nobody knows exactly how many people belong to the Minutemen or related groups like The Rangers and The Loyal Order of Mountain Men. California's former Attorney General Stanley Mosk considers these organizations a real threat to the U.S. "We try to keep informers in on their activities," he told LOOK. "But it's very hard to get anyone in as an active member. They are very good at security. They change cars several times on the way to bivouac. No names are used at meetings, just numbers. One of their leaders out here signs his newsletters: '930'."

Minuteman "930" is Troy Haughton, a worried man who lives on the outskirts of San Diego in one small house among many small houses. "I don't know but about ten percent of the members in this area," he told a LOOK editor. "I've trained myself not to remember names. I don't remember *yours*. I train myself to say, over and over, 'I don't remember his name. I don't remember his name.' So if I was ever, let's say, 'indoctrinated under adverse circumstances,' I really wouldn't be able to reveal our membership."

Haughton, at 30, is a well-knit 5′11″ and 180 pounds. With a square crew cut, horn-rimmed glasses and a strong jaw, he conveys an impression of force. His motions are angular and tight, self-restrained.

"We tell our members they will never have to reveal their membership," Haughton said. "We sent out a questionnaire asking them, 'Should more people be known publicly as Minutemen?' Eighty percent answered 'yes.' We also asked, 'Would *you* be willing to be known?' Only ten percent answered 'yes.' Some people belong to the Minutemen who don't even know they do. They think they joined a survival group among friends. But when something comes up someday, they'll find they're members."

Haughton, who said he is West Coast coordinator for the organization, has a small office just off his kitchen. It is cluttered with stacks of leaflets, anti-Communist pamphlets and books, shortwave radio equipment and a mimeograph machine. A large western map shows clusters of stickpins around the Los Angeles-San Diego area, thinning out to the north and east.

"If we have several good, trusted people from an area," Haughton explained, "we don't put them together into one group. We tell each one to go out and get 12 people they know very well—old friends or relatives. This way, we have the best security, since each leader can check on individuals. If they are slackers, they just as well not join.

They should meet at least once every ten days. They should always practice precautions—never meet at the same day or time, never meet at the same place more than two or three times, use a different return address every week on anything that's mailed.

"We have a national executive committee of 12 people, but each member operates as an individual. Every piece of equipment is owned by individuals. An arsenal is defined as 12 guns of the same caliber. We make sure that none of our groups has 12 guns of the same caliber.

"We still practice guerrilla tactics, but for the last year, we've stressed infiltrating into Left-Wing or peace organizations by people who are not known as Rightists. We like to use secretaries. They can get material it would take a man years to get. . . . We have one woman secretary in a good place in the Navy. She's never thought of as a conservative. We'll keep her that way, as a sleeper.

"In one city, we helped defeat a mayor. We infiltrated three women. One was good-looking. She got between the candidate and the campaign manager. The other women fouled up appointments. He would be supposed to speak at one o'clock, and he'd show up at two. This is dirty pool, so to speak, but then, we got a better mayor now."

As Troy Haughton talked, his wife Bettie joined him. Her dark-eyed, pretty face mirrored her husband's worry and frustration. When he spoke darkly of "cover-up" and "appeasement" in U.S. foreign policy, she murmured, "appease, appease, appease," shaking her head. Haughton said our country is going downhill fast. He voiced his lack of trust in our institutions. Mrs. Haughton excused herself to help their eight-year-old boy, one of three, with his homework.

"Oh, they try to infiltrate us," Haughton said. "When we find a Left Winger in some group, we keep him supposedly active but actually dormant. It would be actually impossible for anyone to infiltrate our leadership or betray us. Every six months, we check on everybody in the executive committee. We find out not only whether he's still loyal, but also whether his beliefs have changed."

How is it possible to check on a man's inner beliefs?

"By medical means. Every six months, every member of the executive committee is checked by medical means—sodium pentothal and lie detector. . . . Only two members of the executive committee know the location of our national files. It would even take Bob DePugh three days to get to them, and he would have to be blindfolded the last half day."

To back up his contention that "I get shot at occasionally," Haughton pointed to several holes in the front fender of his car. They were made, he claimed, by an automatic weapon fired from another car. "It would be right," he said, "for *them* to try and eliminate me. I don't tell anybody where I'm going now, not even my wife."

In recent years, Haughton has had his own troubles with the police—convictions for indecent exposure (1957) and carrying a concealed weapon in his car (1964), appealed on July 1. "Harassment," he claimed. "That's all." What worries him more is the "feeling of frustration" that sometimes comes over him. "Recently, I had a medical exam, and then I voluntarily had mental exams by two doctors who don't even know who I am, and they said I was about the most rational person they've ever examined."

He paused, then spoke reflectively. "When I get too tensed up, I just put a sleeping bag in the car and go up in the hills and spend a couple of nights. I cook a good steak and just sit there by myself and relax. . . . This is not easy work. I only take out about $200 a month to live on. I could be making a better living than that. I'd rather be doing other things, like spending more time with my kids. But somebody has to do it."

"It's like dying with your boots on," Bettie Haughton said softly, "doing something rather than sitting back letting someone else do it."

An air of sadness settled over the little room.

"There's some saying about lighting a candle," Haughton said. "Some people will curse the darkness, and then they'll come home and put their feet up on a table and watch TV."

"If people had always felt that way," Bettie Haughton said, "we wouldn't have even had a country."

If Troy Haughton and the activities he describes seem strange, it is well to bear in mind that millions of Americans share his general beliefs. Millions, too, are willing to play dirty pool, to overstep the traditional limits of U.S. social and political intercourse. Haughton himself pales beside certain extremists. ("Some conservatives," he told LOOK, "say I'm a liberal at heart.") At secret meetings in suburban Los Angeles, a leader in The Loyal Order of Mountain Men holds his frightened and bewildered listeners spellbound with tales of Communist conspirators who perform frontal lobotomies on "loyal conservatives" in and around Los Angeles. The conservatives are, he says, spirited off to secret clinics for the operation, then returned, minus their beliefs. According to his account, the Communists have also perfected a quickie operation for "scrambling the brains" by inserting an icepick up the nose and into the frontal lobes.

Even the academic world has its extremist fringe. Revilo P. Oliver, professor of classics at the University of Illinois, has written that John F. Kennedy was a Communist agent and was assassinated only because he was falling behind the scheduled date for the "effective capture of the United States" in 1963. And the charge by John Birch Society founder Robert Welch that "Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy" was thoroughly aired by the press as early as 1961.

While these fantastic fabrications frighten off some borderline extremists, they serve to whet the appetites of the people who are deeply committed. For them, the best and truest tales are those in which all is lost, in which the most revered names are blackened, in which the tortuous, but unerring, pathway to national disaster is drawn again and again. The day of doom is always near. And yet, as studies of past apocalyptic prophets have shown, when prophecy fails, the faithful merely redouble their efforts. The special revelation of oncoming catastrophe is the security blanket of the extremist. He cannot bear to have it slip from his grasp.

To hold fast to this vision of events, the extremist plays a trick with reason: He perverts the rational, makes a wanton of logic. The Marxist brandishes his dialectics and his "science." The Rightist displays his lists of "facts"—names, dates and other specifics woven into a logic-tight fabric that shields him from the dazzling complexities of the real world. Ideology is easier to grasp than reality.

Beneath the deception of surface appearances, extremists of the Right and Left are startlingly similar. Both see people, opinions and events in stark black and white. "If you're not with us—and I mean 100 percent with us—then you're 100 percent against us." Both view history as a chronicle of conspiracy and betrayal. The word "traitor" comes easily to their lips, whether they are speaking of their President or their neighbor. Both reject the rules of the game. They have another game vaguely in mind, one in which *they* will make the rules.

One more thing: The extremist, Right or Left, is likely to have no sense of humor whatever. This crucial lack of perspective lets him blunder into actions that are funny as well as dangerous. Add to this the fine old American tradition that anybody is free to make a fool of himself in public, and it is no wonder that the U.S. sometimes looks like one vast loony bin. In recent years, for example:

- An Indiana state textbook official called Robin Hood a Communist.
- In Phoenix, a Rightist candidate for city office announced that the Reds were conspiring to "blow up the state capitols at a given signal."
- Pamphlets were passed out in New York City warning that the "Communists are secretly mass liquidating anti-Communists and God Worshippers with tasteless poisons."
- Texas and southern California Rightists started the rumor that up to 150,000 Chinese Communist troops were training in Baja California.

The list could go on and on. But the Great Water Moccasin Hoax of 1963 sums up all the rest. This surrealist episode not only reveals the inner workings of the extremist mind, but also shows how those on the Far Right can be of aid and comfort to their counterparts on the Marxist Left.

The facts were simple enough. Exercise Water Moccasin III was to be one of a series of realistic U.S. Army field operations. Its purpose: to train our soldiers to cope with the kind of guerrilla warfare favored by Communist forces, notably in Vietnam. The time and place: March, 1963, Fort Stewart, Ga., and the surrounding 2,500 square miles. Many U.S. soldiers were to be involved, but the training was designed primarily for 400 U.S. officers who had just graduated from a six-week counterguerrilla-warfare school. Also to participate were 124 officers from cooperating foreign nations, who had attended the school.

In the exercise, an "enemy" band (the Aggressors), played by U.S. instructors and soldiers, would launch a guerrilla attack on a "small country friendly to the U.S." called "Claxtonia." This "country," named after the town of Claxton, Ga., was actually Fort Stewart and environs. The Aggressors would try, by infiltration, propaganda and simulated raids, to overcome Claxtonia. Since civilians generally get mixed up in actual guerrilla attacks, the Army planned to ask local citizens to participate if they wished. The Georgians around Fort Stewart had played their part in previous exercises and felt a certain pride about their role in strengthening U.S. prowess.

Meanwhile, a counterguerrilla force, also simulated by U.S. officers and men, would be rushed to the mock country to seek out and stop the Aggressors. Thus, American officers, many of them on their way to Vietnam, would get training both in guerrilla and antiguerrilla warfare. With world conditions what they are, this might qualify as rather fruitful "anti-Communist" activity. That is not how the extremists saw it.

Just who started the wild rumors that finally crippled Exercise Water Moccasin III is hard to say. But one of the first to turn in a false alarm was the Texas Voters for Enforcing the Constitution. In its January, 1963, letter, reprinted by the KEEP AMERICA COMMITTEE, the organization came up with this interpretation of Exercise Water Moccasin III:

> This week we have reports from the East and West Coast that the UNITED NATIONS—(COMMUNIST CONTROLLED—the Commander-in-Chief of the U.N. Security Council and all U.N. Military, Naval and Airforces is PERPETUALLY A COMMUNIST—SO FAR ALWAYS A RUSSIAN GENERAL)—is staging vast NATO exercises....We understand that—
>
> U.S. ARMY CIVILIAN AGENTS ARE ATTEMPTING TO LEASE 2,500 SQUARE MILES OF EASTERN GEORGIA TERRITORY SO THAT 3,500 U.N. TROOPS FROM THE AFRICAN CONGO, INDIA AND OTHERS CAN PARACHUTE DOWN FROM THE SKIES UPON GEORGIA SOIL AND OCCUPY 1,500,000 ACRES OF THE SOVEREIGN STATE OF GEORGIA. (Some of these troops could be the BUTCHERS who murdered and raped the CHRISTIAN PRO-AMERICA KATANGANESE citizens). These NATO exercises are to start, we understand, March 4 and last to March 22. The second NATO exercise in the same area will involve 17,000 FOREIGN TROOPS in June, 1963....
>
> We believe that all of these so-called NATO MANEUVERS ARE PART OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TREASONOUS DISARMAMENT LAW, AND THESE FOREIGN TROOPS ENTERING THESE UNITED STATES IN THIS HUGE TROJAN HORSE RUSE WILL NEVER LEAVE OUR SHORES ONCE THEY ARE PERMITTED TO MAKE THESE ILLEGAL, UNLAWFUL LANDINGS UPON OUR SOIL AND "OCCUPY" OUR SOVEREIGN STATES....

The United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had nothing to do with Water Moccasin III. It was a United States Army training operation. The foreign student officers were representing only their own countries, all considered friendly to the U.S. The whole business about a Communist controlling U.N. "military forces" was pure malarkey.

On February 22, nonetheless, a group called THE CONSERVATIVES, in Savannah, Ga., reported the following in its weekly, *The Bulletin Board:*

> Georgia has had Soviet planes overhead...Now she is to have guerrillas from 15 nations simulating a take-over of part of our

continued

> state....Are we, like Pavlov's dogs, being conditioned for the real thing, a United Nations take-over?

Portions of THE CONSERVATIVES report were picked up and circulated in a flier (three cents each, 50 for $1.25) by The Network of Patriotic Letter Writers in Pasadena, Calif.

Near the end of February, a "CALLING ALL PATRIOTS" letter, written by retired Marine Gen. Pedro A. del Valle, began appearing in the mail. The letter was later printed in *Task Force*, the publication of the Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc. It read, in part:

> ...the undersigned is convinced this [exercise]...signifies rehearsals of the UN take-over of the U.S.A. under the disarmament treaty promulgated under public Law No. 87-297....The urgency of this message is obvious. This appears to be the beginning of a crash program to disarm the U.S.A. and make us a province of the UN. May God in His mercy help us to prevent this catastrophe!

On February 27, a United States Congressman, James B. Utt of California, got into the act via his regular *Washington Report* newsletter:

> NOW HEAR THIS AND LISTEN WELL! By the time this Washington Report reaches you, there will be under way one of the most fantastic and, to me, truly frightening military maneuvers ever to be held in the United States. It is called "Exercise Water Moccasin III," and is just as deadly.

EXTREMISTS

The nation, with its unique tradition of moderation, has a built-in defense against extremism. Today, this tradition is under attack. Extremists are proportionately few in number, but they work harder, in their desperation and blindness, than most Americans of moderation and good will. Apathy in the U.S. could be fatal.

Congressman Utt went on to state that "Pentagon Intelligence" had denied any knowledge of the operation, that a UN contingent would be on hand and that "this operation comes squarely under Article 43 of the United Nations Charter." (Article 43, dealing with a permanent international peace force, has never been invoked.) To these unfounded charges, Utt added the perfect fillip, the vivid bit of detail on which rumors thrive:

> We do not know whether African troops will be involved or not, but we do know that there is a large contingent of barefooted Africans that have been moved into Cuba for training in guerrilla warfare. I would like to quote a few lines from 13-year-old Anna Maria Delgado, who escaped from Cuba:
>
> "I went to a church school. They closed it about a year ago. The Russians and all sorts of foreigners moved in...Then about three weeks ago, these Africans came....They're always barefooted and they wear short skirts that come just above their knees. They have big rings in their ears and noses...."
>
> Who brought these Africans to Cuba? Was it the United Nations? Was it Russia? Or was it the United States?...

Congressman Utt granted permission to anyone who received his newsletter to quote all or any part of it. The KEEP AMERICA COMMITTEE, in Los Angeles, reprinted and circulated it (free of charge) throughout California. The Network of Patriotic Letter Writers reprinted and distributed it (two cents each, 100 for $1.75) throughout the nation. Something called the Americans United Council, in Long Beach, Calif., picked it up too. John Birch Society bookstores, such as the American Opinion Library in Palo Alto and another in Santa Barbara, Calif., passed these reprints around still further. *The Arizona Newsletter*, in Phoenix, reprinted it, adding these words: "WHY has our local newspaper refused to print this information? . . . WRITE your Senator and Representative for more information. ASK him these Questions.—WHY! WHY! WHY!"

Congressman Utt's newsletter also appeared in any number of Right-Wing publications, such as the Santa Ana *Register*, a daily newspaper in Orange County, Calif., with a circulation of 76,000; Kent Courtney's *Independent American* newspaper in New Orleans; the *Weekly Crusader*, published by Billy James Hargis and his Christian Crusade; the *Bible Institute News* in Oklahoma City; something called *Motivate* in Butler, Wis., and something else called *On Target*, the official publication of the Minutemen. It appeared, too, in the *Congressional Record*.

Thousands and thousands of letters began to pour into Washington offices, asking "WHY! WHY! WHY!" In the midst of this barrage, the U.S. Army retreated. It cancelled plans for voluntary civilian participation, because of a "general misunderstanding" by the public concerning the intent of the mock guerrilla-warfare operation. How this affected some local Georgians was movingly described by Fred Eden, publisher of the *Claxton Enterprise*, on the *CBS Reports* telecast, *Case History of a Rumor*.

"The day came for the thing [Water Moccasin III] to begin . . . something had happened. And they came to tell us that they had been severely curtailed. . . . There wouldn't be the civilian participation that they had originally anticipated. . . . We asked them: Where did the problems arise? . . . And they said that there had been considerable criticism . . . written to our congressmen; and they had definitely cut back on the things that they would be allowed to do as part of this Operation. I guess maybe having spent over a year . . . overseas during World War II and flying several missions over Germany and then spending part of that time as a prisoner of war over there, I got some pretty corny ideas about patriotism. . . . This is what prompted me to feel that I had to say what I felt about this thing, and if somebody had stopped the training that I was to receive, maybe I would never have made it back. That's what it looked to me like was happening to these boys who were trying to train to fight . . . these brush-fire wars that we are having nowadays. And if those boys couldn't receive the practical training they needed right here, maybe they wouldn't make it back either."

But the affair was by no means ended. The rumormongers were only just getting warmed up. They displayed their virtuosity by ringing in anti-Semitism, race bias, atheism, fluoridation and the income tax. By mid-March many of the letter writers had naked cannibals marching through Georgia, with foreign troops prowling the nation. In a "special" newsletter, the Americans United Council, P.O. Box 2688, Long Beach, Calif., warned:

> ALERT and ACTION ALERT and ACTION
>
> Red, White and Blue URGENT—FAST Red, White and Blue
>
> To AMERICANS ONLY: RE: "OPERATION—WATER MOCCASIN III"
>
> Your Country, your Native Land—the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—has just been invaded by military troops of foreign lands!...
>
> Advices come from Maryland, Georgia, South Carolina, Texas, Washington, D.C. Here are quotes:...
>
> "AFRICANS LANDING IN SAVANNAH (Georgia). Advance contingent of the UNITED NATIONS combat troops of Ghana and India from Katanga duty....As many negro troops as others...."
>
> While no schedule is yet available, an alert received states that FOREIGN MILITARY FORCES WILL MANEUVER THE WEST COASTAL STATES OF WASHINGTON, OREGON and CALIFORNIA. In view of the known CHINESE RED and MONGOLIAN TROOPS across the Mexican and Canadian borders, plus the probability of more offshore and in the hills on acreage purchased by Orientals—some of whom are naturalized and call themselves AMERICANS—the above may be of special significance now.

Even today, the reverberations have not ceased. Many months after the event, Republican Sen. Thomas Kuchel of California, who denounced the "fright peddlers" shortly after the exercise, was still getting chiding letters from people who swallowed "Water Moccasin" whole. Indeed, the hoax has taken an honored place in the folklore of extremism. Many Americans are still convinced that only their fervor prevented this nation's surrender to United Nations forces spearheaded by those cannibals with rings in their noses. A great many more still contend that *something* sinister, with or without naked cannibals, took place in Georgia.

Beyond belief? Not if the extremist mentality is properly understood. With his all-or-nothing attitude, the extremist dares not doubt *any part* of his precarious mythology. When doubt does threaten, he invariably goes the story one better, adds details, discovers new relationships within the conspiracy, each more fantastic than the one before it. An extreme belief must become more extreme—or die.

According to Gordon Hall, an authority on extremism, this nation harbors a total of about seven million political, racial and religious extremists. Hall bases his estimate on circulation of extremist publications, balanced against a cautious weighing of the extremists' own membership claims. University of California sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset told Look that national opinion-poll data tend to bear out a five to seven million estimate.

Not all these extremists would go so far as to join an organization like the Minutemen or circulate Water Moccasin rumors. But all share the black-or-white, all-or-nothing view of things; all reject the rules of a democratic society. Included are 7,000 Ku Klux Klansmen; 6,100 Black Muslims; 250 followers of Malcolm X; 400 members of the National States' Rights party, and 25 American Nazis. The U.S. Communist party, which claims a membership of 10,000, actually now has only 4,500 members. Another 1,000 Marxists, however, belong to the Progressive Labor party, an organization that follows the Chinese Communist line. These authoritative figures denote only active members. In each case, there are several times that many fellow travelers—those who believe in conspiracy, who would be willing to destroy our political and social structure.

In any case, this leaves only one Communist for every several hundred Far-Right extremists, a disproportion that has led humorist Art Buchwald of the New York *Herald Tribune* to suggest a "Share-the-Communist" plan. Buchwald feels if genuine Communists could be redistributed, so that every good-sized U.S. town had at least one, it "would make the anti-Communists less frustrated, and they wouldn't be fighting among themselves over who is and who is not a Communist."

Clearly, the Right fringe today is far noisier, hugely more numerous and probably a greater threat to the nation's health and sanity than the Left. And yet, again, all extremists are somehow the same. All share one crucial goal: a desire to "go back."

- The American Communist longs for a lost time when issues were simple—when, as Marx wrote, the worker was always oppressed, always pure; when the capitalist was always the oppressor, always evil. Like all extremists, the Communist seeks simplicity. The many shades of gray in our complex, well-to-do, middle-class society dazzle him.
- The Muslim or Black Nationalist, like his Ku Klux Klan counterpart, wants to return to total segregation. He wants to go back—as far as Africa. He cannot cope with the painful adjustments on the road to integration. The ragtag Nationalist and Communist extremists who help foment riots in Harlem give aid and comfort to the Klansman, just as the Water Moccasin extremist helped the Communist. Extreme breeds extreme.
- The Far-Right extremist dreams of the dear, dead days of the 1890's, when life was straight and simple (or so his nostalgia tells him). He holds that such annoying complexities as urbanization, social security, international relations, the United Nations and the income tax can be banished by a wave of the American flag.

The trigger for these backward longings is change. Extremism is marked by an inability to accommodate change intelligently and peacefully—with the least possible damage to human and property rights. Extreme actions and movements—from the Inquisition to the witchcraft trials, from the U.S. Know-Nothings of the 1850's to the nationwide Ku Klux revival of the 1920's—invariably follow in the wake of swift and confusing social change. Today, the most virulent extremist activity shows up in the very areas—Florida, Texas, Arizona, California—that are undergoing the most drastic social change.

Sociologist Lipset, taking this point a step further, calls extremism a "backlash" by people who are losing out in a changing society. "As formerly powerful groups decline and suffer a loss of power and influence," Lipset writes, "they may suddenly lash out with enough vigor and emotion to overwhelm the political process." It does seem that a certain amount of extreme reaction is an unpleasant but inevitable sign of national progress; it flares up when class and racial barriers crumble, when individual freedom expands. Troubles on the civil-rights front could have been avoided if Negroes had "stayed in their place"—that place being, in the segregationist's words, "at the back door with their hats in their hands."

If extremism may be defined as a rigidity, an inability to adapt to change, moderation is the exact opposite. Whether liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican, the American moderate has that ability (too rare in most of the world) to endure the negotiation, the compromise, the endless give-and-take necessary for change without chaos. Truly, this has always been a particularly American genius, never fully comprehended by foreigners or by native extremists.

"When some say the U.S. has no tradition," political scientist Alan Westin of Columbia University told Look, "they're really talking about *class* tradition, with the nobility on one side and the working class on the other. It is true that in Europe more attitudes are preformed. Here, people don't automatically *know* the answers to things. They have to figure them out. But we have one great, saving tradition here, more than anywhere else in the world: the tradition of the middle, of moderation. During the twenties and thirties in Europe, there was no ability to set a boundary between the legitimate left and communism, between the legitimate right and fascism. The U.S. is different. We have an old middle class with many years' experience in policing the middle. This is our strength."

Today, this tradition, this strength, is under attack, and our snowballing technology cannot help but force swift changes in how we live. Thus, rigidity vs. flexibility, extremism vs. moderation become more and more a matter, not only of politics, but also of survival.

The extremist exists, and he is on the move. The nation, with its long tradition of moderation, has a built-in defense. But there is weakness, too, and it lies in apathy, in pretending the extremist does not exist, is not a threat. He belongs to a minority, but he often works harder, in his desperation, than the American of moderation and good will.

Apathy could be fatal. "It's easy to ignore groups like the Minutemen," Stanley Mosk of California said, "to treat them as simply ridiculous. But everytime I'm tempted to do so, I think of a certain goose-stepping paperhanger with a Charlie Chaplin mustache who looked ludicrous, too. Because people took no precautions against him and his SS bullies, the inmates, as one writer put it, took over the asylum."

Pulse of the Public

10-21-64 C

Tennessean Says Haters Characterized By Their Inability to Find Other Values

Memphis, Tenn. — Americans are always trying to raise their standard of living, and the same principle now sems to apply to the standard of hating. During the past 15 years or so, the arch-conservative haters have moved on from anti-Semitism and simple anti-Negroism to anti-Kennedyism, anti-Supreme Courtism, and anti-intellectualism much in the same way the average American, if he can manage it, will move on from a Ford to a Buick. These status-driven super-conservatives are much happier to have as the objects of their hatred the accomplished American political figure than they are with such bedraggled souls as, say, the Rosenbergs. The reason, I believe, is that in their minds it is no special virtue to be more American than the Rosenbergs, but it is really something to be more American than Dean Acheson or John Foster Dulles—or Lyndon B. Johnson.

This kind of status-seeking pseudo-conservatism is a disorder in relation to authority, characterized by an inability to find other values for human relationship than those of complete domination or submission. The super-conservative always imagines himself to be dominated and imposed upon because he feels that he is not dominant, and knows of no other way of interpreting his position. It is for this reason that he enjoys seeing prominent scholars, distinguished secretaries of state, and Supreme Court justices browbeaten and humiliated.

Obviously, such people need to purge themselves of their search for scapegoats, vindictiveness, and sour memories on the analyst's couch, and not within the framework of national politics. Politics should seek to satisfy the needs and interests of the country and its people, not the abnormal status-cravings of irrational individuals.

RICHARD M. MASSEY.

He's Motivated

Marietta — In reference to Mr. John Stormer's "None Dare Call It Treason," you say that none dare call it reason. I for one take pride in calling it reason. It gives me ample reason for working toward the disestablishment of the procreator of the "Great Society."

Even if you could prove unquestionably that 95 per cent of the information in the book were not true, the other 5 per cent would adequately motivate me to work against the growing socialism which must be evident to anyone who will take the time to look for himself.

J. P. ROZELLE.

Robert W· Smith

'None Dare Call It Treason' And Its 'Documentation'

10-21-64 *(In the Minneapolis Tribune)* [illegible]

Ordinarily, one would not even bother to comment on a tract like "None Dare Call It Treason." But this fantastic paperback package of political poison is getting such a wide circulation in this emotion-packed election campaign that it demands attention. "None Dare" moreover, is being read by a lot of honest citizens who, being trust-worthy themselves, tend to be too trusting of the book's purported "documentation."

There are 818 numbered references listed in the back of the book. More than 25 per cent of these references are from four particular sources — Human Events magazine, reports of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA) and The Congressional Record.

The latter, of course, is not an authority in itself. It is merely a record of what congressmen have said or of material—editorials, magazine articles, etc.—which senators and representatives have inserted in the Record.

Thus a congressman could have this article inserted in the Record and some subsequent critics of "None Dare" could quote The Congressional Record as saying that the book is a "package of political poison."

But how about some of the other documentary sources?

"None Dare" makes much of a letter supposedly signed "for a Soviet America" by Walter and Victor Reuther. Almost exactly six years ago (Sept. 22, 1958), Sen. John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, went to some lengths to let the public know that not only were there several different versions of this letter in circulation but three differing versions had been inserted in The Congressional Record.

Stormer declares, citing an SISS report, that during the Korean war "the chain of command from the U.N. Security Council to Gen. MacArthur was through the Under Secretary for Political and Security Council Affairs, Constantine Zinchenko, a Communist."

That's just not so. At the time of Korea, the U.N. Security Council set up a unified command under U.S. direction. Our government appointed an American commander in chief, and each such commander received his orders directly from the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Stormer distorts a reference from Human Events — which was itself a misconstruction of a Defense department statement — so that a Russian experimental anti-missile missile installation near Leningrad becomes "Soviet anti-missile missiles deployed around Leningrad" possessing "the capability to intercept and destroy American Polaris missiles."

And so it goes, quotation after quotation, reference after reference. The New York Times is assailed on one hand, but quoted — and misinterpreted — on the other hand as "documentation."

This discussion has not, obviously, treated all of the 818 numbered references in "None Dare." It would almost take another book to do that; and some of them — like the references to the Bible and J. Edgar Hoover — are accurate quotations and reliable.

But surely enough has been indicated about the unreliability of the "documentation" stressed by the promoters of "None Dare."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the American Legion in Cleveland, O., having looked into such aspects of "None Dare Call It Treason," canceled plans to distribute the book as part of a fund-raising activity.

OCTOBER 25, 1964

The New York Times Book Review

An Arsenal Of Facts

DANGER ON THE RIGHT. By Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein. 280 pp. New York: Random House. $4.95.

By ALAN F. WESTIN

ONE evening during the late spring of 1962, as part of my research for an article on corporate connections with the radical right, I attended a public meeting in New Jersey at which Dr. Fred Schwarz of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade was the featured speaker. The hall was filled with a predominantly enthusiastic crowd. As I entered, I noticed someone who looked quite familiar methodically picking up the literature that was being distributed at a table outside the auditorium.

Later, I found myself sitting only one row away from this same man, who was carefully taking notes during Schwarz's main presentation and the lively question period that followed. It bothered me that I knew the man but couldn't bring his name and identity to mind. Then the light flashed, and I felt doubly foolish for not having realized at once who it was—a staff member of the Anti-Defamation League, obviously on "evening assignment" at the Schwarz rally.

"Danger on the Right," as its co-authors acknowledge in their preface, is the product of just such first-hand research by dozens of A.D.L. staff members throughout the country. More than that, it represents the collective wisdom of one of the most useful private organizations in the United States. With the publication of this book (timed so perfectly on the eve of an election in which the future influence of the radical right in America is a central issue), the A.D.L. places all of us deeply in its debt.

THIS is the most detailed, accurate and factually complete popular description of the radical right that has yet appeared—its groups, leaders, doctrines and especially its financial supporters. Because it does not rely on hard-breathing rhetoric to supply missing bricks of fact, it is not just another exposé, but an indispensable book for every American citizen who wants to know the "who, what, and how much" of the radical right.

Benjamin Epstein, the A.D.L.'s National Director, and Arnold Forster, its General Counsel, divide their portrait of the ultra-right into two sections, with a chapter for each organization and leader that they treat. The first section, "The Radical Right," has chapters on the John Birch Society of Robert Welch; the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade of Dr. Schwarz; the Christian Crusade of Rev. Billy James Hargis; the National Education Program of Dr. George Benson; the 20th-Century Reformation Hour of Rev. Carl McIntire; the Manion Forum of Dean Clarence Manion; Life Line Foundation and Dan Smoot; the Church League of America under Edgar Bundy; the Conservative Society of America under Kent and Phoebe Courtney; and the Liberty Amendment Committee of the U.S.A., led by Willis Stone. Out of an estimated 500 right-wing organizations, the book concludes that some 26-27 represent "major groups." The 10 discussed above, in the authors' view, are the most influential and lively of the radical-right component among the 26-27.

The second section, titled "The Extreme Conservatives," dissects five leading groups among the organizations that do not adopt the pure, full-strength doctrines of the radical right—but do espouse many of the same ideas, join in common rallies and causes, have overlapping directorships, and often enjoy the financial support of the same rightist "angels." This section focuses on Americans for Constitutional Action, led by Admiral (Ret.) Ben Moreell; Human Events, under James Wick; the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists; Young Americans for Freedom; and The National Review of William F. Buckley, Jr.

Methods

RADICAL Right groups do not essentially seek to create new political parties. Rather, they seek by concerted propaganda drives to change the political climate in the United States, to turn the winds slowly their way. They do so by penetrating and influencing both major political parties. And in this effort, the John Birch Society has emerged as the strongest of such organizations.—*"Danger on the Right."*

In each chapter, "Danger on the Right" does four things. It traces the history of the organization's formation and growth; presents representative quotations of the group's positions; describes who controls the group, and who makes up its leading directorate; and reveals the major financial support behind each group—which the authors state adds up to more than $14,000,000 being pumped yearly into the pipeline of the radical right, primarily by wealthy individuals and large corporations. All of this material is presented with literary verve and succulent quotations. It succeeds perfectly in pinning each wildly fluttering ultra-right butterfly to its proper page in the specimen book.

Already, press accounts of the facts presented in "Danger on the Right" have evoked angry denials by some of the people and groups mentioned, and threats of suits for libel. There have also been furious denunciations of the A.D.L. as a "Jewish secret service" agency, long a favorite charge of the anti-Semitic organizations that were the subjects of earlier books by Forster and Epstein.

Despite the inferences of "planted" agents and hidden tape recorders, the clear truth is that the A.D.L. presentation is based on the public record: the public speeches and published writings of the rightists themselves, newspaper reports of their meetings and memberships and financial reports required by Federal or state tax and administrative agencies and open to public inspection. The A.D.L. has been systematically collecting and filing such clippings, publications and financial records for at least three decades. When the radical right expanded in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the A.D.L. simply expanded its coverage accordingly.

THE result of this fact-finding operation is the material with which to expose the radical right through its own words, deeds and associations. The last element—associations—is perhaps the most distinctive contribution of this book. Many other writers and organizations have discussed the ideology, publications and meetings of radical-right groups. But the A.D.L. surpasses everyone else in two respects—documenting the fact that many leading radical-right figures have also been associates or supporters of well-known anti-Semitic or hate groups, or have given them financial support, and showing the connections between the radical right and the extreme conservatives.

The decision of the authors to focus almost exclusively on the speeches, writings and interconnections of the ultra-rightists, and to devote only a handful of pages to larger socio-political analysis, is in one important sense the great strength of their presentation. It lets the public judge. It shows a confidence that the civic consensus in America will recoil from the positions of these groups, that exposure represents the best policy of counter-action, the only approach consistent with the A.D.L.'s own commitment to democratic ideals.

One could still wish that the authors had not carried this policy through quite so rigorously. There has been a wealth of excellent analysis done by social scientists on who joins radical-right groups and why; there have been others on the social dynamics of ultra-right organizations. With the exception of casual references to one social-science report of this kind—and far from the best one at that—"Danger on the Right" does not use these analytical resources, or even popularize them in the authors' own words.

Warnings

RADICAL Rightists urge people to watch out lest coddling of labor unions brings the welfare state one step closer. . . . They shout to beware of social security as a large step forward to socializing the Republic. They signal an alarm that the income tax is simply a means of pauperizing the rich in favor of the poor in order to communize the United States. They admonish in urgent voice for all to believe that the United Nations is a weapon the enemy is using to destroy American sovereignity. — *"Danger on the Right."*

In addition, there is not as careful and complete an analysis as one would like of the borderline between radical right and extreme conservative. In describing the *fact* of interconnections, the book does superbly. It is completely sound in saying that when "hard" conservatives do not police their own border against infiltration, they deserve to be judged harshly for any blending of causes that results. But some of the statements on extreme conservatives being "soft on the radical right" have a troubling ring to them, one that could have been avoided with more attention to systematic analysis.

The vacuum is all the more evident when one considers the excellent studies the A.D.L has itself produced—or drawn on from special articles in their publications on discrimination and prejudice. Presented in the same lively fashion, such analyses are both valuable and necessary for the general reader. However, the basic value of the book remains, despite this lack.

Here is an arsenal of facts for harassed civic leaders in communities throughout the nation. Next time the Birch Society begins to bully a school board, or Americans for Constitutional Action condemn a congressional incumbent for his "pro-Communist" voting record, or a major national corporation begins to saturate the communities around its plants with National Education Program films on "Americanism," "Danger on the Right" will provide community leaders with the ammunition to fight back, through exposure of what these groups really believe, say, and do.

A copy of the book belongs on the shelf of every person who is active in the civic life of the nation, just as a manual on poisons belongs in the medicine chest.

Mr. Westin, who teaches at Columbia, writes frequently of political extremism. He is a contributor to "The Radical Right," a symposium edited by Daniel Bell.

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EDITORIALS 10-27-64 26 8 Rt Wing

Two Candidates, a Rally and Extremism

TWO POLITICAL figures—and only two of the many who were invited—appeared to address an Atlanta rally Monday night on behalf of a proposed constitutional amendment to undo part of the Bill of Rights.

They were L. J. O'Callaghan and Roscoe Pickett, Republican congressional candidates in the 5th and 4th Districts.

We think the voters have good reason to wonder about just what forces these two candidates are associating themselves with and just what influence they might have on our city and our state if they are elected to Congress.

This rally was one of 62 held across the nation under ultra-conservative sponsorship of the most extreme kind.

One of the main speakers, by amplified telephone hookup, was the Rev. Carl McIntyre, leader of the movement against the National Council of Churches (which is supported by virtually every major Protestant denomination).

Mr. McIntyre, in a rare church trial some years ago, was deposed as a Presbyterian minister.

He is widely known as one of the leading figures among America's radicals of the right. His anti-Catholic forays have included efforts to associate the Pope with international Communist objectives.

In their appearances, Mr. Pickett and Mr. O'Callaghan associated themselves not only with the sponsorship of this rally but also with the objective. Roundly stated, the objective is to "get the Bible back into the schools." But specifically the rally was for support of the Becker Amendment, which would undo the First Amendment of the Constitution—part of the Bill of Rights—as it pertains to religious freedom.

Both candidates expressed approval of the amendment.

Certainly many people are honestly concerned about religious education of the country's youth. But we think it would be well to recall what most of the leading religious spokesmen of the country have said about efforts such as the Becker Amendment.

The Christian Index, publication of the Georgia Baptist Convention, has called it "dangerous" and a result of runaway emotions.

Washington representatives of eight Baptist groups recently noted that early American Baptists helped get the First Amendment into the Constitution and added: "It would be tragic if present-day Baptists, because of misunderstanding and misinformation, were to contribute to the undoing of the First Amendment."

Leading spokesmen of other denominations have made similar statements.

Is it because all these are "morally corrupt," or is it because they simply want to be scrupulous in adherence to the U.S. Constitution and the separation of church and state?

We think that this is no place for runaway emotions.

We are sorry to see two leading political figures contributing to these emotions in eleventh-hour campaign efforts.

We are especially sorry to see them associate themselves with extremists far, far away from the center of American life.

Thomaston Times

10-28-64 C

We Are Acting Just as Communists Would Have Us

This country is the greatest, has been the greatest and will continue to be the greatest unless we fall victim to the attacks of the people who see Communists behind every post, tyranny in every heart and dictatorial take-over or violent overthrow of the government at every hand.

We have read and listened to the John Birchers, the Billy James Hargises, the Carl McIntyres and the latter-day saints of the late Sen. Joseph McCarthy until we are sick to our stomachs.

This suspicious attitude, these predictions of impending doom, of failure of our economic system, of our leaders becoming dictators, of too much government or too little government, of mistrust of everyone in public office or trying to get into public office is just about as good as the Communists could want.

About the most nauseating remark we have heard in weeks came when a man making a public speech to a civic club here this week declared "if the present administration is sent back to Washington, Americans will be dying before a firing squad before four years is over."

If we keep up this type of tommy-rot we will destroy ourselves.

Have we forgotten that united we stand, divided we fall?

You take your political philosophy and we'll take ours; and we'll debate you freely and we'll fight for your right to your opinion and your right to disagree with us and we'll expect the same treatment from you. And we'll all go to the polls on Nov. 3 and vote the conviction in our hearts, not the suspicion of hatred in our minds.

That's the way this country became the greatest and that's the way we'll remain the greatest, God willing.

10-28-64c

Hecklers
Rt Wing?

Eugene Patterson

The Hecklers Made His Point

The President of the United States stood stock still in the Augusta twilight and looked silently at the hecklers each time they interrupted his speech. His wife and daughter had already been through this in Georgia. His silence became embarrassing.

One of Gov. Carl Sanders' aides made his way through the crowd and looked at the hecklers. He knows the people who live in Augusta. He came back looking somber.

"Some of those people have the education and sensibility to know that's wrong," the aide said quietly. "They're medical students."

President Johnson obviously sensed the hecklers were going too far for the taste of Georgians. He slid his hands in his pockets and let them do it. When they finished he offered them elaborate pity, not censure. Then he turned to the rest of the crowd and drove home his point with the impact of a hammer blow square on the nail.

When a Republican governor (Nelson Rockefeller) can be shouted down at a Republican party convention, he said softly, and when a president "of your own country" can be stopped from speaking, then:

"Can you imagine what that kind of leadership would do for the world?"

* * *

The "We Want Barry" hecklers fell silent. But it was too late for them. They had made the President's point for him. An unnatural quietness stilled the crowd. The big man spoke again in the gathering darkness. In conversational tone, with his hands still in his pockets, he said the really overriding issue in this election is peace or war.

He thought that meant the country's leader ought to be a president who offers love and not hate, unity and not division, faith and not doubt in the country.

With so much danger abroad in the world, he told the people, "you've got to sit down in the quiet and sanctity of your homes with your wives and your families and decide . . . whether you want a president who'll pull together the people of the world, or break them apart."

He took his hands out of his pockets and pressed his right thumb down again and again on the lectern. "If you move a thumb up to that button," he said, "100 million Americans can die."

* * *

So what kind of president would Georgians want? One who "believes in the country" or one who is "constantly concerned about us going to hell in a hack?"

"There are parents in this crowd who had to take a son down to the depot in World War I or World War II," he said soberly. "Well take your son down to the polling place next week.

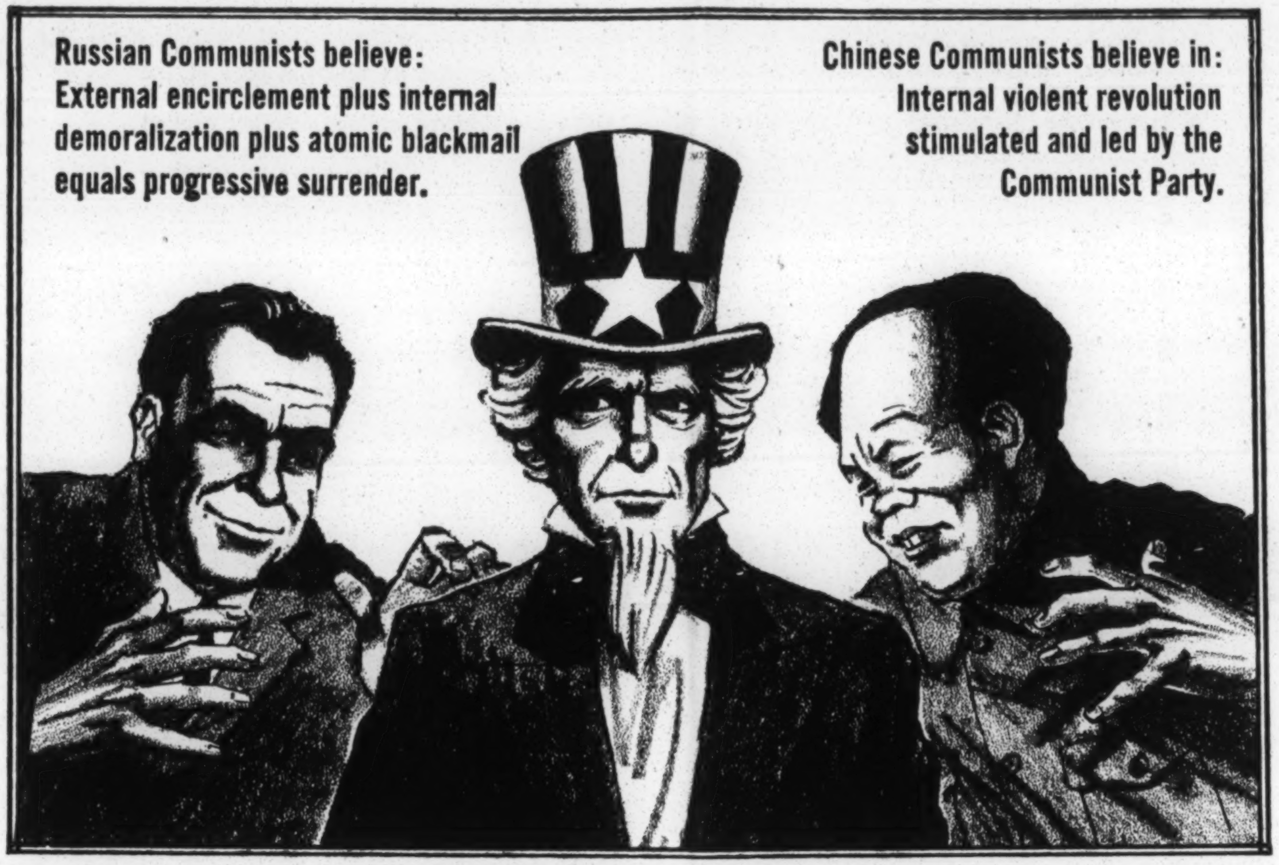
"I pledge you that I will give you all that is in me to unite and not divide the world, to try for peace and not war, prosperity and not depression." Then he sat down.

The principal point in his whole campaign—the need for sense and sobriety in a nuclear world—was made for him by the hecklers who tried to hurt him.

10-30-64 8

Rt Wing
Relig

What is the argument between the Russian and Chinese Communists all about?


Russian Communists believe:
External encirclement plus internal demoralization plus atomic blackmail equals progressive surrender.
Chinese Communists believe in:
Internal violent revolution stimulated and led by the Communist Party.

Reduced to essentials, the Russians and Chinese disagree about one thing—what is the quickest and surest way to conquer the United States.

AREAS OF AGREEMENT

There are many more points of agreement between the Russian and Chinese Communists than there are points of disagreement. Both agree on the following:

1. The United States of America is the source of most of the evil in the world and must be destroyed. Both concurred in this definition of

AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT

The Russians and Chinese disagree over the best methods to follow under the title of peaceful coexistence. The Russian Communists believe that the formula of conquest is—*external encirclement plus internal demoralization equals progressive surrender*. The Chinese Communists believe the best method is—*internal violent revolution stimulated and led by the Communist Party* concentrating upon minority groups, the unemployed workers, and the disgruntled intellectuals.

RUSSIAN——————————————CHINESE

COMMUNIST POLICY FOR U.S. CONQUEST

To carry out their policy, the Russian Communists believe that they should:

1. Encourage wars of "national liberation" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.
2. Neutralize Western Europe.
3. Demoralize and isolate the United States.

Conquest would then come about through a series of "accommodations" with the external encircling, blackmailing communist-dominated world power. They desire a government in power in the U.S. that will agree to these

The Chinese Communists believe that the conquest of the United States is primarily the responsibility of the American Communists and the American people. From Marxist-Leninist doctrine they believe that a majority of the American people are in a state of potential rebellion against the capitalist system and the government and that a courageous and dedicated communist minority can ignite and lead this revolutionary explosion.

THE GREATER PERIL

Both forms of communist strategy are evil and dangerous. When communists, following the advice of the Chinese, lead violent mobs to arson, murder and pillage on the streets, the American people become aroused. Nevertheless, the greater threat to the continued existence of a free America following:

1. The United States of America is the source of most of the evil in the world and must be destroyed. Both concurred in this definition of the United States which was signed by 81 Communist Parties of the World: "the greatest international exploiter, the center of world reaction, the chief bulwark of modern colonialism, the international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the enemy of the world."
2. The International Communist Movement is the instrument to accomplish this destruction of America.
3. The program by which this destruction is to be carried out is called "Peaceful Coexistence." Both define this as conquest without thermonuclear war.

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POLICY WITHIN AMERICA

The official American Communist Party under the leadership of Gus Hall is an obedient servant of the Russian Communists. In accord with Russian strategy, their policy is:

1. Build an image of law abiding respectability for U.S. and Russian communists.
2. Create the image of a phony fascist danger in the United States growing out of an alleged ultra-right conspiracy.
3. Focus the energies of the party on this alleged ultra-right conspiracy by a vicious attack on Senator Barry Goldwater.
4. Give qualified support to programs of the present administration.
5. Infiltrate and influence the Civil Rights movement but keep within its mainstream by supporting the established Civil Rights leaders and organizations.

Those communists in America under the influence of the Chinese Communists advocate the following policies:

1. The communists should proclaim their role as revolutionary leaders and seek to inspire and lead others to acts of revolutionary violence.
2. The attacks should be focused on the party in power.
3. They teach there is no real difference between the nature of the two parties and they have no choice between Senator Goldwater and President Johnson. Their attitude is, "A plague on both your houses."
4. Communists should lead independent Civil Rights groups in open violent rebellion.

THERMONUCLEAR WAR DIFFERENCES

On the record, the Russian Communists have shown greater thermonuclear adventurism. It was the Russian Communists who placed the missiles in Cuba and brought the world to the brink of thermonuclear destruction. The Chinese Communists did not reprove them for removing the missiles but for putting them there. They claimed this was a departure from fundamental communist principles. The official Chinese Communist statement on the question of missiles in Cuba is as follows:

"The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have always maintained that the course of history is decided by the great strength of the masses of the people and not by any weapons. On more than one occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called 'offensive weapons' from Cuba. WE HAVE NEVER CONSIDERED THAT IT WAS A MARXIST-LENINIST ATTITUDE TO BRANDISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS AS A WAY OF SETTLING INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a 'Munich.'"

violent mobs to arson, murder and pillage on the streets, the American people become aroused. Nevertheless, the greater threat to the continued existence of a free America comes from the subtle, clever, integrated program of Russian communism. If concern is focused on the obvious Chinese Communist activities, while the Russian Communist strategy continues without recognition or opposition, the communists will have won a great and possibly a decisive victory. You are just as dead if you are strangled slowly as if you are shot or stabbed.

Dr. Fred Schwarz

DR. FRED SCHWARZ, PRESIDENT
CHRISTIAN ANTI-COMMUNISM CRUSADE

While the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade is under Protestant leadership, it serves all faiths and cooperates with other religious anti-communist organizations including the Jewish Council Against Communist Aggression, 395 W. 6th Street, Los Angeles, California, and the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, P.O. 321, St. Louis, Mo.

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DEKALB COUNTY - 1965 TARGET

For a generation, the social experimenters have been integrating Northern Cities and for the past decade, Atlanta. The results of these experiments are seen in the streets and subways of New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago and in the increasing crime rate of Atlanta. Any true scientist would conclude that integration is not the solution to the problems of bi-racial society. Strangely enough, the social experimenters are presently attempting to integrate Dekalb County under threat of blackmail of loss of Federal Aid.

In 1928, at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, plans were made for the Communist agitation of the American Negro. Although their plans for a Negro Soviet Republic in the South failed, their efforts to use the American Negro in their class struggle has continued. Many miles and years separate Dekalb County - 1965 from Moscow - 1928, but this prosperous, peaceful area is now ON TARGET. Lack of space limits our discussion to more recent meetings pertinent to Dekalb County. The doubting reader is encouraged to study the details of the intervening history.

Monday, March 30, 1964 - Stouffer's Restaurant

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta discussed among other topics: (1) "Operation Hope" - an integration plan for the Druid Hills - Emory sections; (2) "Kirkwood - A Study in Transition" - which illustrated the contradiction of the preceding plan; (3) Annual Budget - this totaled $20,034.28 and $12,000 of this was donated by the Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee, Boston, Mass. The Unitarians are, of course, so un-Christian that even the National Council of Churches would not admit them into their organization.

Tuesday, April 6, 1965 - Dekalb County Building

The Superintendent of Dekalb County Schools received a telephone call from the White House and flew to Washington, D. C. the same day, returning late that night. During the next several days, numerous Negro leaders visited his office.

Tuesday, April 20, 1965 - A Georgia education meeting in Atlanta

Mr. Cherry of Dekalb County praised the L. B. J. Program, in particular, the Federal Aid to Education (of course, not mentioning its associated control of textbooks, curriculum, etc.)

Friday, April 9, 1965 - St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church, Atlanta, Ga.
Friday, April 30, 1965 - Israel Baptist Church, Howard Avenue, Kirkwood

The DEKALB COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS held their second and third organizational meetings. Among the plans outlined were the desegregation of Dekalb County Schools by September, 1965. Dr. Norman Hayes representing the Dekalb branch of the NAACP made three recommendations including (1) that "students be placed in nearest school to their home and requests for transfers go directly to Supt. Jim Cherry". He added that "in the event that a workable solution is impossible in a minimum length of time, campaigns will be initiated immediately to secure proper legal action in getting Federal Funds redirected".

At the latter meeting, this self-appointed group of experts on Human Relations discussed methods of "educating Dekalb people on proper behavior if the Dekalb County School Board rules in the COUNCIL'S favor on May 7, 1965. Liza Paschall, one of the highest ranking Civil Rights agitators with a home in Dekalb County, is presently in England studying the best methods by which she can educate Dekalb people. Before going to England, at a SNCC meeting on the Emory Campus she admitted the failures of integration by stating that the negro child in a white school was the most segregated of all. One leader at the April 30th meeting indicated that approximately 25 schools will be integrated and later praised Jim Cherry for being most cooperative. Leaders in these Council meetings were: Dr. David E. Day, Dr. Donald Ross Greene, Dr. Richard Hocking, Dr. Francis Binkley (all of Emory Univ.); Mrs. Emily Binkley; Gerard Sherry, Editor of the Georgia Bulletin, a Roman Catholic newspaper, and Father M. X. Mayhew of the Roman Catholic Church, Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Honorary Lieut, Colonel on Gov. Carl Sander's staff; Joseph Hendricks, Dean of Men, Mercer University; Mrs. Frances Pauley; Mrs. Fran Rossman, League of Women Voters. These people live in segregated areas by choice.

The Southern Regional Council was identified on March 8, 1957 as a "Southern Red Front" by Manning Johnson, Negro and self-admitted ex-Communist. According to the Atlanta Constitution, July 22-23-24, 1963, the Southern Regional Council financially supported the Chatham County Crusade for Voters which was housed in the facilities of a Union, identified three years earlier as being Communist controlled. Other governmental evidence has shown an inter-relationship between the Southern Regional Council and the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, a now defunct Communist front organization. One wonders whether or not Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, and Dr. Donald Ross Greene, who were prominent leaders at the DEKALB COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS meetings are the same Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar who directs the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL and Dr. Donald Ross Greene whose articles are printed and distributed by the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. Prior to 1961, lists of subversive groups and individuals were available from the Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C. This Department has refused to publish such lists since 1961.

The DEKALB COUNTY COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS purports to carry on an educational program for the improvement of the economic, civic, cultural, and religious conditions in the area and to promote interracial and intergroup understanding and to reduce interracial and inter-group tensions and their causes. How will they do this? - "by research and an active program of 'cooperation' with various county groups". PURE HOGWASH. This type research with race mixing has been going on for years and any student with a sixth grade education which qualified them for voting, can interpret the results of this vast experiment. It proves conclusively that integration worsens - not lessens - tensions in an interracial society. Token integration leads to total integration, property values fall, the tax digest decreases, crime and immorality increases, streets and subways become unsafe and the responsible pay confiscatory taxes to support the irresponsible. The leaders of this COUNCIL are obviously above the sixth grade level of intelligence and we must assume they are aware of the failures of integration. WHAT THEN ARE THEIR MOTIVES?

The Supt. of Dekalb County schools rushed through the signing of the Assurance of Compliance under the pretense of meeting a March 3, 1965 deadline even though weeks before Mr. James M. Quigley, Asst. Secretary of Welfare postponed this deadline to SEPTEMBER, 1965. Mr. Cherry stated this signing was necessary to insure receipt of Federal Funds. A check of last year's school budget reveals that of total income of $18,700,000 only $700,000 came from the U. S. Government. Federal funds accounted for approximately $10.00 per pupil for the school year.

Is the soul of your child, the safety of your family, the value of your property for sale at $10.00 per year per student? If not, let your School Board members know your feelings no later than May 7 and attend the School Board Meeting.

Is the fledgling DEKALB COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS already so powerful that the Democratic and Republican Party cannot speak out about it?

Why is Jim Cherry so anxious to sell the soul of Dekalb County for a piddling fee of $10.00 per pupil per year.

Why does Jim Cherry place so little value on the future of Dekalb County.

for Jim Forman SNCC

I think the KKK material is fairly complete, but I give you a quote from a letter written by Staige Blackford which sums up the latest information on the Klan membership:

> In January 1961, the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Moreover, my source said that while Klan membership has widely fluctuated since 1954, he is dead certain that Rice's 1958 estimate is way off, way too high. He pointed out that the Klan has a habit of going "way overboard" in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since gone from this earth). He did say, though, that there were some indications of a slight increase in Klan strength this past year, but nothing significant. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, he estimated that: 1) KKKhas held its own this year in Alabama; and 2) has shown definite signs of increase in Georgia up to September and October

(but very probably falling off now since the old political order has collapsed). At any rate, whatever increase there has been this year or in the past eight years, there is no indication of the Klan rising anew. Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hard locals and state has-beens.

You are safe in saying that Klan membership has flustuated widely in the past decade, but at the most never exceeded 50,000 and is likely to have been considerably less throughout the whole period.

Regarding the White Citizens Councils (called by various names in various states) there is some slight difference of opinion. Paul thinks there is some resurgence because of increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. Les Dunbar thinks that although they are presently making more noise, they are not really growing appreciably. They remain strong in Mississippi and may be a little stronger this year, after Oxford and the strong voter registration programs. However, note that funds from the State Sovereignty Commission have been cut and the new head of this commission is Erle Johnson, who last year rebuked the Citizens Councils (see clips). In Alabama is making a lot of shrill noise and having many meetings. But Les thinks they may be slipping there and in Louisiana and Georgia. In all other areas they have lost influence on politicians. At a recent rally in Atlanta (see clips) no state official attended.

Les thinks the most dangerous development is the kind of group Lester Maddox organized to boycott businesses which desegregate (see enclosures). Of the 35 restaurants which desegregated this spring, only 12 (and we are not sure of that number from day to day) remain desegregated after picketing and boycotts. Hotels are desegregated only to the extent of including Negroes in large conventions provided no more than 5% attend. One motel has made an exception for the SRC annual meeting. Only one small hotel will accept Negroes and dark foreign visitors at any time and without any restrictions.

I have included material on the radical right--which we consider a "hate group" too. If you wish, I can give you also a list of the radical right religious groups, leaders, and publications, which I compiled for another purpose.

Clips were not available on Mobile and Selma, so I give you this from Paul's travels: In Mobile the WCC holds weekly meetings in the city auditorium; Wallace was a recent speaker. Attendance runs up to 2,500. When Bull Conner spoke very recently, he lost the crowd completely when he told them it was all right for police to use extreme measures to "keep the peace" but if they did it hurt the cause and lost national sympathy and local support. He urged them to leave all violence to the police! Selma has an active WCC; some 6,500 persons attended a recent meeting when Gov. Wallace spoke.

We have one or two file copies of Paul's 19~~5~~6 report on prosegregation groups; I could lend you this. I did not include it becuase I thought you would want more recent information.

For Emory Via : Recent Magazine articles
Hate Groups

1. Radical Right

Christian Century, May 9, 1962 - "Social Sources of the Radical Right," by Robert Lee
________________ July 14, 1962 - "I Went to a Schwarz 'School'"
* ________________ May 16, 1962 - "Rightest Weather Map,"by Harold E. Fey
Sat. Evening Post, April 28, 1962 - "Doomsday Merchant on the Far, Far, Right," (Billy James Hargis) by Harold H. Martin
New York Times Magazine, 6-17-63, "The Threat of the Radical Right," by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
____________________, 4-29-62, "The Liberals Have Helped the Radical Right," by Harvey B. Schechter.
____________________, Nov. 26, 1961, "Report on the 'Rampageous Right!" by Alan Barth
____________________, 12-10-63, "How Some Birchers Were Birches," by Thos. S. Starke (California)
Harpers, Oct. 1961, "Houston's Super Patriots," by Willie Morris
The New Republic, 9-24-63, "The New Conservatism," by Peter Vierick
________________, 3-5-62, "Seeds of Schism on the Right"
________________, 5-28-62, "The Anti-Communist Hoax," by Irving Brant (who are the right wing's real enemies?)
The Nation, 11-11-61, "The Armed Super Patriots in the Mid-west," by Peter W. Salsich Jr.
__________, 3-10-62, "Anti-Communism in the Classroom: Education or Propaganda?," Lawrence E. Metcalf.

2. Black Muslims

Christian Century, 6-5-63, "Malcolm X: Charismatic Demagogue," by Albert B. Southwick
Playboy, May 1963, "Malcolm X: interview"
Liberator, April 1963, "The Black Muslims," by August Meier
New York Times Magazine, 5-12-63, "Two Ways: Black Muslim and NAACP," by Gertrude Samuels
Saturday Evening Post, 1-26-63, "Black Merchants of Hate," by Alfred Balk and Alex Haley

Pamphlets

Am. Jewish Committee, Bigotry in Action (organized anti-Semitism) 1963.
National Conf. of Christians & Jews, Anti-Communism, The Extreme Right and the Church, by Richard Horchler
Putnam Letters, Nat'l Putnam Letters Committee, P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y. 1963. These are the Guilty; Letter to U. S. Attorney General; Letter to the President.
Nat'l Civil Liberties Clearing House, The UltraRight Wing Today: Problems in Containment. 1961. Mimeographed.
Facts, Nov.-Dec. 1962, Anti Defamation League, "The Case of Fred Schwarz!" (I think they also have one of the John Birch Society).

A VICTIM PROBES THE RADICAL RIGHT

THE CHRISTIAN FRIGHT PEDDLERS, By Brooks R. Walker. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964. 290 pp. $4.95.

By E. CLINTON GARDNER
Professor of Christian Ethics, Emory University

As the jacket suggests, an excellent subtitle for this timely book would be "The Radical Right and the Churches." The author is minister of the Emerson Unitarian Church in Canoga Park, Calif., and has been active in opposing the goals and methods of right-wing extremist groups . . . and has twice been the victim of anonymous bombings.

In summary, this is an illuminating and probing analysis of the methods and motivations of the "radical right." It is an excellent book to read in this election year when national attention has been focused sharply upon "extremism" and in particular upon the relationship of the "radical right" to our democratic goals and processes of government.

One of the most valuable sections of this study deals with the social and psychological sources of the radical right-wing groups. Basically, these movements are rooted in fear, Walker believes, and they represent a revolt against a variety of social forces by which members feel threatened — communism, the Supreme Court, the National Council of Churches, "socialized" medicine, and "big government." Participants project their own insecurities upon these social forces, and attack these targets with religious and political arguments, he says.

Mr. Walker believes there is danger that those who oppose extremism will become victims of the very methods they seek to oppose.

Aldermen Acted Wisely - Let Truth Be Known

Alderman Ed Gilliam and the other members of the Board of Aldermen are to be commended for officially asking the House Committee on Un-American Affairs to come to Atlanta and investigate charges that communists are active in the racial unrest in our city.

Serious charges have been made against some participants in the disorders of last week, and prior to that, other reliable sources had charged that some communists were active in these disorders.

The aldermen have asked for no witch hunt. They have asked that the committee investigators separate the innocent from the guilty. If these people are communists the citizens of Atlanta, white and Negro, need to know who they are and what they are doing here besides participating in disorderly demonstrations. Innocent people have nothing to fear.

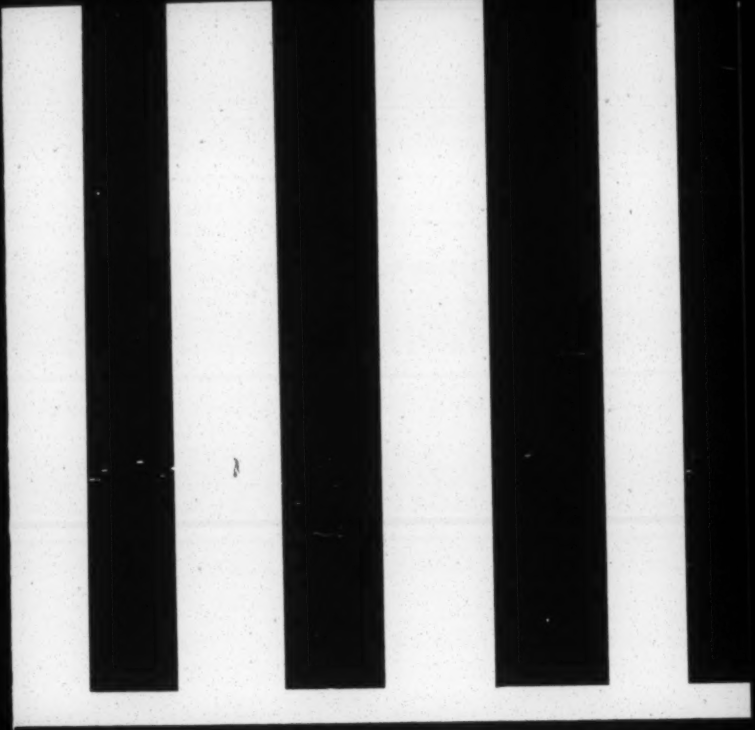
It is a known fact that there has been a great influx of people from other sections of the nation into Atlanta taking an active part in these demonstrations. It is a known fact that some of these people have close ties with communist-front organizations if not actual communist organizations.

We have sufficient trouble in Atlanta without known communists adding to our troubles. It is to be regretted that when known communists enter one of these organizations and are exposed, thus far, the leaders have not publicly disowned and repudiated these Reds. There was the case of the communist who was working in a key post in Dr. Martin Luther King's group. He was exposed but Dr. King's only public comment was that he "no longer worked in the New York headquarters."

It is a well established policy of the communists to work their way into many organizations and do all the damage they can. This is obviously true of many of the highly publicized civil rights groups. They should have been repudiated long ago.

The Atlanta Board of Aldermen acted wisely and in the best interests of all loyal citizens of all races in Atlanta in requesting the House Committee to come to our city and investigate the Red activities.

Communists have no place in Atlanta or anywhere else in this nation.



DANGER ON THE RIGHT

THE ATTITUDES, PERSONNEL
AND INFLUENCE OF
THE RADICAL RIGHT AND
EXTREME CONSERVATIVES

ARNOLD FORSTER &
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

DANGER ON THE RIGHT
DANGER ON

JUST PUBLISHED by Random House

The timely, documented story of the extremists in America—the Radical Right, its conservative allies, and those who support both.

- **They run a multi-million dollar a year campaign to divide America, to threaten democratic progress.**
- **They call Presidents, secretaries of state, and senators "Communist dupes."**
- **They attack the Supreme Court, clergy, and the American educational system with reckless, unrealistic accusations.**
- **They belabor the United Nations and belittle the consequences of nuclear war.**
- **They attract racists, bigots and yahoos with phony nostrums and empty slogans.**
- **They are financed by tax-exempt foundations, business corporations, and wealthy individuals... plus thousands of frightened average citizens who have succumbed to the propaganda barrage.**
- **They present a real danger to democratic processes, to democracy itself.**

Benjamin R. Epstein is national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and has studied and written extensively on problems of prejudice in this country and abroad.
Arnold Forster is the League's general counsel and director of its civil rights division. DANGER ON THE RIGHT is their fourth collaborative book.

List price: $4.95 Hard Cover
$2.95 Soft Cover

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

or your nearest ADL Regional Office

Please send me____hard-cover copies of DANGER ON THE RIGHT at the special price of $3.95, or____soft cover copies at the special price of $2.35.

Payment enclosed__________.

Name______________________________

Address____________________________

City__________State__________ZIP_______

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May 13 + June 28, 1963

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WEDNESDAY

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JULY 1964

"Police Handling of Arrestees" Study
Joseph H. Fichter
Dept of Sociology
New Orleans, La.

see PA re copies

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OCT. 1964

Danger on the Right

Arnold Forster &
Benjamin R. Epstein

paper - $2.35 ADL

296 - THURSDAY, OCT. 22 - 70

New Hate Group
(Chr. Century ed
4-21-65)

Christian Youth Corps (Ohio) training recruit kit
Ages 14-19

Req. for membership
1 rifle, 1,000 rounds am
& hunting knife

enemy: Minority groups
& the government.

MAY 1965

29

SATURDAY

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Pol - Rad. Right

Rightists, Racists, & Separatists: A White Bloc in the Making?
(politics)

David Danzig
AJC

What Is Extremism? Questions & Answers
AJC

~~[illegible]~~ &

Jefferson & the Racists, ~~Nashville~~
Washington Post

reprint from NCC&J
1046 Baronne St
New Orleans

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

Hate Groups

Look, Oct. 22, 1963

Tom Braden, "I Was the Target of a Hate Campaign" (Calif.)

Journal of Social Issues April 1963

Am. Pol. Extremism in the 1960's (right wing groups & some analysis; includes Black Muslims)

Interracial Review (N.Y.)

Oct 1963

Drinan, Robt F., "Will Public Accommodations Be Deseg in 1963?"

THE RACE PROBLEM AND THE CLERGY

Dr. W. C. George reports that about 350 communications have been received supporting the petition asking for continued separation of schools for white and Negro pupils. A few letters have been received condemning it. One from a divinity student urged withdrawal of the petition. Among other objections, he disapproved of the sentence that reads: "In as much as a careful reading of the New Testament reveals that Christ never said one word about the race problem, we deplore the efforts of some people to identify a program of racial integration with Christianity." And he raised the question: "Is it really significant that Christ said nothing about the race problem? . . . Our task is to see how the ethic that he lived and taught should be interpreted and applied in new situations."

Since this young preacher apparently represents a point of view common in divinity schools and among the clergy, it probably should have a public answer. The answer is that it makes a great deal of difference whether we teach as Christianity what Christ said or what ecclesiastical politicians say. Furthermore, attempting to interpret Christ's ethic is one thing. Making final judgments on complex human problems on the basis of little information or understanding is quite another.

Ministers have gone much further than raise the question of ethics. Without seeming to understand or even to be aware of very fundamental matters, they have promoted a rash of resolutions declaring that separation of the races is "unChristian" and they have promoted social revolution.

Attempts to exercise temporal power do not make ministers more worthy or more effective spiritual ambassadors of Christ. Doing wrong in Christ's name and calling it "applied Christianity" does not make it right. It merely compounds the wrong.

Those ministers who are tempted to make dogmatic statements and decisions about worldly matters based on their interpretation of the scriptures and try to impose "the Christian position" on the people would do well to read and ponder the sentence imposed on Galileo for proving that the earth is not the center of the universe. It reads in part as follows:

"We say, pronounce, sentence, declare that you, the said Galileo, by reason of the matters adduced in this trial, and by you confessed as above, have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office vehemently suspected of heresy, namely of having believed and held the doctrine—which is false and contrary to the sacred and divine scriptures—that the Sun is the center of the World and does not move from east to west, and that the Earth moves and is not the center of the World. . . . And that consequently you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred cannons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents. . . ."

See *Durham Herald*, December 19, 1954

In the early part of this century we had a great governor in this state, who had, and still has, the reputation of being a statesman with great zeal for the general good. Forty-five years ago that governor, Charles Brantley Aycock, in an address delivered to North Carolina Negroes at the State Fair, had this to say:

> "No thoughful, conservative, and upright Southerner has for your race aught but the kindest feelings, and we are willing and anxious to see you grow into the highest citizenship of which you are capable, and we are willing to give our energies and best thought to aid you. . . . But to do this, it is absolutely necessary that each race should remain distinct and have a society of its own. Inside of your own race, you can grow as large and broad and high as God permits, with the aid, the sympathy, and the encouragement of your white neighbors. If you can equal the white race in achievement, in scholarship, in literature, in art, in industry, in commerce, you will find no generous-minded white man who will stand in your way; but all of them in the South will insist that you accomplish this high end without social intermingling. This is well for you, and it is well for us; it is necessary for the peace of our section."

Inherent in that statement is the basis for a race policy that would protect the integrity of both races, and a more truly Christian policy than one that denies the existence of racial differences. A so-called Christian policy that is based on the assertion of falsehood or a denial of the truth requires re-examination.

LITERATURE REFERRED TO IN THIS PAPER

Berger, C. A. 1941. Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem. The Catholic Univerity of America Press.

Bonger, W. A. 1943. Race and Crime. Columbia University Press.

Boas, Franz. 1940. Race, Language and Culture.

George, W. C. 1946. Twinning and Twins. N. C. Medical Journal, April, 1946. (An extensive literature list is given in this review.)

Hrdlicka, Ales. 1941. Scientific Aspects of the Race Problem. The Catholic University of America Press.

Jennings, H. S. 1941. Ibid.

McCormick, T. C. T. 1945. The Negro. In Problems of the Post War World.

Newman, H. H. 1940. Multiple Human Births. Doubleday, Doran and Co.

Porteus, S. D. and Marjorie E. Babcock. 1926. Temperatment and Race. Gorham Press.

Stockard, C. R. 1941. The Genetic and Endocrine Basis for Differences in Form and Behavior. Press of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology.

Todd, T. W. 1928. The Search for Specific African Bodily Features. Conference of Racial Differences, National Research Council.

Atl Constitution 4-21-64

"I NEED YOUR MORAL and FINANCIAL SUPPORT"

–George C. Wallace
Governor of Alabama

★ ★ ★

Governor Wallace, champion of constitutional government and States' Rights, has just won a great and far-reaching victory at the polls in Wisconsin.

He now carries **our** fight to the people of Indiana and Maryland . . . with the Wisconsin victory adding muscle and new strength to his campaigns.

He needs your help **NOW.** You can have an important part by sending your contributions. Television, radio and newspaper advertising runs into thousands... every one of your dollars will help carry the message of sanity and freedom to the people of Indiana, Maryland and the Nation.

Governor George C. Wallace
State Capitol Building
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Governor:

I am proud of you and of the fight you are making for our cause. Here is my $__________ to help you carry the message to the people of Indiana and Maryland. God bless you.

NAME______________________________

ADDRESS____________________________

CITY________________ STATE____________

This Advertisement Paid for by
THE SOUTHERN COMMITTEE TO HELP ELECT THE
NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
Marvin [illegible] Collum, Jr., Treasurer, Jackson, Mississippi

August 13, 1963

Miss Mildred Schwartz
Assistant Professor
University of Alberta
Calgary, Canada

Dear Miss Schwartz:

The only recent (within the past two years) information we have on the White Citizens Councils is random news clips of their activities, and this would take some time to assemble and copy them.

The Councils have declined in membership, program and influence throughout with South--with the exception of Mississippi. In this state the organization is still very active and influential; one reason for this (and probably the principal reason) is that they are state-financed by the government at the rate of $5,000 per month, and many government officials are members. In addition to the $5,000 per month allocation for radio and TV programs, the 1960 Legislature of Mississippi voted $350,000 to finance general operations of the Council for two years.

wm

Your best source of information would be to write to Mr. W. J. Simmons, administrator of the councils and editor of their newspaper, and request copies of annual reports including financial report. He would be more inclined to send it to you than to us.

We do have reports on the Councils for 1957 and 1958 period when they were most strong and active in the southern states.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA, CALGARY
CALGARY - ALBERTA - CANADA

Department of Sociology

August 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
ATLANTA 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am preparing a paper for publication on organizations that follows from some legislative activity. I have been using White Citizens Councils as an example of these and I require up-to-date information. If you have anything on the recent activities of these groups, I would be interested in obtaining it. Since I must submit the paper in September, I would appreciate if you could send me whatever you have as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

M. Schwartz / per Eli

Mildred Schwartz
Assistant Professor
University of Alberta, Calgary

MS/ew

Wm. J. Simmons 315-25 Plaza Bldg.
Jackson address Jackson 1, Miss.
+ request Annual report & other reports
Outside Miss their influence,
membership & program have declined
State-subsidized there & still very strong

Ass'n of Citizens Councils
of Miss.
Greenwood, Miss.

White Citizens Councils

October 8, 1963

Mr. H. Monroe Smith
Box 667
Anderson College
Anderson, Indiana

Dear Mr. Smith:

Enclosed is a report made by the Council in 1956 on the white citizens' councils. We have not keep any statistics on them since, but do have some materials in our files. These are file copies only of materials put out by these councils from time to time. They are available for study in our office but cannot be mailed out. However, by writing the various council groups, you could obtain from them similar materials. On the attached page is a list of active councils and their addresses.

The councils are not very active except in Alabama and Mississippi at the present time. There is a small group in Atlanta, but the organization never really caught on in Georgia and did not attract any influential people. It is the right-wing groups that are putting the most pressure on politicians at the present time, having included "states' rights" with other conservative political policies.

Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Southern Regional Council; for the past two years he has been in Washington, D. C. as vice president and director of the Potomac Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosure:
  Pro-Segregation Groups in the South
  (please return when you have finished your paper; we have only two or three of these left and do have requests for this information each year)
list of active councils and addresses

Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi
Greenwood, Mississippi

Citizens' Council Forum
315 Plaza Building
Jackson 1, Miss.

Knoxville Citizens' Council
707 Market Street
Knoxville, Tenn.

States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.
William-Oliver Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Washington Putnam Letters Club
P. O. Box 12066
Washington 5, D. C.

Committee for Segregation
P. O. Box 1062
Atlanta, Ga.

Citizens for Better Government
P. O. Box 365
Marietta, Ga.

People's Association for Selective Shopping: PASS
P. O. Box 1212, Atlanta 1, Ga.

MA - pls reply

Box 667
Anderson College
Anderson, Indiana
September 23, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

A prerequisite for graduation from Anderson College is the preparation of a paper on some subject related to human dignity. I have chosen to write on one of the organizations that has constantly been an affront to human dignity, the White Citizens' Councils of the South. What I want to emphasize is the pressure that has been applied to Southern politicians at both the local, state, and Federal levels. i believe this paper will do much to help the prestige of your organization's cause for several people, including professors, have already asked to review it when finished.

I would like now to ask if you would send me any information you might have on file concerning the Councils. If you know where I might be able to secure further information concerning the Councils' activities I would appreciate your letting me know. Also if you would send me a personal evaluation of the Councils and a copy of New South I would be deeply grateful.

Mr. Fleming, if your organization will send me this helpful information, I will see that the paper is read by those professors and students here who are in sympathy with your great cause as a return favor.

Sincerely yours,

Monroe Smith

H. Monroe Smith

P.S. Would you please hasten this information as the paper must be completed by Thanksgiving.

'TYRANT'S DEATH' BRINGS REPROOF

11-26-63 Journal

NASHVILLE, Nov. 25 (AP)—A dispute erupted at a Citizens' Council meeting here Monday night when a speaker launched various attacks, including one on the late President Kennedy.

The main speaker, Richard Ely, who said he was president of the Memphis Citizens' Council, at one point said:

"I firmly believe Mr. Kennedy died a tyrant's death."

Protests were raised from the floor at various times and before the meeting was over, about half of some 32 people on hand had walked out.

The Citizens' Council is strongly pro-segregation.

ELY ATTACKED the late president on the civil rights issue and added:

"President Kennedy did nothing to harm or set back communism, but he has done so many things to help communism."

Ely said he considered it "unfortunate that so many of the Jewish faith have joined the Communist conspiracy," and charged that "The Communists are using the Negroes as dupes." He also attacked the National Council of Churches.

When protests came from the floor, Jack Kershaw of Nashville, executive secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Tennessee, Inc., said he wanted those present to answer only three questions:

"Are you a segregationist or an integrationist? Do you want your children to marry a Negro? Would you want a Negro to move next door to you?"

A MAN who would only identify himself as a nearby property owner took the floor and said:

"All I have heard tonight is hate. You can go far enough to the right to come to the left."

"I condemn you," the man said. "This is not democracy."

After the meeting broke up in disarray, Ely called the dispute a "planned attack on the meeting."

"This is the first time I've run into this," he said.

February 13, 1964

Mr. Howard Johnson
Student Government Association
Central Washington State College
Ellensburg, Washington

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Regarding your research project on "Southern Propaganda in Support of Segregation" may I suggest the following two books:

Carleton Putnam, Race and Reason, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C. (also available in paperback from Library of Congress) 1961.
Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back, Doubleday & Company, 1959. (history of the Citizens Councils)

Regarding printed material and pamphlets, etc. distributed by these groups, we only have one file copy of this type of material. I would suggest that you write to the following and request materials:

Associated Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, Greenwood, Miss.
Citizens' Council Forum, 315 Plaza Bldg., Jackson 1, Miss.
States' Rights Council of Georgia, Inc., William Oliver Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

JAMES FIELDER, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
LINDA MAHLER, SECRETARY

JAMES MATTIS, PRESIDENT

ROGER GRAY, SOCIAL VICE PRESIDENT
SOREN SORENSON, TREASURER

Student Government Association

CENTRAL WASHINGTON STATE COLLEGE

ELLENSBURG, WASHINGTON

Howard Johnson
Student Government Assoc.
C. W. S. C.
Ellensburg, Washington

~~Student NonViolent Coordinating Committee~~
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

At the present time I am engaged in a research project on "Southern Propoganda In Support of Segragation" and was refered to your group by Miss Dinky Romilly the Northern Coordinator for S. N. C. C.

I am primarily looking for printed material, newspaper articles, posters, pamphlets, books, etc. distributed by anti-intergration groups.

Any information or assistance your organization could supply would be most appreciated.

Respectfully,

Howard Johnson

Howard Johnson

Carleton Putnam
Race & Reason,
Pub Affairs' Press, Washington DC. 3.25. 1961
also paperback, no price,
Library of Congress

The South Strikes Back
Hodding Carter III, Doubleday & Co., 1959.

April 6, 1964

Mr. Kenneth Poppe
185 Church Street
Middletown, Conn.

Dear Mr. Poppe:

For your graduate project on "the attempts to make inequality scientific," we can send you a few things and make suggestions regarding further reading. We do not have anything except file copies on the order of Black Monday, etc. If you will get a copy of James Graham Cook's The Segregationists, you will find reference to Black Monday and many other of the type publications you mentioned, plus a newspaper reporter's analysis of the personalities of the men writing the publications with further quotations on their attitudes and beliefs from his personal interviews with them. If you want to get copies of some of this type literature, you should write to any or all of the following: Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, Greenwood, Miss.; Citizens Council Forum, 315 Plaza Bldg., Jackson 1, Miss.; States Rights Council of Georgia, Inc., William Oliver Bldg., Atlanta 3, Ga. Most of these have publications lists they could send you also.

Suggestions for further reading are attached.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Virginia View of "Race & Reason"
Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal
Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, and
Report to Am. Psychiatric Ass'n
L-Reports 16, 17, 29, 32

Pro Inequality:

Putnam, Carleton, *Race and Reason*, Public Affairs Press
Carter, Hodding III, *The South Strikes Back*
Race Relations Law Reporter, Summer 1963, for summary of testimony given in *Stell v. Savannah-Chatham County Boadd of Education*, U. S. Dist. Court, Southern District, Ga., May 13 and June 28 1963.

This summary of testimony was the result of a study by Dr. Walter George, Prof. Emeritus of Anatomy, U. of N. C. You may have come across references to this study in nws reports.

Pro Equality:

Thompson, Edgar T. and Hughes, Everett C., editors, *Race: Individual and Collective Behavior*, Free Press, 1958.

Note: if you wish to go back before 1949, see the descriptive bibliography *Race and Region*, by Edgar T. Thompson and Alma Macy Thompson, University of North Carolina Press," X. White and Negro Intelligence." The Thompsons list books and studies both pro-and con Negro intelligence.

If you do not have access to this, let me know and I will copy the several pages of listings.

185 Church St.
Middletown, Conn.
April 4, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I am a graduate student here at Wesleyan, enrolled in the Master of Arts in Teaching Program. I am currently engaged in a project concerning "the attempts to make inequality scientific", a project connected with a course dealing with the contemporary South.

I would appreciate any material you could send me concerning the pro's and con's of this controversy dealing with the Negro and his status. I have in mind such things as: Report # L-17 dealing with Desegregation and Academic Achievement; and such literature put out by the Citizens Councils as Brady's *Black Monday*, Watson's *Equality, Can Man Improve on God*, and the *White Sentinel*.

If there is any cost involved, I should be happy to pay for some of this material.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Ken Poppe
Kenneth Poppe

Dr. Walter George
Prof. Emeritus of Anatomy
"U of N.C."

Hodding Carter III
The South Strikes Back

Carleton Putnam
Race & Reason
Pub. Affairs Press

Our Non-white Population & Its Housing..
1963

Housing & Home Finance

April 10, 1964

Mr. Bill Swan
Bete Noires & Straw Men
Quoque, Long Island

Dear Mr. Swann:

At the suggestion of Sylvan Meyer, we are mailing you some copies of the kinds of materials distributed by Citizens Councils. The collection mailed you today is from our 1962 and 1963 files; you will note that it is more sophisticated than earlier material. The line now seems to be a combination of John Birch and Putnam's Race and Reason, rather than the old Black Monday pitch. However, when passions are inflamed by demonstrations, the more fervent, blood-thirsty type of material is passed out to the faithful and exhorted from the podium. Another envelope of this earlier type of material will also be coming to you. (1954-1961)

If you are planning an extensive campaign, or would like to have copies of some of the booklets, you can order them as follows:

Educational Fund of the Citizens' Councils, Greenwood, Miss.
Second Putnam Letter Cuts Root of Integration Fallacy:
A Letter to the Attorney General of the United States

Washington Putnam Letters Club, National Putnam Letters Committee, P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y., These Are the Guilty and W. C. George's The Biology of the Race Problem. (1-9 copies @ .50 each)

We could cite many more, if you are interested; we only have one file copy of each and they are rather lengthy to copy.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Bill Swan

~~Bet~~ Bete Noires + Straw Men

Quogue, Long Island

A fragment of
Sylvan Meyer

Citizens Council

horrible examples
of citizens Councils thinking etc.

The last report made by the Southern Regional Council on the strength of the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils, and States' Rights or States' Sovereignty groups was in 1956. (See attached photo-copy of the summary at end of report).

In January 1961 the Anti-Defamation League got out an estimate of Klan Strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum, the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." The report said that while Klan member-ship has fluctuated since 1954, the Klan has a habit of going way out in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases ceased to be). There were indications that Klan membership may have increased in 1962, but not significantly. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, it appeared that: 1) the KKK held its own in Alabama; 2) showed definite signs of some increase in Georgia up to September and October of 1962, but very probably fell off when the old political order collapsed. Klan meetings after that date were shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hards and state political has-beens.

Regarding the White Citizens Councils, in late 1962 and early 1963 there was an increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. This spread in late 1963 to South Carolina and other deep-south areas, notably parts of Louisiana. In Mississippi the WCC remained strong and may have picked up some strength in membership. However, the State Sovereignty Commission cut off funds to the WCC and the new head of this commission is Earle Johnson, who last year (late 1962) rebuked the Citizens Councils for some of their extreme statements and actions. In Alabama the WCC was making much noise and having many meetings, but actually may have been slipping in influence there in 1963.

For 1964, see photo copy attached of April 22, 1964 summary.

References to news stories, magazine articles, & books attached.

here for unique and probably valid fears. But to them the only, and to many the sufficient, reply is contained in the slogan which is, in truth, much more than a slogan: "the time is now." Beyond this is the belief of many in the civil rights movement that neither the region nor the nation at large is entitled to tranquility while racial injustice lingers over the land.

Moreover, the country must not lose sight of the unassailable legal and moral right of the students to be where they are and to work for the aims they seek. Nor should it overlook the orderly, careful, and responsible manner in which they have made their plans and are carrying them out, and their deliberate efforts to avoid provocation of local whites.

Mississippi is not only beset by the invasion of the students. The purpose of its new laws for tighter law enforcement would not be understood if notice were not taken of the fact that the monolithic control excercised over the white society of the state by the Citizens Council has been broken. The Ku Klux Klan has not until recent months been important in Mississippi. It is now, with numbers estimated as high as 90,000, though this claim of the Klan is not corroborated by observers. Sharing the extremity with it is a spreading organization, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race. Whether the men and groups who have controlled and in some measure disciplined the state prior to this year have still the authority to do so is a question on whose answer the lives and safety of a good many people may depend.

Not, of course, have the Citizens Council and the state and local authorities in the past been careful of Negroes' lives. But the case has been that whenever the civil rights movement in Mississippi has focussed on a large campaign, the authorities have enforced a disciplined response which has kept the lynchers and the bombers in the background. This was the experience during the Freedom Ride in 1961, the Greenwood voter registration drive of 1963, and the tensions in Jackson after the assassination of Medgar Evers. Only at the University of Mississippi in 1962, and then for calculated reasons of state, was the mob unleashed. It may no longer be on leash.

No Southerner can speak of Mississippi except as a part of himself, and he as part of it. Yet Mississippi, taken as a whole, and allowing for its many local variations (but even they are less significant than in other states), is not like any place else. For here every datum of economics and every fact and twist of history have conspired to keep its white people deeply and ofttimes harshly resistant to change and its Negro people ill-equipped for it.

WHITE CITIZENS COUNCILS

April 22, 1964

During 1963 most civil rights observers in the South thought the WCC was generally inactive and ineffective all over the South with several exceptions: Mississippi (state supported with tax funds), parts of Alabama; some sections of Louisiana. However, in the Fall of 1963 there was a great flurry of meetings all over the South with speakers stressing anti-communism, America-first, anti-United Nations and foreign aid, anti-National Council of Churches, and in many instances some stress on anti-Catholic, Jew, Negro.

Reasons for the renewed interest in and activity of the WCC seemed to be the stepped up civil rights demonstrations, desegregation advances, and opposition to the Civil Rights Bill coming before the Congress of the United States. Another reason was the resistance of southern churches to the militant pro-integration views and action of national leaders of the clergy. The prospect of desegregated churches seemed to agitate many Southerners as much or more than schools, restaurants, and swimming pools. Churches, like swimming pools, seemed to them to be an invasion of social life.

A puzzling development has been the sudden metamorphosis of a small, weak WCC with poor and ineffective leadership into a group with intelligent, organized leadership--with funds for well-written and psychologically effective literature to distribute--with funds and sufficient appeal through membership and leadership to bring in outside speakers and pay for hotel ballrooms and the like for meetings sufficiently well advertised to bring in two and three thousand people. Two examples of such a sudden change were groups in Mobile, Ala., and Rome, Ga. Up until late Fall in 1963 there had never been any appreciable WCC activity in either place. Suddenly the well-organized groups sprang up and proved quite effective in local politics. Some local and civil rights observers suspect that these groups were infiltrated or taken over by John Birch people who are using them for their own ends without having to use the Birch name for such blatantly pro-segregation views and political activity. Nationally, the big drive is to defeat or make ineffective the civil rights bill. There is also quite effective action in state politics. We cannot document this, nor would we wish to be quoted.

In addition to the revival of the WCC, many new organizations have sprung up under various names. These groups seem to be a combination of the old WCC line and the John Birch know-how and philosophy. A list of them, with some identifying information, is attached. They too are politically active.

During the early months of 1964 this kind of activity has really gotten into high gear on a national basis, with ads in newspapers, TV and radio programs, massive distribution of literature, dinner meetings with speakers. The approach is much more sophisticated than the old WCC, and designed to appeal to national prejudice and economic fears. There is just enough dignity to appeal to the conservative and slightly fearful, with great stress on respectability and soft-pedaling of extremist views likely to alienate the average citizen who might b uneasy about the Negro "pushing too far too fast," "massive demonstrations and violence," "Block-busting and decrease in property values," "decline in church attendance and church giving."

Reorganization or revival of WCC:

In Florida and Louisiana - late '63

In South Carolina - March, 1964. State reorganization meeting held in Columbia with representatives from WCCs of Greenville, Columbia, Sumter, Orangeburg, Charleston, Walterboro, Manning, Florence, and Kingstree.

In Georgia - February 1964

North Carolina was to be next, sometime in April or May.

Smaller local groups still, particularly when under stress from desegregation gains or pressures, cry out for just a little blood. This doesn't always get included in the news.

Newly organized groups similar to WCC:

COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN FREEDOMS, Washington, D.C. Received $10,000 initial contribution from Mississippi Sovereignty Commission (which also supports the WCC of Mississippi) from state tax monies. MSC has made further contributions, and the following states have contributed state tax monies: Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana (one county). Purpose is to fight civil rights legislation now pending.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF WHITE PEOPLE, organized in Charleston, S.C. during Summer of '63; L. Maurice Bessinger, president of Columbia chapter, said the organization intended to fight "politically and otherwise for our segregation rights on all levels of government." Pickets organized by this group picketed Columbia establishments in January '64 and claimed credit for the re-segregation of some businesses which desegregated during Summer of '63.

GRASS ROOTS LEAGUE, INC., p. o. Box 551, Charleston, S.C., Stanley F. Morse, Pres. In advertisements has taken strong anti-communist line, accusing all proponents of civil rights of being either communists or communists dupes.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WHITE PEOPLE, Wm. F. Miller, Cleveland, Ohio is founder and executive secretary of what he calls a national organization.

AMERICAN PARTY--claimed to be national with organizations in all but two states: Alaska and Hawaii. Headquarters in Lancaster; Louis E. Jaeckel, free-lance writer, is party's self-proclaimed chm. Jaeckel says his party intends to offer candidates of its own "when no other is to be found" and is circulating petitions to try to obtain 10,000 signatures to get on the South Carolina ballot this year. At a meeting in Kershaw, S.C. on Feb. 26, 1964 Jaeckel said the country is being run by "socialists through the Americans for Democratic Action, the Zionist movement, the 75% black, brown, and yellow people of the earth who make up the United Nations, and the Communist conspiracy." Membership blanks distributed solicited membership in "the patriotic order, Americans United."

WCC

April 23, 1964

Mr. William H. Swan
Hampton Bays
New York 11946

Dear Mr. Swan:

We are sending you some additional material on White Citizens Councils. The Journal of Politics, February 1964, Vol. 26, has an article on the WCC by Professor Samuel Cook. Our copy is out of the office, and I cannot give you the name of the article; one of our staff members who has read it thinks it quite good.

The only thing we have re the Truth Seeker is a nauseous thing entitled "Close That Bedroom Door!" by Patricia Schuyler. The address on it is: Box 1111, New York 8, N. Y. It was locally distributed, or we would not have it. There is also a street address: 38 Park Row, New York 8, N. Y. We have to limit ourselves to trying to keep up with what is going on in the South, and so we have nothing else on this.

Attached is additional information on the WCC and on some (we believe) allied groups. And also attached are copies of several more clips. The advertisement by Governor Wallace is something new; this is the first one we have seen.

Sincerely yoars,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Copied:
Washington Post 2-10-64
ed on Lincoln ad
Ark. Gazette. 1-28-64
Christian Century 3-21-64 ed on Voice of WCC
Atl Journal 1-29-64 Lester Maddox
Hahira Gold Leaf. 1-19-64 Sumter Co. WCC adv – Statement of Principles
Atl Const 4-21-64 (Wallace adv.; Sou. Comm to Help Elect Next Pres. of U.S. (Jackson, Miss – Marvin C Collins Jr. Pres

WILLIAM H. SWAN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
HAMPTON BAYS
NEW YORK 11946

516 RA 8-1300-1301

April 14, 1964.

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Research Associate
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Many thanks for your letter of April 10, 1964 and enclosures.

I am ordering THE SEGREGATIONISTS. Anything descriptive of the Citizens' Councils themselves will be appreciated. I shall look forward to receiving the 1944-1961 batch of material.

What do you know of the TRUTH SEEKER? I have received some of their literature.

Sincerely,

WHS:eo

June 2, 1964

Mr. R. K. Grodzicki
811 E. College St.
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mr. Grodzicki:

Your letter to Mr. Dunbar has been referred to me for reply. We do not have the detailed information on the White Citizens Councils that you require. You will find a great deal of the information regarding name, date of organization, city or county and state, and estimates of membership in Hodding Carter III's book, The South Strikes Back. A later book, also with some information on the WCC, is James Graham Cook's The Segregationists. During the late spring and summer of 1958 there was a series in the Saturday Evening Post called "The South Says Never." You will find information there too. Professor Samuel Cook has an article on the WCC in the February 1964 Journal of Politics.

June 15-July 13
1957

It has never been possible to know the exact membership of the Wcc--all we have ever had has been estimates. I am enclosing photo copies of some pages from a special report we issued in May, 1957, on Pro-Segregation Groups in the South. You will find some of the detailed information you wish in this report. Also enclosed is photo copies of information (more recent and quite general) which we have compiled in answer to requests. The 1963 information gives our opinion of the weakening and demise of the councils; the 1964 of their new flurry of activity and increase in membership.

We hope you will find suggestions and information helpful. If, later, you have specific information questions where you have found gaps in your detailed compilations, please write and we will do our best to answer.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

P.S. We would be most appreciative if we could see a copy of your final report.

MA - pls reply

May, 26, 1964

Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In the near future I will begin a geographic study of the "White Citizens Councils". The theoretical orientation, which is to be used, requires some rather detailed information which seems to be rather difficult to obtain.

Specifically, data is required which gives the location (town and county); date of organization (day, month and year); and size of membership of the "White Citizen Councils".

If you can offer any light on any of the above topics it will be greatly appreciated.

In advance, may I thank you for your help.

Sincerly,

R. K. Grodzicki

R. K. Grodzicki
811 E. College, St.
Iowa City, Iowa

July 2, 1964

Miss Sandra Rouzan
1863 Industry St.
New Orleans, La.   70119

Dear Miss Rouzan:

Attached are some photo copies of a few things that will help you with your seminar (USNSA) on White Citizens Councils.

We only have file copies of publications put out by these groups; for your display you should write to the following:

Washington Putnam Letters Club, National Putnam Letters Committee, P. O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, New York.

Associated Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, Greenwood, Miss.

Citizens' Council Forum, 315 Plaza Bldg., Jackson, Miss.

States' Rights Council of Ga., Inc., Wm. Oliver Bldg, Atlanta

Just ask them for literature as though you were interested in it or at least willing to be persuaded.

Books you may be able to get at your library that would give you helpful information are: Hodding Carter III, The South Strikes Back, 1959. (history of citizens councils); James Graham Cook, The Segregationists, Appleton, Century, Crofts, 1964; James Peters, The Southern Temper also has some chapters on WCC and allied groups.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

June 17, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This summer I will participate in the Southern Human Relations Seminar sponsored by the United States National Student Association (USNSA). The purpose of the seminar is to provide an opportunity for Southern student leaders to study intensely human relations in the South. The program and curriculum attempt to give the participants a deeper understanding of the economic, political, educational, and other factors that influence human relations in the South, with the hope that this understanding would help the students bring about change in their own communities.

At the Southern Seminar , as a part of this learning process, I am asked to do research on the White Citizens' Councils telling why they grew and the influence that they wield. Furthermore, I am asked to describe how hate makes money, illustrated with a display of publications put out by segregation groups and the far-right. I must also be able to discuss the use of stereotypes, innuendo, etc., and , in general, the techniques used by such groups in publications and broadcasts.

If you have any information concerning any, some, or all of the topics mentioned above for my project, I would greatly appreciate you sending the material or materials as soon as possible.

I hope to hear from you very soon. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sandra Rouzan

Sandra Rouzan
1863 Industry St.
New Orleans, La. 70119

The Evening Star
WITH SUNDAY MORNING EDITION

WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1964—72 PAGES

© 1964
ewspaper Co.

Students Fail to Disrupt Segregationist Session

A group of University of Maryland students tried unsuccessfully last night to disrupt a Prince Georges County Citizens Council meeting as Joseph McDowell Mitchell, controversial former city manager of Newburgh, N.Y., was speaking.

About 35 students, accompanied by several faculty members, paraded outside a recreation hall in Adelphi for almost an hour after six of their group were ejected from the meeting of the segregationist organization.

Six policemen called by the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, which had been forewarned of a possible disturbance, surrounded the building as the students marched and sang folk songs.

Inside the Lane Manor Community Building, members of the Citizens Council of Hyattsville discussed plans for a major county-wide rally designed to expand their group into an organization with members throughout Prince Georges County.

It was the third time in recent months that civil rights advocates had attempted to block Mitchell's efforts to organize Citizens Council chapters throughout Maryland. Previous attempts occurred in

See STUDENTS, Page A-6

STUDENTS

Fair Housing Laws, Racial Job Quotas Hit

Continued From Page A-1

Glen Burnie, Anne Arundel County and Bethesda, Montgomery County.

In each case, policemen were called out. Police cleared a path through the marchers last night when those attending the meeting left the building and then were forced to clear the students from a nearby parking lot when the youths attempted to block the cars of Citizens Council members.

Inside the hall, about 20 persons, all well dressed and most of them middle-aged, heard Mitchell warn that their freedom would be curtailed by fair housing laws and racial employment quotas.

Seek Referendum on Law

Also present at the meeting were representatives of the Maryland Petition Committee, a group seeking to eliminate the state's public accommodations law by referendum next month.

Mitchell told the group that if it scheduled a mass rally, all literature for the meeting would be provided by the Citizens Councils of America national headquarters in Jackson, Miss.

The two-hour meeting was more than half-over when the students appeared outside the building. Six students who had gained admittance to the meeting earlier in the evening were then asked to produce membership cards. They were expelled when they were unable to do so.

The students then marched around the building, singing "We Shall Overcome" and other songs from the civil rights movement until the meeting broke up about an hour later. Those inside the building apparently were not disturbed.

Mitchell, now a resident of Chevy Chase, was appointed by the Citizens Councils in June to organize chapters in Maryland and Virginia. The Hyattsville group was one of the first organized.

Council Program

The Citizens Councils' stated action program calls for the prevention of "race mixing," defense of states' rights, maintenance of legal segregation, avoidance of violence and repeal of both the Civil Rights Act and the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

Mitchell resigned from his $15,700-a-year Newburgh post in late 1963 after his "get tough" welfare code touched off a national controversy.

The 1961 code—most of which was later declared illegal by state and federal authorities—included a ban on support to children born out of wedlock when mothers had been warned after earlier illegitimate births. It also required men on relief to work 40 hours a week on city projects.

The Washington Post
Times Herald
FRIDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1964

Md. Students Sing While Citizens Council Talks

A group of University of Maryland students paraded and sang Wednesday night outside a building where the Prince Georges County Citizens Council was holding a meeting.

Lt. Hunter Wallace, Commanding Officer of the Maryland-National Capital Park Police in Prince Georges County, said about 55 students and adults carried on a "very orderly" demonstration while an estimated 25-to-30 persons in the Lane Recreation Center at Adelphi listened to a speech by Joseph McDowell Mitchell.

Mitchell is the former city manager of Newburgh, N.Y., who was appointed to organize local Citizens Council chapters in Maryland and Virginia by the Citizens Councils of America with national headquarters in Jackson, Miss.

Wallace said he and six other policemen surrounded the building during the meeting and that the group outside marched and sang folk songs. He said there "were no disturbances of any kind."

When the two-hour meeting broke up, Wallace said the marchers moved to a parking lot where those attending the meeting had parked their cars. Wallace said the lot was cleared without incident.

It was reported six students were asked earlier to leave the meeting when they could not produce membership cards.

Civil rights advocates have staged similar demonstrations in recent months at Glen Burnie and Bethesda when Mitchell made efforts to organize local chapters of the segregationist group.

Newsclip: 8-17-63 "Racial Issue Jars Pulpit"
Geo. W. Cornell, AP (Survey of ministers being ousted)

October 13, 1964

The Rev. Richard Bayard
United Church of Christ
1203 Whitman Drive
Glen Burnie, Md. 21061

Dear Mr. Bayard:

Mr. Norman L. Kilpatrick, a mutual friend, has requested that I send you information regarding pressure tactics of the Citizens Councils against ministers and church groups that oppose them.

I am enclosing copies of newsclips, copies of articles from the official magazine of the Citizens Councils, The Citizen, copy of an unpublished, unedited report which has been used as background material for an article in the Council's magazine (to be published soon, updated), and a report on Mississippi which contains accounts of church bombings. Regarding the unpublished material, please do not quote from it--except, of course, the material we have quoted giving sources and the action material, which is from newsclips.

I hope you will find this helpful. If you need additional material, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

The Citizen:
June 64. "The NCC's Delta Project—An Experiment in Revolution"
Dec 61: "Courage Christian Soldiers"
April 62: "Aroused Churchmen Studying Leftist Trends"
Oct 62: "Oxford Clergy Wrong in Calling for 'Repentance'"
Jan 63: "A Methodist Declaration of Conscience on Racial Segregation"

cc: Rev. Richard Bayard

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A DIVISION OF MARTIN-KILPATRICK TABLE TENNIS CO.

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9219 MORLEY ROAD
LANHAM, MD. 20801
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October 10, 1964

Mrs. Montez G. Albright, Research Associate
Southern Regional Council Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

As you may know, the White Citizens' Councils are attempting to organize Maryland at this time, and in addition we will be "honored" by another invasion by George Wallace. Mr. Wallace will advise us on how to vote and how to establish a "proper" social order here in Maryland at Glen Burnie, on October 19.

LWD

I mentioned earlier that, for a mixture of reasons, the political structure here did not use the excellent material you sent me on Wallace last spring too effectively. However, this lack of effective action against Wallace, the coming of the Councils to the state, and the attack on our state public accomodations law in Nov. has motivated a different group of persons to wage the campaign against racism this time. Ministers, fair housing people, and civil rights groups are leading the battle this time, and will make much more effective use of the material you sent me on George (which I have sent on to Glen Burnie) than did Senator Brewster's staff, I am positive.

In this connection, then, I should like to ask for the assistance of your files once again. Anne Arundel County (Annapolis), Maryland, produced a huge Wallace vote, which is why the Citizens' Councils are determined to organize a mass membership there, and is why Wallace is stopping there this month. Rev. Richard Bayard (United Church of Christ), 1203 Whitman Drive, Glen Burnie, Md. 21061, is leading an effort to gain official opposition to the Councils from the ministers of the county. It would, I feel, be most helpful for him, in his task of educating the other ministers to the danger of letting the Councils get started in Anne Arundel County, if he could present evidence of the pressure tactics the Councils use to achieve their ends, especially against ministers and church groups that oppose them.

Could you send diredtly to Rev. Bayard photo copies and other material, as you did to me on Wallace, indicating the activities of the Councils as relates to their pressuring ministers and others to give up the fight for human rights, in certain areas. I have enclosed two recent news clips for your files about action taken in this area to counter the Councils. The "Washington Star" now runs features by James Kilpatrick, which I believe explains the distortions of their account of our action in Prince Georges County. I can assure you that Council meeting was completely stopped by our counter moves. (The president of the Hyattsville White Citizens' Council works for the "Star", by the way, which may just be an accident, I suppose.)

Yours very truly,

Norman L. Kilpatrick

In January 1961 the ADL got out an estimate of Klan strength at that time. It concluded: "in sum the total southwide Klan membership is no more than 50,000 and may be about 35,000 or somewhat less." Moreover while Klan membership has fluctuated since 1954, the Klan has a habit of going way out in claiming membership, habitually counting people who have long since ceased to belong (and in some cases long since ceased to be). There are some indications that Klan membership may have increased this past year 1962, but not significantly. In Alabama and Georgia, the two states with the largest Klan membership, it appears that 1) KKK has held its own this year in Alabama; and 2) has shown definite signs of some increase in Georgia up to September and October of 1962, but very probably has fallen off now since the old political order has collapsed. There is no indication of the Klan arising anew and Klan meetings in recent years have been shunned by responsible political figures and attended only by the die-hards and state political has-beens.

1963 Regarding White Citizens Councils (called Sovereignty or States Rights in some states) there has been an increase in meetings, especially in Alabama and Georgia. In Louisiana and South Carolina there has been some activity. They remain strong in Mississippi and may have picked up some strength in membership. However, the State Sovereignty Commission has cut off funds to the WCC and the new head of this commission is Erle Johnson, who last year rebuked the Citizens Councils for some of their extreme statements and actions. In Alabama the WCC is making much noise and having many meetings, but actually they may be slipping in influence there as well as in Georgia and Louisiana. At a recent meeting in Atlanta, no state official attended. In all other areas they have lost influence on politicians statewide and have little, if any, on local politics.

The most dangerous development seems to be the kind of group Lester Maddox organized to boycott businesses which desegregated. He seems to be winning here, at least temporarily.

The radical right is nationally influential on politicians and locally in many areas, where their membership is strongest. The John Birch Society is trying to become less extreme and more respectable and appealing than the WCC ever was. But now even Goldwater seems to be turning his back on them--although he keeps looking wistfully over his shoulder at their voting strength.

WCC

November 11, 1964

Mr. Jonathan Black
1218 Massachusetts Avenue
Aptm. 8
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Mr. Black:

You have set yourself an interesting task: exploring and analyzing the psychological basis of the White Citizens Councils. We do have extensive files of leaflets given out at meetings, mailing literature, and other pamphlets (most of which we purchased from the Jackson headquarters) and a partial file of the Citizens Council magazine, TheCitizen. However, for a project like yours, with the amount of material you would need for special computer analysis, we could not undertake to copy years of accumulated material, or even a large enough selected sample. We only keep one file copy of things we receive. You would be most welcome to use our files yourself, but our staff and time is limited and we have research projects of our own going on, as well as the services we render to other people in this field.

Under separate cover I am mailing you one extra copy we have of The Citizen, May 1963. In the back you will note a list of publications which may be ordered. It is also possible to order a complete bound copy of all issues of The Citizen since 1961, when it began. On a separate sheet I am listing addresses of several citizens council groups that you may wish to write requesting sample material.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
The Citizen, May 1963

Names & addresses of white citizens councils groups:

Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippii
Greenwood, Miss.

Citizens Council Forum
315 Plaza Bldg.
Jackson 1, Miss.

Knoxville Citizens Council
707 Market St.
Knoxville, Tenn.

States Rights Council of Georgia, Inc.
William-Oliver Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Washington Putnam Letters Club
P. O. Box 12066
Washington 5, D. C.

In addition, there are several books you may wish to get and read.

The South Strikes Back (history of Citizens Councils), Hodding Carter III, 1959

The Segregationists, James Graham Cook, Appleton, Century, Crofts 1964.

The Southern Temper, James Peters, has a chapter on the Councils.

Journal of Politics, Feburary 1964, article by Professor Samuel Cook

1218 Mass. Ave.
Apt #8
Cambridge 38, Mass.

October 25, 1964

Southern Regional Council
Research Director
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a senior at Harvard University writing a thesis in social relations on the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi. Broadly, I will be exploring the pscyhological basis of the Councils in both the individual and social context, and the psychological implications of the Councils as an institution. For data, I intend to use content analysis to analyze the publications of the Council and other similar ogranizations in Mississippi and elsewhere, probably using a special computer that is in operation here at Harvard. My main problem is getting hold of such publications as the Council newspaper, their other publications, and general racist propaganda of this nature. I need quite a lot of it if I hope to make any significant analysis of it, especially if I am using the computer. I was hoping that you might be able to help me with getting some of this material, or at least telling me where it is available. I am especially interested in the Council newspaper, and the Widener Library here has only six or seven copies.

I would greatly appreciate any help you might be able to offer along these lines, and look forward to hearing from you. Thank you very much. I am,

Sincerely yours,

Jonathan Black

Jonathan Black

re booklet on White Citizens Councils
now circulating :

PW ✓
PA
ML
LWD
ret MA

May 13, 1965

Mr. Norman L. Kilpatrick
Prince Georges' County Citizens Council
P. O. Box 371
Hyattsville, Maryland

Dear Mr. Kilpatrick:

Your report on the White Citizens' Councils has brightened my whole day--congratulations! Your idea (and account) of the infiltration by moderates and civil righters and the subsequent exposures is priceless. The booklet is now circulating to the professional staff. I believe you will be hearing from either Pat Watters (Information) or Margaret Long (New South) very soon.

Yours is the most original method (although of course it *does* date back to the Trojan horse episode in history) used against this group that we know about, and we applaude your audacity and forethought in applying it to the wccs. You have my personal award of the Cloak and Daggar for 1965!

Do keep us informed of your activities; we always enjoy reading them. And if we can help you again in any way, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

May 19, 1965

Mr. Robert Stanforth
217 Mount Hermon
Mt. Hermon, Mass.

Dear Mr. Stanforth:

Regarding your request for information, or sources of information, on the White Citizens' Councils and the Ku Klux Klans, we can send you some information and refer you to other sources. We have not published anything on these groups in some years, because the Anti-Defamation League does a very goo good coverage and we try never to duplicate what another agency is doing.

If you will write to Mr. Norman L. Kilpatrick, Prince George's County Citizens' Council, P. O. Box 371, Hyattsville, Maryland and ask him to send you a copy of a recent publication, The White Citizens' Councils Move North you will have a condensed and fairly complete history of the WCCs plus more recent developments both north and south. It is an account of the infiltration of the WCCs by several people and an expose' that is quite priceless with information never before available. The booklet also lists names and addresses of other WCCs.

Other sources on the WCC are: The South Strikes Back, 1959 by Hodding Carter III; The Segregationists, by James Graham Cook, 1964 with chapters on both WCC and KKK; The Southern Temper, by William Peters, 1959, and Journal of Politics, February 1964, article by Professor Samuel Cook.

For the Ku Klux Klan: The Ku Klux Klan, by Wm. Peirce Randel, 1965 (Chilton); Hooded Americanism; the First Century of the KKK, by David M. Chalmers, 1965 (Doubleday & Co.).

Magazine articles: The Nation, 2-1-65, "Klantown, U.S.A.," by Paul Good; Saturday Evening Post, 1-30-65. "We Got Nothing to Hide, by Harold H. Martin and Kenneth Fairly; Newsweek, 12-21-64, "Ku Klux Klan's White Knights" (the bomb squad); New York Times Mag., 7-5-64, "The Imperial Wizard Explains the Klan," by Margaret Long; *Life*, 6-24-64, "The Klan Scourges Old St. Augustine," by George McMillan.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
NS: St. Augustine
news clips: McGill columns; Robt. Wagner, Report on the Klan 1964; Robt. E. Baker, Revived KKK Isn't Funny Any More

Copy WCC summary

Mount
Hermon
School

217 Mount Hermon
Mt.Hermon,Mass
April 20,1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3,Georgia

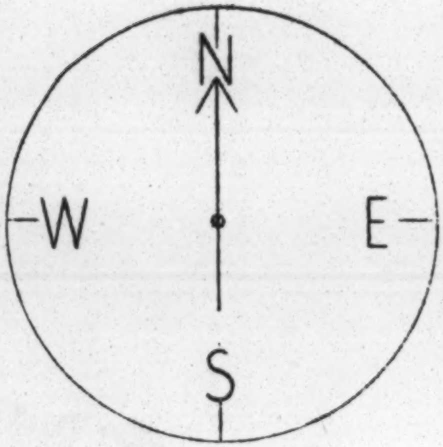
Dear Sirs:

I am a student at Mount Hermon School.This spring I have undertaken a project to study the current Ku Klux Klan,the White Citizens Council, and other organizations whose purposes are the same.

Could you please send me any information,or any lists of information,or the addresses of any organizations to which I could write for information which concerns these organizations.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly
Robert Stanforth
Robert Stanforth



THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS MOVE NORTH !

by

Norman L. Kilpatrick

President of the Prince Georges County
Citizens' Council, Inc.

THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCILS MOVE NORTHWARD

(The Care and Feeding of White Citizens' Councils)

In the 1950's the Executive Secretary of the Citizens' Councils of America, the most powerful and largest white supremacy organization in the nation, stated that to defend his native Mississippi the White Citizens' Councils would attempt to set up units all over the country, to stir up opposition to desegregation, which would result in taking the pressure to desegregate off of the Magnolia State. Robert Patterson spoke of the Councils to say, "They are building a defensive ring around Mississippi....". During the 1960's, and especially during 1964 and 1965, the full effort of the money, manpower and propaganda of the Citizens' Councils is starting to be felt outside of their Deep South homeland. The Citizens' Councils are determined to organize racist units in all parts of the United States, and their work to support Proposition #14 in California (which banned "open occupancy" housing laws in that state) is one of the indications that they can operate with success in new areas, and will likely become more and more of a problem to those concerned with racial justice, unless dealt with now.

The White Citizens' Councils were formed in Indianola, Mississippi, in 1954. This local group was soon joined by others, and within three months a state association of councils was formed in Mississippi. By 1956 they had formed a national group, the Citizens' Councils of America, in New Orleans. Its headquarters was set up in Jackson, Mississippi, where the organization received state funds from the government of Mississippi. The Councils have formed state groups in Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, California and Maryland to date. Individual members have included governors of Louisiana, and the current governors of Alabama, Mississippi and Florida. They also include congressmen and/or senators from South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama. In some towns in the Deep South the entire police, political, business and judicial structure of the city is made up of Citizens' Council members, or persons directly controlled by the Councils. Currently major organizational drives are going on in Florida, North Carolina, Maryland, St. Louis and California.

The membership and power of the White Citizens' Councils, as well as their potential for growth outside of the deep South, is the result of organizational proceedures and an overall philosophy that is greatly different from other racist and "conservative" groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, the John Birch Society and the National States Rights Party. First, the Citizens' Councils desire a mass membership for political, economic and social reasons. Therefore, they are as liberal a group of bigots as one is likely to meet. Outside of the deep South, the Councils have no objections to Jewish members. They have no objections to Roman Catholics joining (while attacking the Roman Catholic clergy) in any area. In addition, as long as one believes in segregation and white supremacy, one does not have to agree with the Council opinions on particular subjects: be especially intense or active in ones hatred of negroes or ones opposition to desegregation. Everyone who is a racist is welcomed under the "big tent" of the Citizens' Councils.

A second difference between the Citizens' Councils and other segregationist action groups is the white Citizens' Council's attempt to appeal to middle class persons. They attempt at all times to present a "respectable" front, with a program that does not openly advocate violence. In this manner, they attract the money and organizational "know-how" of individuals in the business community who would not touch the Klan or the Nazi parties. This appeal is especially important to the Councils in areas where groups exist that support civil rights because businessmen can more easily defend their membership in that Councils than membership in an organization with arm bands, special markings or secret meetings. The Councils also attempt to paint an impression of being a normal, socially acceptable civic group by holding much of their activity in public. Such functions include promotional meetings, picnics, bullroasts and rallies. The Councils have an aggressive public relations program including radio broadcasts, television programs and news releases. The public relations program is planned to project a "moderate" image. The "public pitch" seeks to encourage persons who are prejudiced against negro Americans but yet have some doubts of conscience to join the Councils on the basis that they are not really "so bad" and are not really anti-Negro. The Council provides the rationalization to cover deep-seated prejudice. A good example of its public appeal can be seen in the 1964 presidential campaign in Maryland, Indiana and Wisconsin of Citizens' Council member George Wallace of Alabama.

The third factor making the Councils different and more dangerous than other racist groups is to be found in their methods of organizing, which start at the grass-roots and work up. The basic unit of the Councils is the local city or county council. State or district organizations are formed only when and if enough strong local Councils exist in an area to make such worthwhile. These local groups are not told what local or national issues to work on. The national headquarters in Jackson, Mississippi does, however, keep close track of all activities, publications and members of local affiliates. Working on local issues makes for an easier membership appeal for Council units, and also tends to disguise the fact that the overall strategy of the national group is to stir up racial trouble outside of the deep South, to divert civil rights groups' attacks on the segregation system in the heart of Council territory. This policy also allows for great flexibility in Council attacks on progress toward racial understanding, while making it somewhat harder for civil rights forces to anticipate their moves. This flexibility includes having Council affiliates in certain areas remain "undercover", that is, not admit in public that they are affiliated with Jackson. During the past few years, most noticably at the 1965 Leadership Conference of the national organization, the Council officials have been playing down their regional bias, in favor of a more national appeal, an example of which was a statement by a Council leader that, "The Civil War is Over". The Councils appear by such actions to more and more realize that they must encourage racism in all parts of the nation to protect themselves. This realization may explain why the national association began employing staff members to work outside the South. 1964 was the first year the Councils have done so.

While the Citizens' Councils attempt to maintain a "moderate" and respectable public image; while they insist they do not hate Negroes, they are, in fact, an extremist organization in the true sense. While they claim they are not racist, their national letterhead states only one principle, "The Only Nationwide Organization Dedicated to Preserving the Integrity of the White Race." While they claim they are law abiding, their national officials and their staff advocate that citizens not cooperate with the F.B.I. and other law officials. They ask that citizens specifically disobey the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Their national magazine also make statements about laws and court decisions they disagree with such as: "If that is what the law requires, then the law be damned", "...we deny its validity, its legality, its Constitutionality and we repudiate any obligation to abide by it any further than naked force may...require...". In addition, their magazine, "The Citizen" has advocated closing public schools, while a book distributed by the Councils indicates approval of illegitimate children in preference to children born in wedlock. While the Councils advocate bloc voting and economic reprisals, staff members and members occasionally advocate or defend violence, and a Council member was charged with the murder of Mississippi NAACP leader Medgar Evers. White Southerners report that not only are civil rights supporters and Negroes subjected to all-out attack by the Councils in towns that they control, but businessmen, ministers and plain citizens who do not support the Council line are subjected to all manner of pressures designed to force their thoughts and actions to conform to those thoughts and actions approved by the local Councils. Much of the national propaganda materials put out by the Councils defends inequality and attempts to prove the inferiority of the negro race. Numerous individual Council members express their true feelings toward their fellow Americans by private statements such as, "We should kill them (Negroes) all!"

On the public level, Citizens' Councils or supporters are engaged in numerous projects designed to increase racial tensions or prevent improvement of race relations. In Tennessee, they are working to abolish the state human relations commission, which works to set up bi-racial committees in that state. In California and Maryland, they have and are supporting legislation to bar "fair housing" laws. In Michigan, they are attempting to bring economic harm to a chain of stores that is publicly boycotting Mississippi made products. In North Carolina, they are fighting desegregation of public schools. In Maryland, they are opposing attempts by civil rights supporters to eliminate alleged police brutality. In Florida, they are attacking the businesses and reputations of residents who are members of the Florida Advisory Committee for the United States Commission on Civil Rights. In Alabama and Mississippi, they are opposing attempts by Negroes to register to vote.

Citizens' Council Field Director for Maryland, Joseph Mitchell, and his local supporters are working on a number of projects that seem to be issues that could be similarly developed by Council organizers in many other parts of the nation. One project of the Maryland Councils appears to be to recruit law enforcement officers as Council members. (In most cases such membership is to be kept secret.) This appears to be an especially disturbing development in light of the Council position toward the law. ("If that is what the law requires then the law be damned!") Another project appears to be to obtain large sums of money from real estate agents to build up a state-wide segregationist political organization, supposedly to bar a state "open occupancy" law, but actually to create a machine that could be used to oppose any type of civil rights law and possibly to pass segregationist laws. A third project was, in connection with an indigenous segregationist organization (The Maryland Petition Committee), to repeal a state public accomodations law. A fourth project of the Maryland Councils appears to be to raise race as an issue in local affairs, as in school board elections and in "letters to the editor" campaigns. Often such activity is done by Council members without open admission of their Council membership or motivation.

During 1964, the Citizens' Councils attempted to organize areas in Florida, Virginia, California, St. Louis, North Carolina, Texas and Maryland. The general organizational pattern for Councils in these areas, as suggested in the organizational manual of the Councils, "The White Book", consisted of secret meetings of perhaps a dozen organizers, to prepare for a mass membership rally. After obtaining a hall and a feature speaker, two mailings are made to selected (or unselected) white residents of the area, of materials promoting the Councils and the meeting, printed in Jackson but written by local persons. At the membership rally membership cards and dues are collected, and an executive committee is formed then or shortly afterwards, to determine action programs and to bring in further financial and membership support for the Council.

In Maryland supporters of racial justice, including members of The Fellowship of the Committed of the United Church of Christ, CORE, NAACP, "fair housing" and other interested groups and individuals developed techniques to oppose the Councils which proved to be both effective and informative. In Anne Arundel County a silent sit-in at the membership rally by a large number of integrated civil rights supporters seemed to upset the local and Mississippi speakers and greatly discourage memberships among the segregationists who did attend the meeting. An organizational meeting in Montgomery County was infiltrated by a newspaper reporter, whose complete report on this meeting's discussions in her paper, helped discourage open Council activity in that section of Maryland. In Prince Georges County an infiltrator arranged for civil rights supporters to picket organizational meetings of the county Citizens' Council, which caused most of the segregationists to reconsider active support of this group, and allowed the infiltrator to pack the active membership of the Prince Georges County Citizens' Council with fellow supporters of civil rights. The infiltrators soon took over the executive positions of the Council. One member offered to take over a good bit of Field Director Mitchell's communications with other Councils in Maryland and Virginia. In this manner, the civil rights supporters obtained the names of Council leaders in both states, as well as the complete Council membership records in Prince Georges County. One official of the Council was selected by Director Mitchell to attend the annual Leadership Conference of the national organization in Montgomery, Alabama, where he was able to learn much about Council activities across the nation. Major speakers at the Conference included Mitchell (who helped organize a St. Louis area Council in October of 1964), George Wallace of Alabama, Ross Barnett of Mississippi, Leander Perez of Louisiana, and William Shearer of California. During January and February of 1965, the Prince Georges County infiltrators incorporated their Council unit in Maryland so as to prevent the name being used by true Council members at a later time, and then released their story to the Washington and Baltimore papers. It was hoped that such a public expose of the Councils would further discourage their chances of obtaining mass memberships for local units.

The technique of joining a Citizens' Council for the purpose of obtaining information about its activities seems to be one that can be repeated in most areas that the Councils are active. Since the Councils are a mass membership organization, it is just about impossible, especially in urban areas, for them to run a careful check on their members, to detect possible infiltrators. In Maryland, and it seems likely in other areas, the results would be the same, infiltration of Citizens' Councils served a number of purposes. First, and most obviously, it allowed civil rights supporters to learn the names of the lawyers, politicians, law officers and other citizens supporting the Maryland and Virginia Councils. It also allowed interested civil rights groups to learn the location of the Maryland and Virginia Councils, who their leaders were, and general details of how they were getting along. Since the Councils claim to be respectable, public groups such information should not be upsetting to them, when made public. In addition, infiltration of Citizens' Councils allows civil rights supporters to not only learn about specific action plans they may have, but to get a better understanding of the type of person who joins this sort of organization. It appears that public witness of opposition to the formation and development of White Citizens' Councils in an area is often effective in discouraging growth of such a group, as is publishing its plans and objectives. Also, experience in a Council appears to allow for a better understanding of possible approaches that civil rights groups could use to appeal to the types of citizens that might be brought in to Council type organizations if subjected to information only from the segregationist side.

In one state, the Citizens' Councils obtained a membership of 80,000 in only two years. The votes received by George Wallace in his northern campaigns would appear to indicate that at least a substantial membership for Councils outside of the deep South is possible. Proposition #14 would seem to illustrate a practical sort of issue white Citizens' Councils can effectively develop in areas new to them. It would seem, therefore, that interested persons would find it valuable to join a local Citizens' Council, where an area has one. This could be done by contacting the local unit directly or by writing the Jackson headquarters, expressing interest and agreement with the purposes of the organization and asking if any units exist in one's area. After joining, such an infiltrator might appear interested, without overacting as a bigot, especially in secretarial or membership work in the group, which would tend to bring one into contact with lists of members of the group. Such lists might be especially useful to supporters of civil rights projects, without the attackers revealing their true identity. A person interested in utilizing this technique should not be an identifiable supporter of civil rights, able to pass as a middle class, white collar racist who is interested in organization. He should, as soon as possible, bring in one or more friends to provide witnesses to statements made or facts learned and for a safety factor. Those groups concerned with local progress in racial understanding should be informed of the Council's activities. It should be remembered that since the Citizens' Councils are a radical organization that is competing with established segregation and conservative groups for membership, in most areas, conservatives can sometimes be encouraged to move against the Councils. (In Virginia, one Council suggests the Byrd organization is "liberal" and the Councils in Virginia are experiencing strong opposition from established conservative groups, as they are also in Eastern Maryland.)

For those interested in getting to know their local bigots better, the following information is provided:

NATIONAL: Citizens' Councils of America, 315 Plaza Building, Jackson,
Mississippi

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Joseph Mitchell, Box 5614, Wash. 16, D.C., Phone
966-5666 or 4609 Albemarle St. N.W., Wash., D.C.
(Director for Maryland and Virginia)

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles Citizens' Council, Box 75111, Los Angeles 5,
California. Kent H. Steffgen, Field Director
William K. Shearer, 3944 Third Ave., San Diego, California.
Council leader.

FLORIDA: Citizens' Councils of Florida, Mrs. J.D. Bruington, Sect.,
520 North Sixth Ave., Pensacola, Florida
Manatee County Citizens' Council, J.L. Harrison, Jr., Pres.
Bradenton, Florida
Perry Citizens' Council, Perry, Florida
Tallahassee Citizens' Council, D. Ross Thompson, 648 West
Call Street, Tallahassee, Florida
St. Augustine Citizens' Council, William Chew, 137 San Marco
Avenue, St. Augustine, Florida

MARYLAND: Anne Arundel Citizens' Council, C. Maurice Weidemeyer,
Box 121, Annapolis, Maryland
Baltimore Citizens' Council, Wilmot Slep, Box 7584,
Baltimore, Md 21207
Millard McCleary, Route #23, Shawsville, Md.
Council Supporter (Harford County)
Lee Dodson, 10567 Glen Mill Road, Rockville, Md.
Council Supporter (Montgomery County)
Association of Citizens' Councils, Inc., Edgar Partlow,
Pres., Box 1133, Hyattsville, Md.
(Prince Georges County)

MICHIGAN: Orville and Rosie Lippert, Riverdale, Michigan (attended
national meeting)

MISSOURI: St. Louis Metropolitan Area Citizens' Council, Gravois
Station, P.O. Box "C", St. Louis, Mo.
63116
Mrs. Mary Gholson Burns, Belleville, Illinois
John H. Sutherland

NEW YORK: Dave Syme, 40-32 162nd St., Flushing, N.Y. 11358
(attended national meeting)
Bruce K. Garlick, Brooklyn, N.Y. (was scheduled to
attend national meeting)

NORTH CAROLINA: Wilmington Citizens' Council, R.A. Byrd, 3802 Park
Avenue, Wilmington, N.C. and Jim McLamb,
3502 Oleander Drive, Wilmington, N.C.
North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, Rev. James
P. Dees, President, 421 Walnut St., Statesville,
North Carolina

OHIO: Citizens' Council of Ohio, P.O. Box # 7, North Olmsted, Ohio 44070

TENNESSEE: Citizens' Councils of Tennessee, Box 349, Milan, Tennessee
Richard Burrow, Jr., Director
Mrs. Alice C. Wampler, Chattanooga, Tenn and Dr. John P.
Hoover attended national meeting

VIRGINIA: Windsor Citizens' Council, Box 188, Windsor, Va.
Jimmy LeHiram, East Windsor Blvd, Windsor, Va.

Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties,
Box 1397, Richmond, Virginia, James R.
Orgain, Direcotr
Norfolk Citizens' Council, J.G. Winborne, 6029 Eastwood Terr.
Norfolk, Virginia
Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties,
Box 44, Arlington, Virginia
Richmond Citizens' Council, Dr. Harvey Wingfield, 400
Petersburg Tpk., Richmond, Virginia

Groups that have some contact with the national Citizens' Councils exist in San Francisco, California; Tacoma and Seattle, Washington; and the Chicago, Illinois area.

Prince George's County Citizens' Council
P. O. Box 371
Hyattsville, Maryland

Memo : from **MONTEZ ALBRIGHT**

WCC - references

Series - 4 articles Memphis Commercial Appeal

1

2

3

4 - 10-17-64 "Leaders of Citizens Councils Face Lean Times."

NYT - 7-19-64, "Jackson Is a Test Case For Civil Rights" Claude Sitton

— 8-5-64 "Citizens Councils Spread to North" John Herbers

WCC

MONDAY

NC

NOVEMBER						
S	M	T	W	T	F	S
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8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
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29	30					

9

NOV. 1964

Citizens Councils of NC
organized oct. 4 in Raleigh by w/ George
McLamb president of
Durham County Citiz Coun.

In Forsyth County a form letter
signed by Donald W. Poteat as
temp chmn., won mild int.
About 90 people met Aug 27.
in Kernersville; most paid
dues & joined.

TUESDAY

OCTOBER

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10

NOV. 1964

DECEMBER

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8:00 Miss. WCC

8:30

9:00 Jackson Citizens Council

9:30 Announced Aug 13 it

10:00 would "operate one

10:30 or more seg. school

11:00 – Jackson."

11:30

12:00 a state law provides

1:00 $185 grant a-year to private,

1:30 nonsectarian schools.

2:00 already open

2:30 Bancroft – Jackson

3:00 Clarksdale + $18 per mo

3:30 Southside, Jackson Tuition

4:00

4:30 Coahoma Co.

5:00

5:30

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CARE (1958)

ALABAMA

V.A. Hospitals desegregated

A Negro doctor was admitted to the Jefferson County Medical Society, Fall, 1955.

FLORIDA

All five of Pinellas County's Negro physicians are full members in the county's Medical Association.

Protest by white employees of the Southwest Florida Tuberculosis Hospital against working with Negroes let to an order degregating the races in their work. (Oct. 1957)

Dade County Medical Association was first deep South medical association to admit Negro members; however, Negroes are "associate members," entitled to all rights and privileges except that of attendence at major social events. They do attend regular luncheon meetings.

Major hospitals in Dade County--among them Jackson Memorial, Mercy, Mount Sinai and Variety Children's--include Negro doctors and nurses on their staff. Variety Children's Hospital segregates its patients only on the basis of age, sex, illness, and treatment required. Dade County provides no training facilities for Negro nurses and physicians.

V.A. Hospitals are integrated. A report on the Coral Gables VA Hospital notes that no Negro doctors practice there.

Negro doctors are now permitted to treat their patients in Volusia County Houpital. Before 1954, Negro doctors and patients were not allowed.

Four major Jacksonville hospitals employ Negro nurses on an integrated basis.

GEORGIA

V.A. hospitals are not segregated.

Was announced that desegregated student nurse training program at Macon Hospital was discontinued due to "pressure" coming after the introduction in the General Assembly of a bill cutting off state funds to schools with desegregated training programs. (Feb. 1956)

Fulton County Medical Society voted 243 to 117 against a constitutional amendment to admit Negroes without restrictions in Oct. 1956. "Scientific" (limited) membership remained open to Negro doctors.

GEORGIA, continued:

In Rome the one Negro physician has access to city hospital and meets regularly with the white staff, according to a 1956 report.

Georgia Law requires that hospitals are to be divided into "proper and distinct apartments...so that in no case shall Negroes and white persons be together."

Three Negroes have served on the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association.

According to data made public by Mr. Furman Smith, there are more than 600 white doctors in Atlanta but only about 35 Negro doctors. Atlanta has only 3½ hospital beds per 1,000 of its non-white population, less than half the national standard available for Negroes. (April 1959)

LOUISIANA

New Orleans: "Lack of hospital facilities keeps Negro doctors out of Louisiana," according to John G. Lewis, Jr., "The only hospital in which a Negro doctor can secure hospital service for his patient is the all-Negro...Flint-Goodridge hospital." (June 1956)

Director of New Orleans' Charity Hospital urged private hospitals ~~t~~ in the area to provide care for Negroes not eligible for admission to the state supported hospital. (April 1957)

NORTH CAROLINA

All VA Hospitals and their public facilities are used on a desegregated basis. Nine of N.C.'s 12 members of the U. S. House of Representatives signed a southern sponsored petititon requesting the VA to end this policy. (March 1957)

Disabled Negro and white children live together in the same wards and are taught in the same classes in the Charlotte Rehabilit~~i~~ation and Spastics Hospitals. Nurses of both races serve on the staff. (Sept. 1957)

Greensboro Cerebral Palsy School, supported by community contributions and public school funds, is not segregated, nor is the Central Carolina Convalescent Hospital, which serves victims of polio and whose school accommodations are financed by city school funds.

Mercy Hospital (Catholic, in Charlotte) began admitting Negro patients in 1954, and permits Negro surgeons and doctors to attend their patients.

The University of North Carolina Hospital employed both white and Negro nurses to attend patients of either race in 1955. A North Carolina hospital hired a Negro histological and technicial for the first time in July 1954.

NORTH CAROLINA, continued:

The *Carolina Times*, the North Carolina *A. & T. Register*, and the *Afro-American* reported the following incident in December 1950 and January 1951: (from "The Untouchables - The Meaning of Segregation in Hospitals," 1952)

"On December 6, 1950, Matthew Avery, a 24-year-old World War II veteran attending North Carolina A. & T. College, was critically injured in an automobile accident near Mebane, North Carolina. He was brought to Alamance General Hospital, where it was learned he had sustained fractures of the skull, cheekbone, jaw, leg, and arm.

"But every one of Alamance's five Negro beds was full so he was shunted on to Duke Hospital at Durham. Here, according to the account of the superintendent, 'our regular facilities were filled' (i.e., the Negro ward was filled) and the question whether Avery would stand the best chance 'from treatment in our emergency room or by transfer to Lincoln Hospital' (a Negro institution) was debated.

"The latter course of action was decided upon and Avery was sent to ~~Duke~~ Lincoln where he died an hour after admission. Despite Duie's apparent solicitude, the driver's request that someone phone ahead to Lincoln went unheeded. Attaches there reported no such call had been received and they had been unable to make any preparations for the patient's arrival."

Three Negro doctors brought suit against James Walker Memorial Hospital in Wilmington in an effort to op en its doors to practice by Negro physicians. Fourth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that private hosptial was not subject to constitutional rulings on desegregation. On appeal, U. S. Supreme Cpurt refused to review. (1959)

VIRGINIA

The Alexandria Hospital employs several Negro technicians in various departments and has one Negro nurse supervisor. The medical staff includes at least one Negro doctor.

Health & hospital services

May 18, 1961

Mrs. Will W. Griffin
City-wide Committee for Equal Services
4256 Holloway Drive
Knoxville 19, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Griffin:

We have not made a survey on hospitals and health facilities in the South, and so the information we can send you is woefully incomplete and inadequate to your purpose. Such as it is, we hope you will find it of some help.

The North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights has made a survey in North Carolina. It is to be published soon (it includes more than health); you might write to the chairman, McNeill Smith, and request a copy when it is available. In the meantime, I am sending you a thermafax copy of that committee's "outline" and the accompanying letter that went out to doctors requesting their cooperation. This may be of help in working our your own project.

The Atlanta Council on Human Relations has recently sent out letters to hospitals with questionnaires regarding their policies and practices. Not all hospitals replied, and a follow-up is in progress. When the results are tabulated I will send you a copy. I do know that Negro nurses train at St. Joseph's Hospital (Roman Catholic) and that the nurses serve as nurses to any patient who is admitted. The new DeKalb County Hospital has a ward for Negro patients and has Negro nurses for them.

I wonder if you know Mrs. John Hitch, director of the Knoxville Council on Human Relations? Her address is Box 1011, Knoxville. I believe she would be interested in this project and would be helpful both in the planning and the survey itself.

For background material, you might wish to read Dietrich C. Reitzes, Negroes and Medicine. It is a report of a survey on opportunities for Negroes in medicine, and the status of medical care for and by Negroes on the basis of a comparative analysis of 14 communities. Southern cities included are: Atlanta, Ga., New Orleans, La., Nashville, Tenn. The summary and conclusions are interesting. This does not include all the information you want in your own project, but it does give a fairly comprehensive idea of some factors and I believe you will find it helpful. If it is not in the public library, it probably would be in the university library. It was published in 1958 by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., and is $7.00.

We would be most interested in hearing the outcome of your survey, and if we can be of any further help please write again.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosures:
thermafax, N. C. "outline"
" newsclips
CC: 1958 state outlines, from newsclips and thus incomplete
Press reports, Atlanta's Public Hospital: Grady Memorial and Spalding Pavilion

Hospitals

February 26, 1963

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
82 Pitt Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

In reply to your request for information on the results of "separate, but equal facilities in hospitals in the southern states" we are mailing you under separate cover several of our publications which have information on both training facilities for Negro doctors, nurses, and technicians and hospital care. You will note that though the facilities are separate, they are certainly not equal.

The publication you mentioned must have bees our May 1962 issue of New South; there is such information contained in the employment study in Miami.

I would suggest that you read Reitzes, Negroes and Medicine, 1958. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. You may find it in your local library.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosed:
- Some General Observations on the Use of Negro Professional and Technical Personnel in Southern Hospitals
- Atlanta Council on Human Relations report on Hospitals

Mailed separately:
- Employment Studies: Chattanooga, Houston, Atlanta
- New South, May 1962, Employment in Miami

SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF NEGRO PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL PERSONNEL IN SOUTHERN HOSPITALS *

Throughout the South, Negro doctors, nurses, and technicians find almost impossible obstacles to overcome on their way to reaching full professional status. These obstacles include finding a hospital in which they can secure training, finding a stimulating and receptive professional climate, and gaining access to well-equipped facilities for practicing their specialties.

Not more than 10 hospitals throughout the South offer any kind of technical training programs (X-Ray technician, medical technician, etc.) to Negroes. Approximately 72% do not train Negro nurses. Negro interns and residents do not fare much better.

Once a student has completed training in his field, it is usually expected that he join the societies and associations which will keep him in contact with other members of the same profession and with the latest advances in his specialty. The Negro professional is denied this opportunity in most Southern states, except in the field of nursing where all state associations now admit Negroes into membership. A few local medical societies in the Southern states admit Negroes, some in states where the state associations do not. ~~However,~~ A physician must belong first to a local affiliate before being eligible to join the state group.

There have been many lawsuits, throughout the country as well as in the South, but the only record of a successful one is in Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Four Negro doctors were appointed to the staff of Providence Hospital there as a result of a lawsuit in which they charged that they had been denied membership in the North Broward Hospital District which governed the hospital (a public hospital). Circuit Judge James Walden ruled the organization unconstitutional.

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* This information comes from a survey conducted in the Spring of 1962 by the Southern Regional Council and involved all hospitals in the South having agreements with medical schools to offer training and practice to interns and residencies. Questionnaires were sent to 64 hospitals in ten states. Thirty-two (50%) were returned. Additional information was included from newspaper clippings, books magazine articles, and the SRC correspondance files. (The survey was not published, since it was incomplete.)

Twelve hospitals located in Fulton and DeKalb Counties, including one operated by the State of Georgia, do not admit Negroes as bed-patients, and an additional three (not including Grady Hospital) have segregated wards for Negroes and white patients. Of the twelve who do not admit Negroes as bed-patients, three admit Negroes to out-patient clinics only. One of these is the Georgian Clinic, operated by the State of Georgia, and one is St. Joseph's Infirmary, which stated that Negroes are admitted as out-patients "in some cases". The other is the Peachtree Hospital. These and other facts about the operation of hospitals in the Greater Atlanta area were revealed in a survey conducted by the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations.

The admissions office at Georgia Baptist Hospital stated that the Hospital would accept a Negro patient if requested to do so by the attending physician, but the spokesman did not know of any such request. Unofficial sources state that one Negro was admitted to Georgia Baptist through the Vocational Rehabilitation Department via The Veterans Hospital. (This is a change from the policy of 1961, of no admittance of Negroes).

Those which do not admit Negroes on any basis are Crawford Long, Emory University, Henrietta Egleston for Children, Jesse Parker Williams, Scottish Rite for Children, Piedmont, Doctor's Hospital, Fulton Hospital and Ponce De Leon Infirmary. (Doctors on Ponce De Leon staff see Negro patients in their offices located in the Infirmary building).

DeKalb General, Aidmore for Children and Free Cancer Home, maintain segregated wards. A spokesman for the new Holy Family Hospital, scheduled to open in 1964, stated that 14% of the 128 beds will be set aside for Negroes, and that Negro and white patients will be segregated. South Fulton County Hospital will be open in May, 1963, with a total of 150 beds and will admit both Negro and white patients on a non-segregated basis. A spokesman stated that they expect to have "lots of Negro doctors and nurses on their staff".

Only the U. S. Veterans Hospital has integrated facilities and beds. The VA Hospital also has Negro nurses, but no Negro doctors on its staff. St. Joseph's reports Negro nurses aides only, and DeKalb General reports one Negro physician and a few Negro nurses. None of the others has any Negro staff members.

Of the 2424 hospital beds now available for paying patients in the area, 817 (this does not include Grady and VA, but does include 457 beds at Georgia Baptist) are available to Negroes. These include 135 beds at Harris and McLendon Hospitals which are primarily "Negro Hospitals". (McLendon Hospital states that they will accept white patients, when referred by a physician and Harris will accept white patients on an emergency basis). Negroes comprise 22.8% of the population of the Metropolitan Atlanta area; 39.9% of the City of Atlanta.

1/23/63

Atlanta Council on Human Relations

Feb. 1963 - 2 Negro nurses admitted to Emory Univ. Graduate School of Nursing

Fulton Co. Medical Society deseg. 1962.

Ga. asso. desegregated some years ago.

MRS. ST. JULIEN R. CHILDS 82 PITT STREET CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Mail New South
Employment studies

2/24/63

Dear Sir,

Some months, possibly years back, the *New South* presented a survey of the results of separate, but equal facilities in hospitals in the southern states. If extra copies are still available, I would like to order five copies. Please bill me.

Sincerely yours

Margaretta P. Childs

MERRIMADE LAWRENCE, MASS.

POST CARD

CHARLESTON
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1963
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U.S. POSTAGE
LINCOLN

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta 3
Ga

Rutgers!
Negroes &
Mulattoes!
1958.
Harvard!

Health

Journal of Negro Education, Fall 1963

III. Longevity and Health Status of the
Negro American, by Marcus S. Goldstein
Nat'l Inst. of Mental Health

National Urban League Study, August 1964

4927 Northland Place
St. Louis 13, Missouri
October 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Thank you for the copy of "The Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South" which you sent me recently.

If available, may I also have copies one and two in the 'Toward Regional Realism' Series, namely:

1. The South and the Nation

2. A Hundred Years Later

If there is any charge for these pamphlets, kindly let me know.

Very truly yours,

Ruth W. Williams

(Mrs.) Ruth W. Williams

sent
10-11-63
mA

MARION A. WRIGHT, PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
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RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date October 10, 1963

To: MA From: PA

Subject:

Please bill:

Office of the President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama/

for 100 copies of the Vivian Henderson report at a special discount rate of .20¢ each. The reports have already been mailed.

Thanks.

Sent bill
10-18-63
MA

622 Keefer Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
September 16, 1963

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Department of Economics
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Henderson:

I recently read in THE New York Times a report on a study entitled " The Economic Status of Negroes"which you conducted for the Southern Regional Council. I would like to obtain a copy of that study if there are copies available for distribution. If there is any cost involved, I would be happy to receive the publication C.O.D.

My name is: Bernard Anderson
622 Keefer Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I shall remain,

Sincerely yours,

Bernard Anderson

Bernard Anderson

Page 1) 9-17-196

10-9-63
m A

Sent
publications
list

Southern Regional Council

Dear Council

I Read in the waterloo - Daily Courier Listed the Folling Thing The South Loses $5 to $6 Billion Dollars Ever year Becouse of Race Discrimination By Vivian W Henderson Southern Regional Council I would Like to Have a Copy of the Booklet write and let me no about this.

Do you all no where I could get a Booklet giving Compleat Report and Diges on the U S National guard in the 11 Southern States I want to no How many got negro in their guard united and what State is a Head write and let me no

Your Truly.

other Side

page 2

Jim Dunnington.
126 Sumner Street.
waterloo iowa.

AFTER 5 DAYS RETURN TO

126 Summer Street
Waterloo Iowa

WATERLOO
SEP 17
7-PM
1963
IOWA

ANDREW JACKSON
1¢ U.S. POSTAGE

4¢ U.S. POSTAGE

Southern Regional Council
Room 201 - 5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3 Georgia

4927 Northland Place
St. Louis 13, Missouri
September 23, 1963

Dr. Vivien Henderson
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Henderson:

I understand that you are the author of a book, "Educational Status of Negroes in the Nation and in the South" which has been recommended for use in a course I am taking. The instructor, however, did not know the publisher nor where the book could be purchased.

Will you kindly advise me as to where I may purchase the book and the price of same.

I need the book as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,
(Mrs.) Ruth Ward Williams

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
Public Administration Collection
Princeton, New Jersey

October 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We desire to obtain for the Public Administration Collection of the Library, Princeton University, the material listed below. If consistent with your policy, will you be kind enough to supply us with it?

If there is a charge for this material, please notify us before sending.

Your courtesy in forwarding it to us will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Helen Fairbanks

Special Librarian
Public Administration Collection

sent 10-14-63
mA
+ PL

The economic status of Negroes in the nation and in the South by Vivian W. Henderson.

out X Intimidation, reprisal and violence in the South's racial crisis, 1960.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

October 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate a copy of your recent publication, The Economic Status of Negroes, by Vivian Henderson, as well as a list of your other publications.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Eugene Feingold

EF:bar

Sent
10-14-63
+ PL - 771A

Dr. Vivian Henderson – asks we send his report to all these names

✓ Mrs. Emma Boyden
East Beckley, West Va.

Mr. John Valentine
✓ 7620 M Street
Seat Pleasant, Maryland

Mr. J. J. Henderson
✓ North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Durham, N. C.

Dr. L. H. Foster, President
✓ Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

✓ Prof. T. S. Currier
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

✓ Miss Freida Henderson
221 McDowell St.
Bristol, Tenn.

Mrs. Henry Callis
2306 E Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

1 Copy each w/card

Sent 10-14-63 mA

+ PL

October 25, 1963

Mrs. Arthur A. Katz
100 LaSalle St., Apt. 16-B
New York 27, New York

Dear Mrs. Katz:

We do not often get warm, morale-raising letters like yours, and when we do it is like a bright shaft of sunlight through dark clouds. Thank you.

Under separate cover we are mailing you the requested publications. As you will note by the enclosed publications list, their total cost is $1.25. We will hold your five dollars for a while, on the possibility that you may wish to order other publications. If not, we will return the difference.

I wonder if you know of our monthly magazine, New South? With the other publication, I am enclosing two recent copies as samples. It occurs to me that you would enjoy receiving it each month. The subscription rate is $2.00 per year for eleven issues. I am also enclosing a brief resume of the origin and aims of the Council, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Mailed separately:
Henderson, Economic Status of Negroes
Coles, Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study
Morland, Southern Schools: Token Desegregation and Beyond

Ck - $5.00

100 La Salle St. apt. 16B
New York 27 New York
October 23, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Friend:

I would like a copy of: The Economic Status of the Negro: In the Nation and in the South, by Vivan Henderson of Fisk University. I am enclosing five dollars. If you can include the two new studies on school desegregation, that would be fine.

As a Negro woman and mother I am deeply grateful for the work you are doing.

Sincerely,

Maude Katz
Mrs. Arthur A.

Henderson

10-2°-63

Dear Staige:

Please send copies of the publication as follows:

✓ Dr. George N. Redd
Fisk University, Nashville

✓ Mr. W. T. Henderson
404 Mc Dowell Street
Bristol, Tennessee

Mr. Arthur Henderson
615 Leona Street
Bristol, Tennessee

✓ Mr. Forest Henderson
Woodlawn Ave
Bristol, Tennessee

Sent 11-4-63 MA

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, President
A&I College@
Greensboro, N. C.

Mr. Theodore Jones
Supreme Life Insurance Company
Chicago, Illinois

Mr. Helen Daggs
332 4th St.
Bristol, Tennessee

Library
Slater High School
Mc Dowell Street
Bristol, Tennessee

SLATER High.

Mr. Mannie Kupinsky
National Planning Association
1606 New Hampshire Ave N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Thank
Viv.

REQUESTS FOR HENDERSON, ECONOMIC STATUS OF NEGROES

	No.	No. copies
Government Agencies	22	57
Foreign	4	4
Labor	10	~~43~~ 167
Business	7	20
News Media	4	4
Civil Rights Groups	12	194
State & City Government (incl. for libraries)	5	7
Colleges & Universities	40	$\overset{3}{2}$98
City schools or public libraries	10	20
~~Other, misc.~~	~~10~~ +6	~~20~~
Meths church Cong.	1	~~[illegible]~~ 160
	~~114~~ 121	~~907~~
Total		931

from MA ; Staige and others received requests also, altho most of those to Staige were given to me

MA

thank you

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AND SOME OTHER QUANTITY ORDERS

Government Agencies	Quantity
Library, U. S. Dept. of Labor	1
R. E. Malakoff, Labor Economist, U.S. Dept. of Labor	1
Miss Catherine T. Wheeler, OMAT, U. S. Dept. of Labor	4
Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. Dept. of Labor	1
Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor	1
U. S. Information Agency, Washington (thanks for copy, order for library of USIA	1
Ehrman, Television Service, USIA, WAshington	2
Dept. of State, Agency for International Development Woods, Industrial Techniques Training Branch (saw review)	1
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity	1
Dept. of Agriculture, Personnel	5
" " Economic Research	25
Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Income & Expenditures	2
" " " " , Director's office	1
Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, Office of Educa.	1
" " " " Office of Program & Legis. Planning	1
" " " " Office of Manpower Training	1
" " " " Office of Education	1
~~Health~~ " " " School of Law Unit	1
National Committee for Children & Youth	5
Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations	1
22 agencies	57

Foreign	
Panoramas, Centro de Estudios y Documentacion Sociales, A.C., Mexico	1
Profeseur Paul Pin, Paris University, France	1
Labor Attache, American Embassy, Port of Spain, Trinodad	1
Dr. Kurt Kloetzel, Sao Paulo, Brazil	1
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Jewish Labor Committee	10	
Edu. Div., Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, Colorado	1	
School of Labor at Michigan State University	125	
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10 —	~~43~~ 167	

Business

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News Media

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Village Voice, Nat Hentoff, N. Y.	1
KMOX-TV, CBS Television, Dir. of Public Affairs, St. Louis	1
~~New York State 2~~	
American Psychologist, col. Psychology in the News	1
	4

Civil Rights Groups

Am. Jewish Committee, Blaustein Library, Inst. Human Relations	2
Am. Friends Service Committee	16
Civil Rights Symposium, Bryn Mawr & Haverford Colleges	40
Kentucky Commission on Human Rights	15
N.Y. State Commission on Human Rights	10
Nat'l Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice	100
Pinellas (Fla.) County Bi-Racial Committee, St. Petersburg	1
Denver (Colo.) Anti-Discrimination Commission (State)	3
Library, N. Y. State Commission for Human Rights	1
Paula K. Lazrus Memorial Library, Natil Confv.of Christians & Jews	1
Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission (additional)	3
CORE, Program & Training Dept.	1
Urban League of Phila	1
12	194

State & City Government

Governor's office, State of California	1
City of Richmond, Calif., public library	3
City of Phoenix, Arizona, Business Services Division Library	1
Detroit Public Library; N.Y.City Public Library	1
State of North Carolina	1
5.	7

Colleges & Universities

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Princeton University Library, Public Administration Collection
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Univ. of Pa., Wharton School of Finance & Commerce
Brooklyn College, Dept. of Education
Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Dept. of Economics
Univ. of Tenn., College of Business Administration
Rutgers, School of Law Library
Wartburg College
California State Polytechnic, Pomona
Brookings Institution, Economic Studies , Washington, D. C.
Ohio State University, Dept. of Economies

continued

Fisk University, Nashville

13

Colleges & Universities, continued

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Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif.	
State Univ. of N. Y., Agri. and Technical Inst., Delhi	
Mass. Institute of Tech., Industrial Relations Library	
Chapman College, Orange, Calif.	
Syracuse University, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship & Public Affairs	
Howard University, Dept. of Economics	
Loyola University, Dept. of Economics (Labor)	
Columbia University, Graduate School of Business, N. Y. (for conference)	125
Pa. State University, Dept. of Economics	
Univ. of Missouri at Kansas City, University Libraries	
Lenoir Rhyne College, Hickory, N. C.	
University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Library ; and Col. of Bus. Adm.	
Clark College, Economics Dept., Atlanta	32
University of Virginia Library; and ~~[illegible]~~ Medical College, U. of Va.	
University of Denver, Colo.	
Mid-West Library Service, St. Louis	
~~N. Y. State College, School of Agriculture~~	
Wheaton College, Mass.	
Tuskegee Institute	100
Niskayuna High School, Schenectady, N. Y., Social Studies	4
~~N. Y. St~~ University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Dept. of Economics	
Earlham College, Rich~~o~~mond, Ind.	
University of South Florida, Tampa, Social Science Division	
Brown University, Providence, R.I.	
U. of Texas, Austin, Dept. of Economics	
40	298

City

Ithaca City School District, Curriculum Dept.	10
Ogden High School, Ogden, Utah	
St. Petersburg Junior College, Fla.	
Slater High School, Bristol, Tenn., Library	
Milwaukee Public Library, Wis.	
Detroit Public Library,	
Pontiac Public Schools, Mich., Sept. of Schools	
N. Y. Public Library, Labor Edu. Service	
Board of Education, City of New York	
Meade Public Library, Sheboygan, Wis.	
10	20

Other

Misc.	~~53~~ 60

√J √

July 9, 1963

Mr. William L. Higgs
Director
Washington Human Rights Project
619 G. Street S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Higgs:

In the absence of Leslie Dunbar, who is away on vacation, may I gratefully acknowledge receipt of your proposal dealing with implementation of the FCC's fairness doctrine.

To date, we have not had an opportunity to read the proposal, however, when this is done we will be glad to relay our response to you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

VJ - reply
mainly - for Lund

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
—
LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

Recd
7/3/63

July 2, 1963

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

I commend to you the enclosed civil rights proposal dealing with implementation of the FCC's fairness doctrine.

This outlined approach, if carried out, could go a long way to eliminate racist and other bias on Southern radio and television stations.

Yours sincerely,

Bill

William L. Higgs

WLH:kk
encl.

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMMING AND EDITORIALIZING:

THE FCC'S FAIRNESS DOCTRINE

Presentation of only one point of view by Southern communications media is a factor which helps maintain patterns of segregation. Hearing only the racist's ideas on television, radio and in the press, even the reasonable Southerner has his attitudes on the race question distorted. The Federal Communications Commission, which regulates all American radio and television stations, has clearly stated its disapproval of one-sided broadcasting. The Commission has found that stations 1) have a duty to fairly present all relevant viewpoints on controversial issues, 2) must give any responsible person or group a reasonable opportunity to reply to editorial attacks, and 3) must provide service to minority groups. Civil Rights organizations can effectively seek to obtain the compliance of radio and television stations with these requirements, and the FCC will assure the compliance of any stations which respond reluctantly.

The FCC can grant a broadcast license if it considers that the applicant station will operate in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity." (47 U.S.C. Sec. 309(a), 1958 ed.) The Commission has determined that an essential element of operating in the public interest is a fair presentation by the station of all the community's relevant viewpoints on controversial issues. The 1949 Report, entitled "Editorializing by Broadcast Licensees," states at paragraph 9:

> ". . .it is evident that broadcast licensees have an *affirmative duty* generally *to encourage and implement* the broadcast of all sides of controversial public issues over their facilities, over and beyond their obligation to make available on demand opportunities for the expression of opposing views." (13 *FCC Reports* 1246, 1250, June 1, 1949. Italics supplied.)

Not only must a station seek to be a forum for public issues, but it has certain extra responsibilities when a person or group is attacked either in a station editorial or any station broadcast. In paragraph 10 of the 1949 Report, the Commission notes that:

> "The latter's [station owner's] personal involvement in the controversy may also be a factor which must be considered, for elementary considerations of fairness may dictate that time be allocated to a person or group which has been specifically attacked over the station, where otherwise no such obligation would exist." (13 FCC Reports 1246, 1251.)

The Commission later interpreted this paragraph to require that "the licensee has an affirmative duty to take all appropriate steps to see that the persons attacked are afforded the fullest opportunity to respond." (Clayton v. Mapoles, 23 Pike & Fischer, Radio Regulation 586, 591, 1962.) Furthermore, the person or group attacked must receive a copy of the text "either prior to or at the time of the broadcast" and an offer of the station's facilities to respond to the attack. (Billings Broadcasting Company, 23 Pike & Fischer, ibid., 951.)

The third FCC requirement noted above is service to minority groups. A station must determine and satisfy the needs and interests of minority groups in the community. In its 1960 "Network Programming Inquiry: A Report and Statement of Policy," the Commission stated that one of a station's responsibilities was "consultation with leaders in community life," to determine the needs and interests of the community. (25 Fed. Reg. 7291.) Most Southern stations have not met with Negro leaders, even though Negroes make up a significant segment of many Southern communities.

Southern stations have generally not given fair treatment to Negro viewpoints and interests. Below are some suggested steps which Civil Rights organizations can follow to assure that radio and television stations meet their requirements under law. An organization may bring a complaint against 1) the presentation of only one viewpoint on a controversial issue in a particular program, 2) attack against a person or group in an editorial or other broadcast, and 3) a station's overall pattern of programming.

PROCEDURE FOR BRINGING COMPLAINT AGAINST AN UNFAIR BROADCAST

When a particular program or editorial has not, in your opinion, presented all the viewpoints on a Civil Rights issue, your group can request the station to give you a reasonable opportunity to reply from your point of view. If the station does not grant your request, you can complain to the FCC. As stated above, the FCC requires that stations broadcast controversial issues, and that they treat all viewpoints fairly.

A few introductory remarks can help you understand why it is important to write the complaint carefully and completely. The Federal Communications Commission is an administrative agency, and as such its decisions are always subject to review in the courts. Also, the FCC is understaffed and cannot investigate disputes over facts. For these two reasons, the Commission will not consider a complaint which does not offer proof of unfairness on the part of the station. The facts stated in your complaint should, therefore, be backed up by evidence, and you should show that you gave the station several opportunities to comply with your requests. Here are some basic steps which you should use to make sure that your complaint will be well-documented.

1) Find our from the station when they present their editorials and any programs sponsored by such groups as the White Citizens Council.. Also check the newspaper regularly for announcements of on-the-spot coverage of segregationist rallies and speeches which are not included in the station's weekly schedule. You need not tell the station your purpose in obtaining its schedules. Programs such as "Lifeline" and Rev. Bill James Hargis also deal with controversial issues and generally present only the ultra-conservative viewpoint.

2) Have one person listen, with a tape recorder, to the program in question. Or, if you don't have a tape recorder, have two people listen to the program who are prepared to make sworn statements about the viewpoints expressed on the program. Catch the call letters on your tape.

3) Write a letter to the station, including the following:

a) The name of your group. Mention that the group represents a broad cross-section of Negro opinion in the community.

b) The name and time that the program was broadcast and the viewpoints expressed.

c) Express a desire to present an answer to those viewpoints. Set down briefly the ideas you plan to include. Suggest more than one group or person that could present a viewpoint like yours.

d) Request an appointment with the week, to discuss further your proposed program.

e) If you think it is necessary, you might send the letter by registered mail, requesting a receipt, to be sure that the manager has received your letter.

4) If the manager does not answer your letter, write him again, or telephone him, repeating your requests. Keep note of every time you write or call him, making carbon copies of every letter, and taking notes on the telephone conversations. Letters are preferable.

5) When you see the station manager, he may use any of a number of arguments to dissuade you. These are some typical arguments, with possible answers you might give him:

(a) "The viewpoints you mentioned in your letter were never stated on the program." Assure him that you have proof that they were.

(b) "That isn't a controversial issue in my opinion." Tell him why you think it is controversial, mentioning that the FCC will be the final arbiter of the question.

(c) "I don't have to present the other viewpoint, anyway," or "There is a Negro station in town which gives your side on these issues." Show him that you are aware of the FCC's fairness doctrine and of its power to take away his license. Indicate that you may actively oppose the renewal of his license.

(d) "The network broadcasts I present give the other point of view." Ask him to name those broadcasts and tell how they represent the Civil Rights viewpoint.

(e) "I'll present your side, but I don't want to put your group on the air, since it doesn't adequately represent the Negroes' point of view." Argue this point with him, or mention that your letter included the names of several other people and groups who could present the Civil Rights viewpoint.

(f) "I can't let you use the microphone until I see your script." Remind him that your letter to him contained an outline of your ideas. If he insists on a script, tell him that you will submit one.

(g) "You will have to pay for the time you use." If you have the money, offer to pay him. If you can't afford it, inform him that the law requires that you be able to present your views even if you cannot pay.

6) If the station manager still refuses to let you present your reply to the program you object to, draft a complaint to the Federal Communications Commission, Washington 25, D.C. Send a courtesy copy in a separate letter to Chairman, FCC, Washington 25, D.C. To present a clear case, your complaint should contain the following:

(a) The station's call letters and location, date, time and name of the program about which you are complaining.

(b) A brief description of the viewpoints expressed on the program. Let the FCC know that you have tapes of the program of sworn affidavits by the people who listened to the program, setting down the ideas expressed.

(c) Copies of all letters to the station manager, along with copies of any of his replies. Descriptions of any phone conversations with the manager.

(d) A description of any interviews that took place with the manager, including statements like those set forth in (5) above, along with your answers to those statements.

(e) A statement of your belief that the station has not complied in good faith with the Commission's requirement of fairness in station presentation of controversial issues. Mention that, to the best of your knowledge, the station has not presented opposing viewpoings on the issue in question.

If you have presented your case well, and followed the procedure suggested above, the Commission will probably take prompt action and require the station to put your program on the air.

PROCEDURE FOR OBTAINING TIME TO REPLY TO A PERSONAL ATTACK

If your group or any person has been attacked on a station editorial or other broadcast, the law requires that the station grant a reasonable opportunity for reply to the attack. The procedure is similar to the one for replying to an unfair presentation of a controversial issue, but as stated above, the station has certain extra responsibilities. Those responsibilities are described in the suggested procedure below.

1) Obtain schedules in the manner described above for unfair broadcasts.

2) The station will probably make the personal attack without transmitting a text of the attack to you, even though the FCC requires them to do so. After recording the attack on tape or from several witnesses, write the station, complaining about the attack. Request an opportunity for you or your representative to reply. If any of the accusations made were untrue, tell the manager so in your letter.

3) As with unfair programs, you may have to write several letters and counter several of the station's objections. Follow the suggestions as set forth for unfair broadcasts.

4) You may also have to draft a complaint to the FCC. If you do, be specific and complete. Describe in the manner suggested above the station call letters; date, time and name of program; nature of the editorial attack; and your unsuccessful attempts to obtain air time to reply.

The FCC has been very specific in its statement of station responsibilities with regard to editorial attacks. The station must put you or your chosen representative on the air, even if the station would not otherwise do so. (1949 Editorializing Report, paragraph 9.) In your correspondence with the station manager, you should remind him of his extra responsibilities in this area.

PROCEDURE FOR TAKING ISSUE WITH A STATION'S PROGRAMMING POLICY

Keeping in mind that one of the Commission's requirements for operation in the public interest is service to minority groups, a Civil Rights organization may work to change a station's programming policy. Successful change in this area, however, must be considered from a longer view than success in presenting the other side of a controversial issue or in responding to an editorial attack.

All radio and television stations must renew their licenses with the FCC every three years. If the Commission finds that the station has not been operating in the public interest, it will refuse to renew the license. The Commission will take into consideration any complaints that a station's over-all pattern of programming has not met the needs and interests of the Negro community. Even if the FCC does not refuse to renew a license, it may issue strong warnings to the station about which it has received such complaints.

The license renewal dates for all stations in the following states are

Mississippi	June 1, 1964	Alabama	April 1, 1964
Georgia	April 1, 1964	Louisiana	June 1, 1964
Virginia	October 1, 1964	So. Carolina	December 1, 1963
No. Carolina	December 1, 1963	Florida	February 1, 1964
Texas	June 1, 1964	Arkansas	April 1, 1964
Tennessee	April 1, 1964		

1) Obtain schedules of all the station's broadcasts for several weeks. Every station is required to keep a log of all its programs, and these logs are public information.

2) After examining the schedules, write the station manager by registered mail and request a conference within the week. Indicate in the letter your feeling that the station is not properly serving the needs and interests of Negroes in the community.

3) Continue to write him every few days until you receive an answer. Keep carbon copies of every letter, and if after two weeks you have received no reply, submit the copies to the FCC along with a letter explaining your purpose. As with complaints against specific programs, submit in a separate letter a courtesy copy of all your correspondence to the FCC Chairman, Mr. E. William Henry.

4) When you finally obtain an interview with the station manager, either through your efforts or a letter from the FCC, explain to him why you feel that the station's programs are directed only to the interests of the white community and the segregationist point of view. Make specific references to the program schedules. Keep a record of all your proposals.

5) Suggest the kinds of programs you think the station should present. These could include Negro church services, political registration rallies, and public service announcements of mass meetings.

6) Remind him when he must renew his license, and tell him that you plan to protest renewal if he does not begin to operate in the interests of the entire community.

Your group will probably have to make continuous efforts to convince the station manager of his responsibilities under law. Frequent letters to the FCC telling them of your progress and difficulties will probably lead to Commission action. The Commission can do much to help convince a reluctant station manager. Letters from influential friends of yours to the Commission will help convince the Commission to take action.

July 11, 1963

Mr. William L. Higgs
Director
Washington Human Rights Project
619 G Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Higgs:

We are pleased to acknowledge receipt of your proposal "Comments on Proposed House Resolution," and will share our reaction to it with you at our earliest possible opportunity.

Thank you kindly for thinking of us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:Jr/nm

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
—
LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

WB ✓
VJ – ple ack
SB ✓

June 20, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I commend to your attention the enclosed Civil Rights proposals.

Sincerely,

Bill

William L. Higgs

Encls.
WLH:mn

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WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
—
LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

COMMENTS ON PROPOSED HOUSE RESOLUTION

This resolution is aimed at the enforcement of the long-dormant Second Section of the 14th Amendment, which would diminish the representation of a State in Congress proportionately to the extent to which the State denies or abridges suffrage to those who are inhabitants of the State, United States citizens, and over twenty-one (with minor exceptions). It should be noted that denial or abridgement for any reason -- e.g. literacy test, interpretation test, or poll tax -- is within the compass of Section 2. Even if the denial is effected by private action, the section applies; the section is concerned only with results. The resolution leaves with the committee the problems of defining "abridgement" in marginal situations and of devising the method for counting the number of those whose right to vote has been denied or abridged.

This proposed House Resolution differs strategically from H.R. 6801, introduced by Rep. Stratton on June 4, 1963, exactly in that it is cast as a resolution rather than as a bill. As a resolution it needs only to win the approval of a majority of the House; first to discharge the resolution, if necessary, from the Rules Committee, and secondly, for its ultimate adoption. A bill, on the other hand, would need the additional support of a majority of the Senate for passage, and almost certainly of two-thirds of the Senate in order to invoke cloture so as to shut off a filibuster.

In essence, the proposed Resolution has two phases: the preparation of a certificate by a select committee, and the taking effect of that certificate unless the House expressly disapproves. By reserving in the House the authority to prevent the certificate from taking effect, the Resolution leaves room, once it is passed, for Congressional reconsideration without requiring any further affirmative Congressional action.

The House's authority as to the first phase -- to establish the committee and authorize it to submit a report -- is unquestionable.

It is hoped that the mere existence of such a committee, threatening to reduce a state's representation in the House, would induce Southern states to remove the obstacles -- legal and otherwise -- which stand in the way of Negro voting. The certificate finally submitted by that committee would be, at minimum, an effective public reminder of the mandate of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Can the certificate "take effect" so as to regulate conclusively the number of representatives to be elected in 1964? Article I Section 5 of the Constitution gives the House final authority in judging the qualifications for its membership, and hence makes the House Resolution generally available as a way of implementing Section 2. It is by Resolution that the House regularly resolves disputes as to the legitimacy of a contested Congressional election. Specifically, the House has used the resolution to bar the seating of a Representative when the House found that federal law had invalidated his election. In 1862 the House adopted a resolution which denied a seat to a Representative purportedly elected in California. The grounds were that California, contrary to federal law, had used the 1860 rather than the 1850 census in ascertaining the size of its Congressional delegation, and hence had elected one Representative too many. (Hinds' Precedents of the House of Rep. v. 1, 1907, sec. 314).

The "take effect" phrase of the Resolution here proposed operates prospectively; it would set guides for a coming election rather than settle a dispute as to a previous one. Consequently, to be fully effective it would require the collaboration of the next House. This is a problem common to every

House resolution or rule which is designed to endure beyond the session in which it is adopted; a subsequent House can nullify by nonenforcement or nonreenactment. A House Resolution of the 88th Congress, supported as it would be by a clear constitutional mandate, would hopefully have a strong persuasive effect upon the subsequent House when that body comes to judge the qualifications of its members. And enforcement may be unnecessary, for states may well respond to the Resolution by removing voting restrictions so as not to run the risk of reduced representation.

HISTORICAL NOTE

On December 7, 1871, the House adopted a House Resolution proposed by Rep. Willard which directed the Secretary of the Interior to prepare census figures in accordance with Section 2. (Globe, 42d Cong., 2d sess., 1871-2). In 1920 and again in 1927, Rep. Tinkham introduced Resolutions directing the Committee on the Census to prepare a report for the purpose of enforcing Section 2. (H. Res. 591, 66th Cong., 3d sess.; H. Res. 34, 70th Cong., 1st sess.) On June 2, 1921, the Committee on the Census resolved that Section 2 required an investigation, under either House Resolution or Bill, of voting denials and abridgements. (Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Census on Apportionment of Representatives, House of Representatives, 67th Cong., 1st sess., June 27, 28, 29, 1921 p. 7)

H. Res.______

Mr. __________ introduced the following resolution which was referred to the Committee on Rules.

RESOLUTION

Creating a committee to investigate, make findings, and determine the representation in the House to which each State shall be qualified.

Resolved, that there is hereby created a committee to be composed of eleven members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman and no more than seven of whom shall be members of the same political party.

This committee, pursuant to Article 1, Section 5 of the United States Constitution, is authorized to investigate, make findings and determine the following matters:

1) The number of persons, being inhabitants of the several States, citizens of the United States, and twenty-one years of age, whose right to vote in any election for President or Vice-President of the United States, Representatives of Congress, executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the legislatures thereof, is denied or abridged for any reason except for participation in rebellion or other crime.

2) By use of the findings in (1), the numbers of Representatives to the House to which each State shall be entitled in accordance with Amendment 14, Section 2, of the Constitution of the United States.

For the purposes of carrying out this resolution, the committee, or any subcommittee thereof authorized to hold hearings, is authorized to sit and act during the present Congress at such times and places within the United States, whether the House has recessed or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to make such inspections and investigations, and to require, by subpoena or otherwise, the attendance and testimony of such witnesses and the production of such books, records, reports, papers and documents as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued over the signature of the chairman of the committee or any member of the committee designated by him, and may be served by any person designated by such chairman or member. The chairman of the committee or any member thereof may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses.

For the purposes of further carrying out this Resolution, the committee is directed to utilize the services of the United States Commission on Civil Rights and the United States Bureau of the Census as are necessary to obtain the required findings and determinations.

The committee shall certify its findings to the House by March 1, 1964. If, sixty days after the submission of this certificate, the House has not expressly disapproved it, the certificate shall take effect as a determination by the House of the number of Representatives from each State who qualify, in accordance with Amendment 14, Section 2 of the Constitution of the United States, for membership in the House in the 89th Congress, and notice shall be sent by the Clerk of the House to the Executive Authority of each State indicating the number of Representatives from that State who are thereby constitutionally qualified for membership in the House in the 89th Congress.

Resolved, further, that the expenses of the investigations to be conducted by the select committee created by this Resolution, not to exceed $500,000, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee and signed by the chairman thereof.

H.R. ______

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
June __, 1963
Introduced by Mr.______ and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

AN ACT

To amend Chapter 89 of Title 28 of United States Code for the purpose of providing for the effective removal of criminal prosecutions from those state courts where citizens of the United States are being deprived of their equal Constitutional rights and other equal rights as guaranteed by the laws of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that:

Section 1. Title 28, United States Code, Section 1443 is amended by the addition of the following paragraphs:

> "The right of removal under this section shall be freely sustained; and this section shall be construed to apply to any state action (executive, legislative, administrative, or otherwise) having the effect of denial or abridgement of equal rights."

Section 2. Title 28, United States Code, Section 1446 (c) is amended by the deletion of the words "before trial".

Section 3. Title 28, United States Code, Section 1447 (d) is amended by the deletion of the word "not."

COMMENTS ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

At the present time, citizens of the United States engaged in the struggle for equal rights for all citizebs are being viciously persecuted and incapacitated by means of totally unfounded criminal prosecutions in many state courts, primarily in the South. Review by the United States Supreme Court via the state court system is often years away and largely ephemeral. The present civil rights removal statute (Title 28, United States Code 1443) has been so restrictively interpreted (as a matter of statutory construction, not as a lack of Congressional power under the Constitution, Virginia v. Rives, 100 U.S. 313 (1879)) that its use has been almost totally limited to cases where the state Constitution or state statutes deny or create the inability to enforce a citizen's equal rights. The proposed amendment would explicitly extend the right of removal in cases of denial or abridgement of equal rights to any situations brought about by state action of any kind. This extension should cover the recent arrests and prosecutions in Greenwood, Birmingham, Jackson, and elsewhere.

In addition, the amendment to the judicial code of May 24, 1949, added a new subsection (d) to section 1447 of Title 28, United States Code, which guaranteed that the remand by a federal district judge of a removed case could not be reviewed in any way by a United States Court of Appeals or the United States Supreme Court. This provision has effectively given many Southern racist federal judges a carte blanche to deny any effective federal judicial relief for citizens prosecuted in state courts for exercizing their constitutional rights of assembly, petition, speech, and otherwise. The proposed amendment would expressly make freely available review by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of a judge's decision to remand.

Also, as the Supreme Court pointed out in the Rives Case, the present statutory language of Title 28, United States Code, 1446 (c) does not allow for removal when equal rights are denied by the state courts after trial has begun. And in many cases at the present time it is just after the beginning of trial that the grossest deprivations of equal rights occur. The proposed amendment to subsection 1446 (c) will allow removal at any time the denial or abridgement of equal civil rights occurs, whether before or after the beginning of the state court trial.

It should be further noted that the removal from state court into federal court takes effect immediately upon the filing of a removal petition in the federal district court and in the state court; the state court is immediately divested of all jurisdiction; and any subsequent proceeding by the state court is void.

APPENDIX

Chapter 89--DISTRICT COURTS: REMOVAL OF CASES FROM STATE COURTS

...1443. Civil rights cases.

Any of the following civil actions or criminal prosecutions, commenced in a State court may be removed by the defendant to the district court of the United States for the district and division embracing the place wherein it is pending:

(1) Against any person who is denied or cannot enforce in the courts of such State a right under any law providing for the equal civil rights of citizens of the United States, or of all persons within the jurisdiction thereof;

(2) For any act under color of authority derived from any law providing for equal rights, or for refusing to do any act on the ground that it would be inconsistent with such law.

(June 25, 1948, ch. 646, 62 Stat. 938.)

...1446 Procedure for removal

(a) A defendant or defendants desiring to remove any civil action or criminal prosecution from a State court shall file in the district court of the United States for the district and division within which such action is pending a verified petition containing a short and plain statement of the facts which entitle him or them to removal together with a copy of all process, pleadings, and orders served upon him or them in such action.

...(c) The petition for removal of a criminal prosecution may be filed at any time before trial.

...(f) If the defendant or defandants are in actual custody on process issued by the State court, the district court shall issue its writ of habeas corpus, and the marshal shall thereupon take such defendant or defendants into his custody and deliver a copy of the writ to the clerk of such State court.

...1447 Procedure after removal generally

(a) In any case removed from a State court, the district court may issue all necessary orders and process to bring before it all proper parties whether served by process issued by the State court or otherwise.

(b) It may require the petitioner tp file with its clerk copies of all records and prodeedings in such State court or may cause the same to be brought before it by writ of certiorari issued to such State court.

(c) If at any time before the final judgment it appears that the case was removed improvidently and without jurisdiction, the district court shall remand the case, and may order the payment of just costs. A certified copy of the order of remand shall be mailed by its clerk to the clerk of the State court. The State court may thereupon proceed with such case.

(d) An order remanding a case to the State court from which it was removed is not reviewable on appeal or otherwise.

August 2, 1963

Mr. William L. Higgs
Director
Washington Human Rights Project
619 G. Street, S. E/
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Mr. Higgs:

Thank you very much for your prepared analysis concerning voting rights. I am sure it will be of great value to us here in our work.

At our earliest possible convenience, we will share our reaction to it with you.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
—
LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

WB-fyi ✓
VJ-pls ack
SB

July 5, 1963

Mr. Les Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les,

I commend to your attention the enclosed analysis that we have prepared of the voting rights title of the administration's Civil Rights bill. As you might note, we have made ~~two~~ several basic and rather simple recommendations for improving the proposed legislation.

I trust this analysis will be of some value to you.

Yours sincerely,

Bill

William L. Higgs

WLH:kk
encl.

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
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WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

EVALUATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL
TITLE I (VOTING RIGHTS)

The provisions of the Kennedy Administration's Civil Rights bill dealing with voting rights (H.R. 7152 and S. 1731, Title I) would enact several changes in the existing statate, the Civil Rights Act of 1960. The proposed changes are, in essence:

1. A declaration that no person acting under color of law shall, for Federal elections, "apply any standard, practice or procedure different from the standards, practices or procedures applied to individuals similarly situated who have been found by State officials to be qualified to vote."

2. In registration for Federal elections, a presumption of literacy in the case of a person who has completed the sixth grade.

3. A ban on refusing to register a person for Federal elections based on immaterial errors or omissions in his application.

4. A temporary voting referee procedure under which citizens may be registered for all elections during the period of time taken for trial, when the Attorney General certifies that less than 15% of the Negroes in an "affected area" are registered.

The voting rights section of the 1960 Act has not been enforced in practice, principally because Southern federal district judges have used the broad discretionary powers granted them to frustrate its intent. The revisions suggested by the present administration represent a distrinct improvement. But the bill, as it now stands, does not restrict those discretionary powers to a degree sufficient to provide assurance of a meaningful increase in the number of Negroes registered to vote in the South. Note that "1.", "2.", and "3." apply only to Federal elections; "4." applies to all elections, State and Federal.

Background

The 1960 Civil Rights Act empowers the Attorney General to bring an action in federal district court against officials of a state who deprive any person of his right to vote by reason of color or race. The Attorney General also is empowered to request the court to "make a finding whether such deprivation was pursuant to a pattern or practice" of the area. If the court finds that such a pattern or practice exists, then any citizen of the same race in the area who has been denied the right to vote is entitled to apply for an order declaring the applicant qualified under State law to vote. This provision, aimed at enrolling Negroes in significant numbers, was the act's crucial innovation.

The statute established a procedure of registration whereby the qualification order issues after a hearing before the court or before a voting referee appointed by the court. The act directs the referee to use the State law in determining whether the applicant is qualified. The hearing is ex parte, that is to say it is not a trial-type hearing where testimony is taken on both sides, witnesses cross-examined and attorneys permitted to argue. Instead, the applicant's answers alone are prima facie evidence of his literacy and of the denial of his rights to vote or to qualify as a voter. The record of the hearing is closed to further introduction of evidence, and the issue of the applicant's "literacy" is determined solely on the record before the referee, though the State may go before the court to contest legal and other factual findings by the introduction of evidence.

After receiving the referee's report, the court under the statute, must dispose of the case by sending a copy of the report to the State's Attorney General, together with a show cause order why the order declaring the applicant qualified should not be entered in ten days. If the State makes no answer, the order is entered and the applicant declared qualified to vote. If the State files its exceptions within the ten-day period, then a hearing is held before the court, or the referee if the court so directs. If the court denies the applicant his order, his case may be appealed to the Court of Appeals.

How has this machinery created by the 1960 Act functioned in practice?

Unfortunately, its results have been extremely minimal. In particular, the voter referee plan for the enrollment of Negroes has proven a purely paper advance. Thirty-eight suits have been filed by the Attorney General under the 1960 Act and its predecessor, the Civil Rights Act of 1957, but in none of these has the District Judge exercised his option to appoint a referee. In only one of these cases has the judge himself consented to hear the applications of Negroes in addition to the one on whose complaint the Attorney General's suit was based.[1] In the remaining twenty-two suits brought under the Acts and decided presumably the local registrars are under an injunction to cease discriminating against Negro applicants.[2] With respect to the sixteen suits still undecided, no such injunction exists. And, of course, in the hundreds of localities unaffected by these suits, authorities are under no form of compulsion whatsoever to end discriminatory registration. The Attorney General claims to know of at least 200 counties where less than fifteen per cent of the Negro population of voting age is registered. The Civil Rights Commission reports that in 100 Southern counties selected for review in 1960 and again in 1963, the ratio of Negroes of voting age who are registered to Negroes of voting age has increased about 3½ per cent.

The Administration Bill in the Light of Experience

In short, the increase in Negro voters affected by the Civil Rights Act of 1960 must be termed marginal, at best. Loopholes in its language and obstacles to its enforcement have proven powerful enough to frustrate its intent almost completely. Do the voting rights provisions of the bill just presented to Congress by the present Administration overcome the deficiencies of its predecessor? The Kennedy bill does appear to close the majority of loopholes in the old law. But there are discouraging weaknesses in its approach to the paramount obstacle encountered in the enforcement of the Eisenhower Act: the refusal of Southern District Judges to serve as agents of Negro enfranchisement.[3]

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[1] U. S. v. Manning, May, 1962 (East Carroll Parish, La.) Federal Judge Dawkins personally heard approximately sixty applicants, after the local registrar had closed his office and resigned. The Judge found forty-one of the applicants qualified, and they were allowed to vote in the 1962 State and Federal elections, though they were not placed on the official State list of registered voters.

[2] The Civil Rights Commission reports that although significant results are seen in those few counties where judges have issued "meaningful decrees," many injunctions have gone unobserved because judges have refused to use the contempt power to enforce them. The Justice Department says that it is beginning a complete follow-up on decrees won under the 1960 Act.

In any case, a number of former loopholes are disposed of by the new bill. Formerly, registrars applied stringent standards to Negroes and lax standards to whites; the new bill explicitly forbids such practices. The "errors or omissions" paragraph closes the door to a common excuse given by registrars in denying registration to Negro applicants who are otherwise qualified. Requiring literacy tests to be given in writing preserves evidence which can be used in subsequent contempt proceedings. This provision, coupled with the present law requiring all voting records to be kept for twenty-two months, is essential to effective follow-up action by the Department of Justice. More important, H.R. 7152 contains a presumption of literacy when the applicant has completed the sixth grade in a "public school in, or private school accredited by, any State." The language of the presumption closes a major escape to

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3. A recent incident involving Judge Cox of Mississippi shows how far a racist on the bench will go to prevent Negroes from registering. A Justice Department attorney reports that in several Mississippi counties affected by suits, the voting registrar doubles as Clerk of Courts, and that Cox has in seven cases invalidated applications addressed to the Registrar on the grounds that they were sent to the wrong official. Judges like Ellis and West of Louisiana, Algood of Alabama, Elliot of Georgia, and Mize and Clayton of Mississippi, have proven themselves possessed of similar predilections. Mize, in one of a plethora of opinions reversed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, held that the University of Mississippi had never practiced a discriminatory admissions policy, and that James Meredity had been refused simply because he was not qualified for entrance.

Southern states who do not accredit Negro public schools.[4] It is an easily administered standard; one that can be rebutted only by actual proof of illiteracy.[5] Note, however, that these three improvements apply only to Federal elections.

Encouraging as these revisions are, their effect will be nil, unless the bill's key mechanism of enforcement can be made to work. This is the basic voting referee procedure created by the 1960 Act, made more efficient by the stipulation that the court or a temporary referee appointed by it hear applicants as soon as the Attorney General brings suit. Under the law now on the books, the registration procedure does not go into effect until after the district judge finds a pattern or practice of discrimination.

Under the administration bill's provisions, whenever the Attorney General has requested a finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination and has alleged that in the affected area fewer than fifteen percent of the total number of voting age Negroes are registered, then any Negro in the area is entitled to an order declaring him qualified to vote upon proof that "1) he is qualified under State law to vote, and 2) he has since the filing of the proceeding . . . been A) deprived of or denied the opportunity to register to vote or otherwise qualify to vote, or B) found not qualified to vote by any person acting under the color of law." Copies of the order are served upon State election officers. The refusal by any officer to permit persons declared qualified to vote constitutes contempt of court. This outlined voting referee procedure continues in effect until a final determination of the primary suit. This includes review by the Court of Appeals or the Supreme Court. If the case then is decided against the Attorney General, all orders issued by the court are void.[6] (If a "pattern or practice" is found by the District Court, then a permanent referee merely takes over from the temporary one.)

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[4] The nine different voting rights bills introduced so far in Congress (representing more than 50 Congressmen) split over the issue of permitting the State to determine by its accreditation of its public schools whether it will recognize the sixth grade education of an individual to be the equivalent of literacy for voting purposes. The language embodying this proposal usually reads: "the sixth grade in a school accredited by any State." Its practical effect in states such as Mississippi, where the majority of its Negro elementary schools are unaccredited even today, is to negate any operation of a literacy presumption in significant numbers.

[5] The legal effect of a presumption is not to be confused with irrefutable fact. A presumption can be rebutted by a showing of some appreciable evidence which negates or contradicts the presumption. Since the hearing is ex parte, no fact can come before the referee contradicting the sixth grade presumption of literacy unless it comes from the applicant himself; and when the referee makes his findings as to the applicant's "literacy," the referee's decision is reviewable only on the record made before him.

However effective this procedure might be if administered by an impartial judge, such will not be its fate if it becomes law. At two crucial points in the procedure stipulated by the administration's bill, ample opportunities are available for a judge bent on stymying its purpose.

The first of these points is the appointment of referees to receive Negro applicants, once the Attorney General has brought suit. The stipulation in the bill that the judge appoint referees from among a panel chosen by the "Judicial Conference" will not seriously inhibit his power to appoint referees who will not give applicants a fair hearing. The Judicial Conference is composed of the District Court Judges and the Circuit Court Judges within the jurisdiction of a given Circuit. Any panel selected by the Conference of the Fifth Circuit (Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee, which includes most of the States of the Deep South) will contain a number of dedicated racists. The best remedy for this loophole - and one which will not be open to the charge of registrars imposed upon a locality by Washington - is to substitute "the Chief Judge of the Circuit" for "Judicial Conference" as the nominating agency. Alternative, but progressively weaker proposals are

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[6] The procedure to be followed by the applicant is as follows:

1. He attempts to be registered by the proper State official and is denied an opportunity to register or is found to be not qualified.
2. He applies to the court for an order declaring him qualified.
3. A hearing is held within ten days of his application before either a temporary voting referee or the court.
4. The referee may receive applications, take evidence and report findings as to whether the applicant is entitled to an order declaring him qualified to vote under State law. The hearing before the referee is ex parte. It is not a trial-type hearing; only the referee and the applicant take part.
5. The court, upon receiving the referee's report, sends copies to the State attorney general and to each party together with an order to show cause why an order should not be entered within ten days declaring the applicant qualified to vote.
6. At the end of ten days the order is required by law to be entered unless the State has filed exceptions.
7. If exceptions are filed, the court or the referee holds a hearing to settle the issues of fact and law raised. The applicant's literacy, however, is determined solely on the basis of answers included in the report of the voting referee.

1) "the Chief Judge of the Circuit with the advice (and consent) of the Judicial Council of the Circuit," or

2) "the Judicial Council of the Circuit."

The Judicial Council is composed of the Circuit Judges alone, men who are freer from local prejudice and prejudice and, in the case of the Fifth Circuit area, men who, in the Civil Rights field, take their responsibility as judges considerably more seriously then do the District Court Judges. However, the Chief Judge alone would be even less likely to be so influenced. The present Chief Judge of the Fifth Circuit, Judge Tuttle, is most fair and progressive on the Civil Rights issue, as is his probable successor. Both are Eisenhower appointees and Republicans.

The second facet of the bill's procedure that offers opportunity to a recalcitrant District Judge is that its provisions enable him to allow applications to go undecided indefinitely. The bill does state that all applications to the court must be heard within ten days. Unless the State files exceptions to the referee's report, the order declaring the applicant qualified to vote issues as a matter of course. But this crucial "unless" gives the judge the opportunity to allow State exceptions (the State may challenge each individual application) to subvert the entire voter referee procedure. Only the immoderately loose prescription that it is his "duty to cause the case to be "in every way expedited" inhibits the judge. This loophole can be closed by adding a reasonable time limit, such as thirty days, within which applications must be heard and finally decided in the district court. Objections have been raised against this sort of constraint by Southern district judges on the grounds that their dockets are already overloaded and behind schedule; this argument is specious and can be answered by pointing out the summary nature of normal voter registration proceedings, and the power of the judge to appoint referees to handle this chore for him, and also by the new provisions of the act requiring and authorizing the bringing in of additional judges - as many as necessary.

Concluding Remarks

Even if the voting rights section is tightened as suggested, its success in practice will depend heavily on political factors. Paramount among these will be the number and quality of suits emanating from the Department of Justice, and the size and discipline of Negro registration drives in the South. Also helpful will be more indirect forms of pressure, as, for example, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Celler's remark that he might look into his responsibility with respect to impeachment proceedings, if district judges continue to defy the intent of the law so blatantly. The airing of more efficient alternatives would help make clear to the South the stake it has in complying with the administration's relatively moderate approach. The best example of such proposals is the concept of Presidentially appointed federal enrollment officers endorsed by the Civil Rights Commission Report of 1959, introduced in Congress in 1960 by Rep. Kastenmeier and Sen. Javits, and in 1963 by Rep. Moorhead (H.R. 6300). Others are the bills introduced by Rep. Stratton (H.R. 6801) and Sen. MacNamara (S. 1766) providing for enforcement of the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment by reducing a State's representation in the House in proportion to the extent that it discriminates in voter registration, and the Constitutional Amendment introduced by Rep. Dingle (H.J.Res. 3) to make universal suffrage a Constitutional guarantee.

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.
LI 4-8138

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

ADDENDA TO VOTING RIGHTS MEMORANDUM

I. The following suggested amendment to the administration's voting rights title is designed to provide a far-reaching, new guarantee of the Negro's right to vote. The amendment would be inserted as clause "(C)" after the present clause "(B)", and the present clause "(C)" would be relettered clause "(D)".

The newly proposed clause "(C)" would read as follows:

"No person acting under color of laws shall . . .

(C) employ any test or device as a qualification or prerequisite for voting in any election if the effect of such test or device is to deny or abridge in any way the equal right to vote of any class of citizens on account of race or color."

An alternative formulation is as follows:

"No person acting under color of laws shall . . .

(C) employ any test or other device as a qualification or prerequisite for voting in any election if a principal purpose and effect of such test or device is to deny or abridge in any way the equal right to vote of any class of citizens on account of race or color. If an effect of any such test or device is to deny or abridge in any way the equal right to vote of any class of citizens on account of race or color, then such effect shall be presumed to have been intended, unless clearly shown to be otherwise."

Historically, beginning with Mississippi and its constitution conventkon of 1890, the Southern states adopted the poll tax, literacy test, constitutional interpretation test and other such means to circumscribe and to effectively deny the Negro's right to the ballot. The above provision would strike at the heart of these devices, all of which are designed to and do fall unequally upon whites and Negroes. While the provision covers the poll tax, literacy and interpretation tests and other such devices already in use, its chief virtue is its generality and comprehensiveness which enables it to apply to yet unborn ruses of voting discrimination.

All other proposed legislation, by prohibiting one or another specific discriminatory test, only encourage Southern inventiveness to work out new methods for limiting the franchise. The "good moral character test," for example, could well become a new and legal frontier for discrimination; many Southern states have already enacted it - Mississippi by way of an amendment to the State Constitution. This new test could, of course, be eventually prohibited or regulated by federal legislation. But most effective would be a law at one stroke outlawing all tests which are now being used or might be used by Southern states to deny Negroes as a class the right to vote.

The new provision would be enforced under existing law, either by (1) an individual, who could enjoin the application as to him or others similarly situated of a discriminatory test (42 U.S.C. 1983), or (2) by the Attorney General, who could enjoin the application of a discriminatory test to a racial group (42 U.S.C. 1971c).

The provision has a clear constitutional base in the enforcement powers granted to Congress by the second section of the Fifteenth Amendment. The Equal Protection Clause and the fifth section of the Fourteenth Amendment provide further constitutional support.

It is to be noted that the proposed provision could in effect have a built-in penalty for those states that enacted discriminatory voting qualifications. Since the discriminated race would not be subject to the particular qualification and the favored race would, the Negroes would gain a distinct advantage.

In addition to its direct effect on the discriminatory tests and devices, this provision would have the important collateral benefit of removing the present incentive Southern states have for maintaining the education of Negroes at a relatively low level.

It should be noted that under the first formulation, proof of intent or purpose to deny the Negro the ballot is not required. Only the effect need be shown. However, the presence of "on account of race or color" could allow a court to exclude from the proposal's ambit those laws which are clearly not intended to be discriminatory. The second formulation explicitly recognizes the element of intent, but places a burden of rebutting the presumption of intent upon the State.

II. A second technical recommendation deals with a short but important amendment to the voting rights title that would remove a procedural loophole which could be used to defeat the title's intent. The title as now written instructs the federal district judge that "In appointing a temporary voting referee, the court shall make its selection from a panel . . ." (subsection (f), fifth paragraph, page 7, line 21) This sentence should be amended to read, "In appointing a temporary or a permanent referee, the court . . ."

Without this change, a judge could evade the purpose of the bill of requiring that the referee be chosen from the panel. He could do this by the following procedure: The judge would decide the case immediately to the extent of affirming the Attorney General's allegation that a pattern or practice of discrimination exists, thus terminating the temporary voting referee procedure of the present bill, thereby invoking the permanent voting referee provision of the 1960 Act, which allows the judge to by-pass the panel and have unlimited discretion in appointing the referee.

March 16, 1961

Mr. Joseph E. Cunneen
CROSS CURRENTS
West Nyack, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Cunneen:

Although we did not put out a press release on the enclosed reprint, "This I Believe," by Dr. Haywood N. Hill, we are sending two copies for your possible interest.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure

March 16, 1961

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor
CURRENT
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Neier:

Although we did not put out a press release on the enclosed reprint, "This I Believe," by Dr. Haywood N. Hill, we are sending you two copies for your possible interest.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 16, 1961

Dr. Haywood N. Hill
46 Fifth Street N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Hill:

We are sending you 25 copies of our reprint of your address, "This I Believe." We hope that you will find the format satisfactory. If you would wish additional copies, please let us know. Also, if you would like for us to mail copies to anyone, we shall be glad to do so if you would give us the names and addresses.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Enclosure: 25 copies
This I Believe

March 22, 1961

The Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations
P. O. Box 353
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neil:

We are mailing you today the requested 500 copies of "This I Believe" and our invoice is enclosed. Glad you like it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

March 29, 1961

Miss Lucia D. Lhamon
American Association of University Professors
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Miss Lhamon:

We are mailing you today the requested 60 copies of Dr. Hill's This I Believe. There is no charge.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Secretary
Research

March 29, 1961

Dr. Aaron Brown
Project Director
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Brown:

We are pleased to send you the requested 25 copies of Haywood N. Hill, "This I Believe."

In response to your request for materials that might be helpful and be related to your subject, we are mailing under separate cover several items.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years
Kenneth B. Clark, Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock, Ark.
Frank H. Stallings, Racial Differences in Academic Achievement.
Desegregation and Academic Achievement, L-17
Omer Carmichael, Transcript of Atlanta Television Program
Carl F. Hansen, Transcript of Atlanta Television Program
Report from Leadership Conference, Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations
25 copies, This I Believe

April 4, 1961

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
1210 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Samet:

We do have the requested 700 copies of "This I Believe" by Haywood N. Hill; the cost is .02 each, plus postage. Do you still want the 700 copies?

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

April 4, 1961

Mr. J. M. Kaplan
55 Fifth Avenue
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kaplan:

We reprinted "This I Believe" by Dr. Hayward N. Hill, and do have 1,000 copies available. The cost is .02 each, plus postage. I am enclosing one copy so that you may see how it looks.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Enclosure

April 4, 1961

The Rev. H. C. Lavenby
Department of Christian Social Relations
281 Park Avenue, South
New York 10, New York

1,000 copies of reprint, "This I Believe"
by Dr. Haywood Hill, @ .02 each

$20.00

ordered by telephone, 4-3-61

MA

April 1, 1961

Dear Mr. Fleming,

May I please have about 20 copies of "This I Believe." This is an excellent approach to the housing issue in the north as well as to the southern situation. If there is a cost for these I shall find some way to cover it.

The materials youhave been sending are very fine, and I am most grateful.

no charge

4-4-61
MA

Sister Marie Augusta SND.
Emmanuel College
400 The Fenway, Boston 15

Sincerely yours,
Sister Marie Augusta SND
Sister Marie Augusta SND

4-4-61

Dear Sirs: Could you send us 150 copies of the leaflet "This I Believe" by Haywood N. Hill, M. D. for distribution at our Huntsville Presbytery on April 20.

Thank you for your assistance.

Philip W. Zebley
Rev. Philip W. Zebley
Christian Education Chairman
Huntsville Presbytery(UPUSA)
4314 McClain Lane, NW
Huntsville, Ala.

4-5-61
MA
free (LWD)

May 3, 1960

Professor Harry Holloway
The University of Texas
Department of Government
Austin 12, Texas

Dear Professor Holloway:

Thank you for your letter of April 22, and for the kind remarks regarding our voters survey. I am afraid that we cannot be of much more help to you regarding Texas registration. As far as we know, the data which we managed to get on Texas were really the first that had been systematically obtained.

You are most welcome to use our name in citing any of our material. And we should be glad to hear more about your research and wish you well with it.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

September 7, 1965

Mr. James Y. Holloway
Department of Philosophy
and Religion
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky

Dear Jim:

I'm sorry there was a mix-up. I thought this had already been sent to you. It comes to me on a confidential basis; I pass it on on the same basis.

Come to see us when you can.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Enclosure - 1.
(Outline of Proposed Georgia Community Resources and Development Agency [Crada]).

File

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

September 3, 65

Dear Pat:

The last time I was in the office you mentioned that you might be able to get a copy of Elliott Levatis' draft of a bill on community relations, including I think a commission sponsored by the State. If so, I'd greatly appreciate the chance to see it, provided he is willing to have it sent to me for the work on the public policy memo.

I hope things are well with you. If you have any further suggestions or observations for me, please send them along. I miss the chance of talking with you about a number of these matters, and some others.

Cordially,

J

James Y. Holloway

September 27, 1965

Dear Jim:

Maybe the enclosed will be helpful on SNCC. Beyond this, I would suggest either writing or calling Julian Bond at the SNCC headquarters at 360 Nelson Street, S. W., here in Atlanta. Phone, 688-0331.

We have a request in with Randolph Blackwell of SCLC to help you out, but he will be out of town until the 4th of October.

Meanwhile, maybe the following from Dr. King's Why We Can't Wait, published last year by Harper and Row, will help:

> More and more people, however, have begun to conceive of this powerful ethic as a necessary way of life in a world where the wildly accelerated development of nuclear power has brought into being weapons that can annihilate all humanity. Political agreements are no longer secure enough to safeguard life against a peril of such devastating finality. There must also be a philosophy, acceptable to the people, and stronger than resignation toward sudden death.
>
> It is no longer merely the idealist or the doom-ridden who seeks for some controlling force capable of challenging the instrumentalities of destruction. Many are searching, Sooner or later all the peoples of the world, without regard to the political systems under which they live, will have to discover a way to live together in peace.

Man was born into barbarism when killing his fellow man was a normal condition of existence. He became endowed with a conscience. And he has now reached the day when violence toward another human being must become as abhorrent as eating another's flesh.

Nonviolence, the answer to the Negroes' nedd, may become the answer to the most desperate need of all humanity.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Enclosures - news clips (zeroxed) on SNCC.

Professor James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Department of Philosophy
and Religion
Berea, Kentucky

December 14, 1965

Dr. James Y. Holloway
Associate Professor
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

I really am glad to know you will be able soon to complete the outline on state public policy as it relates to minorities. But I am sorry you must devote your Christmas holiday to do it. With Dr. Phillips Bradley helping, I hope you won't have too much trouble whipping the outline into semi-final or final form. We are anxious to see where it leads.

Things are well in Atlanta. I visited with Les Dunbar on December 5 while in New York to receive a Lane Bryant Award. There I met a colleague of yours -- whose name I can't recall right now. She was there to accept an award for Dr. Louise Gilman Hutchins of Berea.

We already have begun planning the follow-through of your outline, and we welcome any suggestions from you.

I hope things go well.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

College: 986-3341
ac 606
Home: 986-8218

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY 40403
Department of Philosophy & Religion

December 8, 1965

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

Completing my precis on minorities and public policy has been on my mind since the school term began. But the fact is, five different courses spread over six days made it impossible for me to have the block of time I needed to complete writing up the outline. Hence, I plan to devote the Christmas holidays to it.

Dr. Phillips Bradley, who retired from the political science department at Grinnell, and who also taught at Syracuse, has been interested in the project, and has offered to help me on a couple of matters over the holidays. I have some further suggestions about where the project ought next to be taken in the light of the accumulation of new material since September, but I'll detail that in a covering letter.

I hope things are well with you in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

James Y. Holloway

Associate Professor

k

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. BOX 6156
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

Jan. 13, 1966

Rec'd 1-17-66

Sam:

Rob Elder of the Nashville Tennessean news staff agreed to write the piece for you and he plans to drop by the office tomorrow afternoon to get some clips I've worked up for him. It turned out that his wife has done some free-lance work for them on a newsletter and he was familiar with the setup. He agreed to the $20. Let me know if you have any delays and I'll be glad to check for you.

Jim
Jim

(Dr. James Holloway)

SA

Telephoned

2-17-66

February 25, 1966

Dr. James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

I appreciate your following through on the state government study and putting it on your list of urgent things to complete.

I hope the typist finishes before mid-week so we may make our next move.

Thanks again.

SEA FOAM

Very truly yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

February 23, 1966

Mr. Sam Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sam:

The lady who has been doing my typing has been unable to work on her regular schedule this ~~past~~ week. However, she should be able to commence typing the final portion of my study on Monday.

I am very sorry about this. Yet it would not have been practical to send my draft up to Atlanta for you to have had typed. This way I will be able to read through the material once more -- all the way through -- before sending it up to you in one piece. To repeat: I am very sorry about the delay.

Sincerely,

James Y. Holloway

March 10, 1966

Dr. James Y. Holloway
Berea College
Department of Philosophy
and Religion
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

I am impatient but not annoyed. I understand your problems, and I'm sure the end product is worth waiting for.

If we are able to do anything to expedite the work, please write or telephone.

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403
DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

March 4, 1966

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 40403

Dear Sam:

I am as annoyed at having to write to you about these delays as I know you are at receiving them, but they are beyond my control and I want to keep you posted.

My typist has had two bouts of sickness in her family in the past weeks, and she is now in the midst of moving across town on Saturday. She plans to let me have the mss. before moving, but at this stage, I don't know for certain that she will be able to do so. I am reading as she finishes, so when she completes it I shall put it in the mail to you, forthwith.

Sincerely,

James Y. Holloway

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY 40403
Department of Philosophy & Religion

March 21, 1966

Rec'd 3/23/66

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Enclosed is my memorandum on public policy and racial minorities.

I make the following suggestions, for what they are worth, in order of importance.

a) Because I am not a professional in the areas of public policy, civil rights, and state and local government, I strongly urge that you submit this memorandum (or relevant portions to the relevant people) to such professionals when you and the other specialists, in research and elsewhere, at SRC finish with it. Facts, and interpretations of those facts, are especially important to be checked out. I would be especially pleased if the Research staff at SRC would fill in specific details, such as statistics, charts, etc., which it seems to me would enhance the argument.

b) In that regard, it seems to me that the most important part of this memorandum is the fact that it is an effort to try to see the problem of minority assimilation in the South, complex as it is, in a total context and to direct a series of coordinated public policy proposals to that total context. The chief virtue in the memorandum, therefore, is to call attention to the integral and interrelated character of the problems of minority assimilation, and to tentatively, at least, suggest an integral and interrelated public policy to meet these problems. Hence, the professionals and specialists should not be too detailed in their specific recommendations, and not too picayunish in their objections to the synoptic character of the memorandum, which inevitably means generalization and lack of balance.

c) I have not submitted drafts to such professionals or specialists, but I have talked with a couple of them about the project and the recommendations as a whole, and they support the argument I have tried to summarize in paragraph b) above. I have let several people who have been involved in problems of integration in the South for a number of years as protagonists (white and Negro) see drafts, and I have incorporated a number of their suggestions in the memorandum.

d) I am not pleased at the precision with which I have stated the recommended policies at a number of places, but I feel sure this is due to the fact that I am not a professional, and welcome all efforts at improving the precision of the memorandum. The same is true for my lack of detailed knowledge and information about state government and public administration. No amount of time and study by me can overcome this handicap, which is a further reason for submission to additional specialists inside and outside SRC.

e) Related to this is my lack of enthusiasm with the phrase "minority assimilation." I hope you will feel free to employ alternatives.

f) The description on the title page is taken from Les Dunbar's letter describing the project to me.

I hope things are well with you.

Sincerely,

Jim

James Y. Holloway

PUBLIC POLICY AND MINORITIES

The purpose of this memorandum is to isolate and describe the larger, and the more basic, pressing, and common issues that confront state policymakers about minority assimilation and to develop recommendations for public policy for state governments.

SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

The "racial crisis" is merely the most striking symptom of a complex malady in American society which must be recognized in public policy recommendations for the assimilation of racial and other minorities.

An honest call by political authorities for full rights and opportunities is a necessary first step. The discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of minorities is widening, thus creating an even more serious and complex problem.

The federal system poses a threat and a promise to minority assimilation. An alternative and parallel arrangement might be found in "regionalism."

Initiative and positive action must, on the administrative as well as on the policy level, supersede the negativism of legal prohibitions against segregation, and must be related to and in part supported by a maximum participation at the local and neighborhood level.

The areas of greatest and most immediate concern to policymakers dealing with minority assimilation are education, employment, housing, law enforcement, medical services, farm opportunities.

An important requirement for public policy makers is the recognition of "the limits of public policy" in the area of minority assimilation.

The nature and the magnitude of the problem of minority assimilation requires an over-all, exhaustive, and coordinated program of state resources. This might be done at four levels:

1) A State Civil Rights Act;
2) A series of other, related, public policy recommendations; plus
3) an invigorated administration and bureaucracy led by a "Resources Office," and
4) maximum participation of minorities themselves in these policies and programs.

A state Civil Rights Act-should

1) serve as and therefore include an "earnest" from the State government to minorities;
2) prohibit discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin, and in membership in professional, business, commercial or labor organizations;
3) eliminate discrimination in public accomodations by a very broad and general definition of "public accomodations", with a minimum of exclusions;
4) direct enforcement to an agency of the "Resources Office" (a commission on human rights), with clearly specified procedures for initiation and receipt of complaints, on hearings, etc., with persuasion and education as the initial effort.
5) provide for punishment of retaliation and threats of retaliation; and
6) encourage civil rights efforts on county and local levels, including the creation of local commissions of human rights.

The enforcement, coordination and direction and initiative of the program of minority assimilation should be vested in a "Resources Office" whose Executive is responsible directly to the governor and legislator.

The specific public policy recommendations for areas suggested are:

1) Education
    a) beginning with the immediate and total integration of the public school system. The problem of "neighborhood schools" and the integration of faculties must be faced.
    b) Upgrading of the total educational system is an essential factor in minority assimilation; as are the problems of
    c) adult and pre-school education;
    d) "desegregation" and "integration" of textbooks;

- e) education of the majority about equal rights in American democracy; and
- f) trade and re-training school expansion.
- g) Higher education is the keystone and final test of the effectiveness of educational policy in minority assimilation.
  - 1) Deficiencies in preparation for higher education should be met in several ways;
  - 2) Public institutions have a responsibility in this regard, as do
  - 3) Private colleges and universities.
  - 4) Studies of predominant Negro colleges within the state are necessary in order to plan for their future in both the long and short run.
  - 5) Professional schools should be required to actively recruit students.
  - 6) The continued training of Negro public school teachers, especially those discharged by integration, is essential, and provisions thereon must be made.
- h) Public policy regarding education is a test of the integrity of the seriousness of programs to assimilate minorities: May the minority student exercise his option to a complete education without impairment because of race, color, religion, or national origin?

2) Employment

- a) covered in part by the State Civil Rights Act, should also be the concern of
- b) the "Resources Office," by establishing relationships and liasons between federal and local services and colleges, universities, the public school system, and trade schools, etc.; and by
- c) attracting industry on an integrated basis.

3) Law: Enforcement and Administration

- a) as a problem may find that the key problem is the political commitment of leaders at every level to educate employees and citizens about equal protection of the laws in American democracy.

b) Discrimination in the employment of law enforcing agencies and courts is essential.
c) Licensing of law enforcement officers is necessary.
d) Restrictions on minority law enforcement officers must be removed.
e) Instruction in civil rights, periodically, of all law enforcements is necessary.
f) Committees to deal with police misconduct should be established.
g) Inquiries into the racial element in capital punishment is in order.
h) Prison reforms should pay heed to any racial problems.

4) Housing.

a) The Resources Office should, with state planning commissions, plan for the elimination of ghettos.
b) Discrimination in housing projects might be handled through enforcing the guidelines on the contractors.
c) Rentals, on a non-discriminatory basis, by public housing authorities in established neighborhoods should be undertaken.

5) Voter Registration

a) Universal registration should be inaugurated.
b) Times for registration should be expanded.
c) Absentee voting should be made easier.
d) Election commissioners should heed racial overtones in irregularities.

6) Medical and Hospital Services

Should be guaranteed on a non-discriminatory basis through an agency of the Resources Office, paying particular attention to the practices in emergency situation. Discrimination in professional medical organizations should be prohibited. Negroes should be encouraged and prepared by special efforts to enter the medical professions.

7) Farm Employment, Training and Ownership

The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1965 demonstrates the plight of farm workers in the South and the importance of federal-state cooperation. These problems should be met by loans, training, and re-training and by the creation of a special agency of the Resources Office to coordinate these programs and services.

The choice before the South, and the nation, is whether or not this crucial test of the American system of democracy will be met, democratically.

Domestically, the political system of the United States is facing the most severe test of its capacities since the Civil War. That test is usually referred to as "the racial crisis." But it is now abundantly clear that the crisis of racial assimilation is merely the most striking symptom of a malady that touches every phase of American political, social and economic life. The malady strikes at the heart of the system of American democracy in our time, because previously it has been possible to rationalize, by the western frontier, wars, and the challenge of external foes, the hiatus between our professions about democracy and our performance thereon. The demand for racial equality and opportunity has not only called attention to the plight of racial minorities, but has provided the enthusiasm and the excuse for the examination of the plight of what Michael Harrington has called "The Other America," a plight in which race has an integral, but neither exclusive nor necessarily essential part. Indeed, an increasing number of commentators are suggesting that the "racial" aspect of the problem is almost accidental--that, essentially, the crux of the domestic political crisis centers around the extent to which this and the next generation will honor or pervert the tenents about the universality and equality of rights and opportunities that American democracy has so brashly proclaimed for 150 years. Thus, to cite only one example from an essentially conservative source, THE SATURDAY REVIEW: Emile Capouya, in his review of the recent autobiography and biography of the late Malcolm X, observed:

> Right now, in this country, every man stands between the devil and the deep blue sea. The ideals we profess as a people have scarcely any other function than to color greed at home and violence abroad. We are in a moral and political crisis. Almost alone, Malcolm X knew it and declared it; his doctrine was cast in terms of race, but that was very nearly an accident. Those who responded to his intuition of what was happening to us understood him whether they were Negroes or whites. I think that any reader who is at all accessible to the message must be moved by his autobiography--ingenuous, often mistaken about elementary facts, sometimes less than charitable, but mostly true and mostly very important.

It is necessary to make these observations at the outset so that the heart of the matter of this report will not be ignored by concentrating upon recommendations, techniques, procedures, programs, etc. The recommendations, techniques, procedures, programs contained herein are, at best, a belated start on a chronic problem in the life of the South and nation. For that reason, a--if not the--fundamental purpose of this report is to call attention to the context of urgency and complexity of the problem about which we present a number of recommendations, general enough to be adaptable, but specific and relevant enough, we trust, to commence a reasonable and intelligent retreat from the dead-end journey down which the states of our region have been headed for over one hundred years.

The "crisis of confidence" that exists in this country about equality of legal, political and economic rights and especially opportunities--without regard to racial, social or economic status--while obviously more subtle and complex than the problem with which this report is concerned, is just as obviously related to it. Proposals directed toward public policy in the field of minority assimilation in the South will be little more than short-term crisis-oriented pallatives unless those responsible for public policy recognize the relationship between these two sets of crises. Any attempt to otherwise assimilate cultural and economic and racial minorities will be ephemeral and seriously compound the sense of frustration and alienation already experienced by these minorities. And it is questionable just how far American society--and Southern society in particular--can sustain and assimilate this frustration and this alienation without doing irreparable injury to that society. It is clear, therefore, that, in the final analysis, success in meeting the problems of assimilating racial and cultural minorities will be determined by the willingness and the determination, in the first instance, of National and State political leaders, to meet this broader crisis in American democracy.

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Possibly the most direct way to meet the crisis with which this report is chiefly concerned is to issue a call for honesty--_viz_., to insist that the Constitutional rights to political and legal equality and economic and social opportunity must be realized fully and forthwith by all citizens. To so insist is to openly admit that several minority groups (in the South) do not at present~~ly~~ fully enjoy these rights and opportunities. Such an open admission at the Statehouse level might well be the most important initial step in a program of minority assimilation. In all probability, some such step is the _sine quo non_, for two reasons: to convince minorities of the sincerity of the political establishment, and to convince state agencies of the determination to face the problems of minorities. Such an insistence would also direct attention to the fact that the discrepancy between full rights and opportunities and the present status of economic and racial minorities is widening, not closing. The crises in Mississippi and Alabama occurred after the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964; the Watts streets riots occurred after passage of the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, after Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Bill and the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 had had opportunity to remove the most obvious source of the riots--hopelessness and meaninglessness.

The urgency of the widening discrepancy cannot be overstated and must not be overlooked. The discrepancy between the present situation of racial and economic minorities and the legal minimums prescribed by the Constitution of the United States is obvious, alarming, and unless alleviated, will become, in the affluent society, a fixed pattern that will continually ignite Watts streets and Selmas. Democracy as professed in the United States cannot survive the last half of the 20th century unless this overt and covert racial and economic discrimination is purged from American society. The economics of racism presents an obvious consequence of this discrepancy and an immediate challenge to political entities on every level of government. Those racial minorities which presently bear the brunt of the economic consequences of a racist society both in urban and rural areas are the very people most seriously threatened by technological advances in factories and on the farms. Unemployment, living on welfare doles and charities--and the consequent threat to a meaningful life within an ostensibly democratic society--threatens, especially in urban areas, the creation of political as well as racial dissidence of serious proportions. The most recent figures released by the Department of Labor (January, 1966) show that twice as many non-whites are unemployed as whites. [These are figures for the entire nation, and vary for each region, which we might include in a chart about Southern states at this juncture.] What happened in Los Angeles in August 1965 is a portent of things to come. Every qualified observer who has studied the causes of the present situation in Watts streets has predicted further trouble. The uneasiness in Chicago, East Harlem, Rochester, and in several areas of the South is well known.

The increasing "affluence" of the majority of American society and economy highlights the discrepancy between economic and political possession and opportunity for possession, and no where more obviously than in the programs of mass communications. The programing and the advertisements direct attention dramatically to the disparity between the lives of the white majority of established American "haves" and the lives of the impoverished, Negro, dis-established "have-nots." This disparity cannot fail to be noticed by those deprived by the political and economic system which persistently implores its citizenry to loyalty and thanksgiving for the benefits of living in "the greatest country the world has ever known."

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This report is concerned with public policy recommendations for state and local governments. Federalism, therefore, as a political method and a political value is a presupposition to the recommendations. And the fact is that the future of the federal system as a basic value and as a viable political undertaking in American politics may well depend upon the response of state and local governments to this principal domestic problem--*viz*, the treatment and assimilation of minority groups. (The impact of technology--especially in the bloated "defense" economy--may well pose the most serious threat to federalism, but this falls for the most part outside the scope of this paper.) The record of state and local governments in the South in the field of political rights, education, law enforcement, employment opportunities, public accomodations and medical care, for example, provides little ground for hope that the federal system can succeed here and stave off national control. Further discouragement about the capacity of local political units to deal forthrightly with the problems of minority assimilation is found in the responses of the administrations of certain large cities (Chicago and Los Angeles the most notable examples) to the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. When the very instrument designed to overcome minority deprevations is used by local political units (and local politicians) to increase their own power at the expense of the dispossessed, the despair and hopelessness that ignite riots and insurrections can be expected.

In the South, particularly, "federalism" as a political principle is usually connected with the value of "states' rights". But this, in turn, has been the chief device by which Southern state and local governments have not only impeded the assimilation of Negroes into Southern society, but have also sanctioned, and in some instances ab~~b~~etted and encouraged, violence against and the intimidation of Negroes. To suggest that "states' rights" permits the thwarting of the republican form of government in the United States, to suggest that "federalism" is the principle by which political rights and economic and social opportunities can be denied to American citizens is an obvious and fundamental violation of the letter and the spirit of the American Constitution and of the intention of the authors of the Constitution.

"Federalism", however, provides both threat and promise in the effort to effectively assimilate minorities. It can be, as it has been, used to thwart the legitimate legal and economic opportunities of minorities. It can, on the other hand, be a positive and healthy principle by which the national government may work effectively with local political sub-divisions to meet a problem that can be resolved, finally and effectively, only on the local level. What needs to be urged, however, is that there is no guarantee in the success of "federalism," or the rejection thereof. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 recognizes and accepts the importance of effective cooperation between national and local governments. Early experiences in the administration of funds under Title II must be carefully studied (in the ensuing years) in order to learn the possibilities and the pitfalls. At the present time the more obvious errors are apparent (the Johnson Administration's decision to channel funds through Mayor Daley in Chicago and, even after the Watts streets riots, through Mayor Yorty in Los Angeles), and, unhappily may suggest the trend for future O.E.O. programs. Policy planners must study reports (including newspaper reports) on several experiences of the working relationships between national and local political units. Here is an instance where state and local officials might rescue the initiative from federal agencies.

The importance of "federalism" to the effort of assimilating cultural minorities, and especially for this report on policy recommendations, is seen in the fact that one of the major recommendations of this report is the necessity of a neighborhood and individual participation by minorities in the decision-making process and administration of these programs themselves. There are sufficient indications that the problems of minority assimilation into America, and especially into southern society will be more effectively handled and finally resolved on the local level. With the one-man one-vote decision of the United States Supreme Court,- "local" political units are undergoing a profound change throughout the nation, and especially in the South. This change itself can, and ought to, be used by national, state and local political leaders to assimilate the previously politically and economically disfranchised who make up the very minorities which must be brought into all phases of American life. "The Negro's central problem," writes Charles E. Silberman in CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE, "is to discover his identity, or to create an identity for himself. What history suggests is that when the Negro solves his problem of identity, he will have gone a long way towards finding the means of relating himself to every other American group." Self-identity is not found apart from active participation in and determination of one's life and destiny. Welfar~~e~~ism and paternalism can no longer be used to delay the integration of minorities, or minorities, into the American system, even at the price of a radical change in the system.

The old ways of Southern Stoic-type paternalism and Northern welfare-paternalism, while perhaps not deliberately designed to keep the Negro from creating "an identity" for himself, had precisely that effect. The real beginning of a solution of minority assimilation will occur whenever minorities are permitted to design their own solutions to their own problems, in precisely the same manner in which the majority groups in American social and economic establishment does. Federalism here can be a positive device to encourage and sustain just such a movement, for the problem of minority assimilation will not only be ultimately resolved but will be more effectively handled over the long run by local rather than national direction. Clearly, however, the operative phrase here is "effectively handled" and "over the long run." The necessity for such a memorandum as the present one demonstrates the fact that heretofore state and local governments have largely abdicated their own clearly defined political responsibility, and thereby invited the intervention of national government into guaranteeing equal protection of the rights and opportunities of all citizens.

And, in point of fact, unless the assimilation of Negroes into all phases of Southern life is accepted and successfully met on state, county, city and township level, the problem will remain, by definiation, insoluble. The consequent peril of prolonging a solution to this problem is, of course, continued political turmoil, violence, and the increasing threat of anarchy and insurrection.

Needless to say, one of the fundamental issues involved in this discussion is "inward commitment."

In the first instance, state and local political authorities must accept the primary responsibility for initiating and implementing programs for equal treatment and assimilation of racial minorities. Visible proof of the above mentioned "inward commitment" of state and local political authorities will be seen when these same authorities initiate and maintain as one of their chief political responsibilities leadership of their people to interest in and support of programs for minority assimilation. Such assimilation is a basic value and goal of political democracy. It will provide an acid test over the next several decades about the dedication of Southern political units to the values of political democracy.

One possible alternative to the current moribund federalism that has made a measure of achievement over the past three or four decades is "regional arrangements." The insights of Howard Odum, an important figure in the early history of the Southern Regional Council, might well be applied to the regional character of the South's racial as well as economic and social and political problems. Indeed, such regional arrangements might well rejuvinate federalism and offer to the South a more dynamic as well as a more relevant approach to problems which so obviously defy state and local boundaries. The partial and potential successes, for example, of arrangements among the state of the Appalachian region~~al~~ in meeting the problems of strip coal mining, water pollution and deforestation offers a precedent and a promise. [The definition of "community action program" in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 would seem (may?) to permit such regional arrangements: cf. Section 202: "The term 'Community action program' means a program (1) which mobilizes and utilizes resources, public or private, of any urban or rural, or combined urban and rural, geographical area (referred to in this part as a "community"), including but not limited to a State, metropolitan area, county, city, town, multicity unit, or multicounty unity in an attack on poverty."] But a further source of strength can be found through regional arrangements among the states in overcoming local intransigence and prejudice as well as intrenched interest--economic and social--that is not presently available in arrangements between the federal government and state and local political authorities. The political traditions as well as the legal arrangements of this nation--for good or ill--have been geared toward local responsibility (and irresponsibility) in facing local problems. Perhaps a satisfactory and an important half-way house between localism and central initiative and control would be these regional arrangements.

The alternative to responsible state and local and regional activity in facing the problems of minority assimilation is clear: the "federal principle" (in this sense, state and local initiative and responsibility) in the areas of human rights and opportunities will continue to deteriorate at an even more rapid rate than has been the case during the past quarter decade. The pressure for and the urgency of the problems of minorities in this nation will not be thwarted by an appeal to an illegitimate federalism. Indeed, if it is clear that if federalism--in the strictest legal sense--becomes a barrier to the realization of minority rights,,then federalism will be swept away, de facto, if not also de jure.

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The principal lesson that the past twenty-four months has provided is that public policy on either the national, or the state and local level cannot be restricted merely to seeking an end to existing discrimination and compulsory segregation. Something far more positive than the mere legal prohibition against discrimination and segregation is obviously necessary. The President of the United States pays some homage to this truism, and in recent months has insisted that the more difficult and complex problems about minority rights that faces the federal government is transfering legal equality into human brotherhood. In the system of American democracy, however, this goal cannot be achieved--and possibly even successfully initiated--apart from full, active and committed participation on the state and local level. A principal concern and recommendation of this report consequently is that

Experience from non-Southern agencies

present commissions, boards, agencies, which by statute, or administrative decision have been involved in problems of minority rights and opportunities to receive or initiate and act upon complaints must move from this largely negative function to the more positive one of searching out the ways and means whereby minorities may be more effectively assimilated into Southern society. Perhaps this task, more than any, points to the tentative and initial quality of this report: in the first place, most of these "complaint-centered" agencies in the South have scarcely had time to learn their function of receiving and acting upon complaints before these new demands are put upon them to become initiators and innovators rather than reactors. And some states have few, if any, of the complaint-centered agencies to eliminate discrimination. But surely it is not premature to suggest that these agencies be ready to move into a more positive role before they become victims of their own precedents and prejudices--in much the way that complaint-centered agencies of the north have become--and functionally unable to move from a negative to a positive role.

With that particular recommendation in mind, therefore, it is necessary to insist that state and local policy must move, forthrightly, to bring about an actual integration of all sectors of public life. The complexity of modern American society and economy is such that this integration and assimilation will not come about apart from a determined and dedicated drive by state and local governments to make it come about. And, as we shall continue to insist throughout this report, unless minorities are assimilated, the American system will undergo a change so radical as to deny the concepts of its founders.

There are a number of reasons that public policy must be geared into an active and positive role of assimilating minorities instead of a restrained, negative role of eliminating current discrimination and segregation. It is necessary that public policy-makers be aware of these reasons. In the first place, any political or economic or racial majority is fundamentally reluctant to wittingly or reasonably share its political and social and economic well-being with a minority. This is especially true in the case of a racial minority in a political tradition which offers few if any precedents for rationally sharing political and economic power. Especially in the South, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 could provide a rational channel for the political adjustments necessary to bring about minority assimilation, (even though the Bill itself was not reasonably induced: one thinks of Mississippi in 1964, and Birmingham, and Selma, and Montgomery). Further, low-level administrators and bureaucrats are notorious for inertia, for an unwillingness to initiate or innovate plans or programs. Any alteration and innovation--to begin at the most obvious level--breaks the routine of the past, whether the past be five years, or fifty years. Bureaucracies, regardless of their origins or aims, are by nature and profession conservative. The responsibility for breaking the stranglehold of conservatism in the area of minority assimilation resides with the elected officials in whom, finally, responsibility for policy planning and implementation will ultimately lie.

But perhaps the most compelling argument for the necessity of positive initiative in the area of public policy for minority assimilation is the patent and ominous failure of the "desegregated" society of the North to lead to a continuous and gradual elimination of the barriers to political rights and economic opportunities. Legal prohibition of discrimination and segregation has been a fact of life in most Northern states for a century. Their commissions and agencies were structured to "receive and act upon complaints," in order to eliminate existing discrimination. But opportunities for assimilation into the predominate society of the North decreased, rather than increased, with the growth of the minority population in the North. No initiative was taken to avoid the development of new structures of discrimination. The vast ghettos of the north, (and the intransigent and self-righteous insistence upon "neighborhood schools") are testimony to the failure of political legal arrangements geared merely to performing the largely negative function of eliminating existing discrimination and segregation. Small wonder that minoritites see the law as the instrument whereby "segregation" is prohibited, but which in fact prohibits them--in the name of "desegregation"--from integrating into American society. Small wonder that minorities see law and legal arrangements as simply the instrument of the northern Liberal to preserve both his ideology and his predominance in the social structure.

Public policy in the South, therefore, ought to learn from the Northern failures. Public policy in the South must directly and without equivocation and with "inward commitment and outward determination" assimilate minorities into all areas of American society.

What, then, are the areas that are of greatest and most immediate concern to public policy-makers on the state and local level determined to assimilate minorities into all segments of Southern society? The fact is, there is little disagreement in the areas that demand the most immediate attention of public policy and minority assimilation. Racial and economic minorities, their leaders, and social scientists share some a measure of agreement that education, employment, housing and law enforcement are chief problem areas. But the further fact is that, including the ~~apart from such~~ restricted--politically, legally, socially, and economically--efforts as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Bill of 1965, and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently under consideration by the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, no thoroughgoing approach to the problem of minority assimilations at present exists. The chief purpose of this study is to provide at least a first step in the direction of a synoptic or overall approach to this problem. The first step in this task, therefore, is of fundamental importance: to isolate and direct attention to those areas in which it is generally agreed that public policy must center its energies and intelligence in seeking to assimilate minorities. We shall make suggestions for the direction public policy might take within these areas, but these suggestions must be deliberately general--not only because of the difficulty in projecting suggestions for thirteen distinct political entities and economic areas, but also because of the importance attached to the conviction already discussed: that the most reliable, long-term solution to public policy minority assimilation will develop out of an honest and genuine dialogue between public policy-makers, executives, administrations, legislators, and state agencies on the one hand, and "residents of the areas and members of the groups served" (to use the language of the Economic

Opportunity Act of 1964).

Many sociologists have directed attention to the fact that the very social system in the South which blocked integration is being radically and fundamentally changed by social and economic forces affecting the whole of American society, forces having little to do with "the racial crisis." Arnold Rose, for example, believes in giving the "greatest emphasis to forces involving social power, both economic and political, sometimes wielded deliberately but more often impersonally in the form of great trends affecting the whole society" viz., "continuing industrialization and technological advance, the high level of mobility among the American people" and, to a lesser extent, "the organization and political education of minority groups, an increased American awareness of world opinion, consistent support from other branches of the federal government and the Northern state governments, and the propaganda and educational efforts for more equal implementation of civil rights" (THE ANNALS, January 1965).

The "great trends affecting the whole of society" (in Rose's phrasing), and more especially the economic and political ones, point to what are unquestionably the most basic and the most common problem areas which public policy makers must face in meeting the tasks of assimilating minorities. In these areas--the areas in which "the great trends affecting the whole of society"-- are both the urgency and opportunity for the policymaker. A chief emphasis of this report is that in the first instance public policy must be directed to the minority problems implicit in these "great trends affecting the whole of society". These trends ought to be viewed not as harbingers of crisis but as seeds of opportunity in dealing with minority assimilation.

In their examination of the Racial Crisis in America (1964), Killian and Grigg make an often-repeated observation (p. 130): "It is true that tokenism is 'too little and too late.' But it is also true that token desegregation will be the dominant pattern until the cultural deficit of the Negro masses is reduced or the majority of Negroes reject integration as a goal, as the Black Muslims would have it . . . . The spatial distribution of the Negro population, the cultural deprivation of the Negro masses, and the social organization of the Negro community make it clear that, in the present circumstances, not many Negroes can benefit directly from the Supreme Court's decisions. Only a minority of 'qualified', highly motivated individuals will be willing and able to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the new legal principle. Over and over again it has been demonstrated that plans for 'voluntary desegregation' either result in token desegregation or, if more than a token number of Negro volunteers appear, in the eventual 'resegregation' of the institution and neighborhood." (italics added).

The Chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, as far back as December 1963, made much the same point, and it is as germane, and all the more urgent, two years later. He granted that the integration of public facilities was important, and that it was "also important to be called 'Sir' rather than 'boy'. But more basic than any of these are education and employment. The great mass of Negroes are more concerned where they work than where they eat; winning the right to eat at a desegregated lunch counter is small consolation to men who cannot afford the cost of the meal." George H. Esser, Jr., the Executive Director of the North Carolina Fund noted (at that same conference in December 1963) that half the families in North Carolina exist on less than $1,000 a year, and that surging mechanization in the factory and the farm makes the plight of uneducated, unskilled workers even more desperate. "Unless we face the challenge that is on us and if we don't decide to do something about it immediately, we're going to wind up by 1970 with more unemployables than a democractic nation can afford to have." (check this)

Education and employment are, from the point of view of public policy, the crucial and interrelated factors that form the crux of the problem of minority assimilation. There will be no substantial solution to any of the other, perhaps equally frustrating but individually less basic, problems that form the heart of the problem of minority assimilation. Public policy recommendations must, inevitably, seek to coordinate the problems in and policy for these areas with related yet distinct problems in law enforcement and administration, voter registration and participation, medical and hospital services, farm employment, and training and ownership.

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The premise upon which this study is based is that political, social, and economic disaster can be avoided only by a determined coordination of every resource of state government into an exhaustive effort to bring about the assimilation of minorities. But planning for this task will itself be doomed to failure unless the "limits of public policy" are recognized at the outset of the effort. The fact is that public policy recommendations, political activity, fresh judicial and administrative decisions are ~~themselves~~ insufficient to meet the problems of minority assimilation. What is meant here is far more than the hackneyed expression of ~~the~~ moribund conservativism that "morality cannot be legislated." Rather, the point is twofold: first, public policy recommendations must take into consideration the fact that without active acceptance by the majorities and full participation by the minorities, the division of minority and majorities along currently existing lines will continue indefinitely. Second, as the periodic attacks upon the problems of Appalachia have demonstrated over the past thirty years, programs which do not have a built-in awareness of their specific limitations are doomed to discouragement and abandonment at early, and sometimes only temporary, failures.

The consequences of this are clear. Public policy must encourage and solicit the active support of both majorities and minorities, especially with a view to developing the relevant responses of the minorities to programs for their assimilation into areas providing for the maximum expression of options and opportunities. The coordinated program to eliminate minority injustices and inequality must be drafted with full recognition of the long-range, on-going nature of the task it seeks to meet, and legislators, administrators, and the public at large must understand this aspect of the program and the policy. False optimism and early discouragements can only compound the existing problem by increasing the feeling of frustration and despair by minorities and of frustration and recklessness by the majority. A recognition of the "limits" of public policy, therefore, should assist the framing of a more viable and relevant series of public policy recommendations, by developing programs designed' to encourage types of efforts which, by definition, are beyond the possibility of direct political influence.

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We envision, therefore, a coordination of all resources of state government into an exhaustive effort to assimilate minorities in the earliest yet most effective and permanent manner. There are four major aspects to this task from the point of view of public policy.

lets read these

1) A State Civil Rights Act, (patterned after the Kentucky Civil Rights Act and the Uniform State Civil Rights Act currently being drafted by a special committee of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws.) Such an Act is necessary for two prinicpal reasons. First, it will serve as an earnest to those racial and economic minorities in the South who, for over one hundred years, have seen the political instrumentalities of their states used to keep them locked in a minority status. A great deal has been made about the fact that the pattern of state (and federal) government activities toward minorities has in the past generation shifted from outright hostility toward minorities and preserving the status quo of the existing power structure through the use of the machinery of government, to the use of

that machinery as a neutral, an umpire, between majority and minorities. We contend, therefore, that the machinery of government must now be used positively and actively to assimilate minorities into the mainstream of Southern life. A State Civil Rights Act would be a highly significant gesture of government to Negro minorities, indicating that their governments now intend to meet the obligations of providing equal rights and opportunities for all citizens. Similarly, a State Civil Rights Act would bind future state administrations to the goal of minority assimilation, and have a cleansing effect upon State politics.

About the 1966 Kentucky Civil Rights Act, Martin Luther King said: "The passage of this legislation comes as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of human captivity. We in SCLC, in conjunction with our affiliate organization, the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference, will cooperate in every way to implement this all-important bill. . . [The Bill contains] strong and enforceable public accommodations and fair employment legislation. This is a milestone for a Southern State, and indeed, a great step forward in any state. The passage of this bill will serve as a great beacon light of hope for all men of goodwill and hopefully inspire other states to follow suit."

Secondly, there are some aspects of public policy and minority assimilation which are best covered in a Civil Rights Act, especially the declaration of intention to bind the machinery of the state's government toward equality, the elimination of discrimination in employment, public accommodations, possibly law-enforcement, in the establishment of a state agency having principle responsibility for directing the coordinated program for minority assimilation, and for coordinating federal and state programs concerned with Civil Rights.

2) We envision a series of other public policy recommendations related in some cases to the State Civil Rights Act but which required specific and immediate attention because of their importance and urgency in the field of minority assimilation--notably education and employment, law enforcement, medical and hospital services and farm employment.

3) We envision the need of public policy to address itself to bureaucracies dealing with the problems of minority assimilation. While this is a common problem in every phase of the coordinated program, it requires specific mention at this juncture. The importance suggests that a special study of bureaucracy might be undertaken by each state on various levels of administration. The problem is concerned not merely with the agencies and

commissions concerned with problems of equal rights and opportunities being gradually shifted from complaint-centered to initiators of positive programs, but to what seems to be a built-in conservativism peculiar to American bureaucracies. Restrictions are already on record in the projects encouraging Community Action Programs to exert external pressure upon state and federal bureaucracies. Some plans must be devised to enable the bureaucracies directly involved in minority assimilation to re-orient and reorganize themselves to meet the current challenges.

4) We envision that every phase of these public policy recommendations must have as its central task the effective and genuine participation of the minorities in programs designed to assimilate them into the mainstream of our society. This should be done in every plan and program (including the drafting of a Civil Rights Bill), and especially in giving advice and effectiveness to programs of education, employment, medical services, neighborhood activities, law enforcement and farm programs. This policy has become axiomatic with those who have identified themselves most closely with problems of racial and economic minorities. It has been regarded as an ever-present danger to a number of city and state political leaders and even local administrators employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity. The relation of

the maximum participation of minorities to the issue of the "limits" of public policy in assimilating minorities ought to be obvious. Without such maximum participation, the area delineated ~~line drawn~~ by the "limiting" line of public policy will be narrower than it need be. Nathan Glazer recently made an important observation about the necessity for instrumentalities other than political ones to guarantee the success of any programs designed to meet the related evils of poverty and racism:

> And since the problem of poverty is so largely concentrated in our Negro population, I am convinced that much of the effort and manpower involved in overcoming it must come from the Negro community, even if funds that power it come from the Federal government [and we may add, "state governments"]. *It is axiomatic to me that Negro organizations--whether they educate, train, advise, employ, organize, or what not--can potentially do far, far more with Negro clients than can governmental organizations.* It is in the stimulation of individual and group effort--whether motivated by profit, charity, group pride, or the desire for individual fulfillment or salvation--that I see the most productive courses we can follow to overcome poverty. [Italics added.]

But the issue of minority participation in a democracy relates, in a very practical and very immediate way, to the majority. Saul Alinsky has eloquently reminded us that:

> From the beginning, it has been self-evident that the point of mortality of the democratic way of life has been in the people. This way of life cannot work unless most of the individuals work at it. The price is daily participation by the populace. One hundred and twenty-five years ago

De Tocqueville gravely warned that unless individual citizens were regularly involved in the action of governing themselves, that self-government would pass from the scene. Citizen participation is the animating spirit and force in a society predicated upon voluntarism.

We are not here concerned with the ever-present numbers of people who profess the democratic faith, but basically yearn for the dark security of dependency where they can be spared the burdens of decisions, fearful of personal responsibilities. Reluctant to, or incapable of growing up, they desire a constant childhood with others caring for them. Those who can should be encouraged to grow; for the other, the fault lies not in the system but in themselves.

Here, we are desperately concerned with the vast mass of our people, who, thwarted through lack of interest or opportunity, or both, to regularly partake of the frequent duties and responsibilities of citizenship are resigned to a destiny determined by others. Loss of identification as a citizen in a democracy is but a step from loss of identification as a person. The sense of not belonging produces a political and social numbness. If no one cares for you then you don't care for anyone. People react to this situation by not acting. The divorce of the people from the routine daily functions of citizenship become the heartbreak of democracy.

It is a grave situation when a people have reached a point of resignation of citizenship. Even when a resident of any great metropolis may have a desire to take a hand, he lacks the instrument by means of which he can translate his desire into active participation. And so the local citizen sinks further into apathy, anonymity, and depersonalization. The end is his complete dependence on public authority and a state of civic-sclerosis.

From time to time there has been an enemy at our gates; this time the Soviets, east and west; all the time, however, there has been and is the enemy within us; that hidden, malignant inertia carrying more certain destruction to our life and future than that in any nuclear warhead. There can be no darker or more devastating tragedy than the death of man's faith in himself, in his power to direct his future.

What public policymakers face in the effort to assimilate minorities, therefore, is the possibility of a genuine renewal or an inevitable disintegration of the democratic way of life. The possibilities of public policy--if the "limits" are recognized--in renewing American democracy by assimilating minorities is the most important domestic political challenge of the second half of the twentieth century.

We shall concern ourselves first with an outline of broad but essential features of a civil rights bill before turning to a sketch of the agency which might direct and coordinate the principal efforts in minority assimilation, and conclude with some specific recommendations for public policy in particularly acute areas.

We have already called attention to the two principal factors which call for the enactment of a state Civil Rights Law. Attention should also be directed to the fact that the United States Civil Rights Act of 1964 acknowledged the desirability of implementing the public policy of the United States--i.e., non-discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin--at the state and local level. That Act emphasized that its own enforcement could be through state agencies functioning under state laws which were compatible with the federal statute.

In this connection, a state Civil Rights Act would not only meet the requirements of federal law, but would provide a more sensitive, more efficient, more relevant, more effective, and less remote enforcement procedures than the federal law. It should, thereby, provide a more viable approach to and enforcement of the civil rights of all citizens, and thus provide the bulwark for minority assimilation.

The general outline of a state Civil Rights Act which follows uses as its principal model the Kentucky modification of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act. It is suggested that the final draft of the model of the Uniform State Civil Rights Act be consulted, when completed.

The first Article declares the purpose of the act, the importance of the earnest the act provides to all, but especially, to citizens of minority race or economic class. "To safeguard all individuals within the State from discrimination because of race, color, religion, and national origin in connection with employment and public accomodations; thereby to protect their interest in personal dignity and freedom from humiliation in places of public accomodation, to make available to the State their full productive capacities in employment, to secure the State against domestic strife and unrest which would menace its democratic institutions, to preserve the public safety, health and general welfare, and to further the interests, rights and privileges of individuals within the state."

The Article covering definitions should include under "person" not only "one or more individuals, labor unions, joint apprentice committees, partnerships, associations, corporations, the State and its subdivisions," but also specify chambers of commerce, real estate dealers, organizations of professional and commercial persons, including medical associations, teacher associations etc... The necessity for this specification is obvious; the reasons for it equally so, upon review of the consequences in medical practice, teaching, business operations, etc.), of segregating these professional and commercial associations.

The Article concerning Equal Employment Opportunity should have as its goal the elimination of employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin, for, as a minimum goal, 90% of a state's employees. This, rather than the percentage of employers covered, should be the determinative figure, although the percentage of employers covered should be the maximum, in line with the aims of the bill. Definitions within this article should specify professional and commercial organizations along with labor organizations. "Employer" should mean a person who has five (5) or more employees with the state in each of fifteen (15) or more calendar weeks.

This article should make it unlawful for an employer to fail or refuse to hire any employe, to discriminate against an employe in wages, working conditions, and other privileges or to limit or segregate employes in any way which would deprive or adversely affect his status as an employe, because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employment agencies, public or private, should also be covered in this article in their referring for employment individuals who seek their services. Labor, professional, and commercial organizations should no longer, under this article, be permitted to limit membership, segregate or classify membership, or cause employers or agencies with which they deal, to discriminate against individuals on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin. Employers and others, including individuals seeking employment should be prohibited from publishing advertisements specifying race, color, religion or national origin in matters concerning employment, or employer-employe relationships. The obvious provisions for dealing with equal treatment based on individual merit, and for a "reasonable exercise" of religious preference to church-related educational institutions and should also be included in this article.

The Article covering Public Accomodations should draw on the experience of state laws, and the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, on this subject. Clarity and uniformity are best achieved by making the coverage provisions as general as possible, and this clarity, in turn, eliminates both anxiety in the minds of owners and customers and the possibility of subterfuge. It should be made unlawful (in the words of the Kentucky act) "for a person to deny an individual the full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges, advantages, and accommodations of a place of public accommodation, resort or amusement" on the ground of race, color, religion, or national origin. Place of public accommodation, resort or amusement would include "any place, store or other establishment, either licensed or unlicensed, which supplies goods or services to the general public or which solicits or accepts the patronage or trade of the general public or which is supported directly or indirectly by government funds." Exclusions should cover only private clubs, defined "not as a place of public accommodation if its policies are determined by its members and its facilities or services are available only to its members and their bona fide guests;" barber shops and beauty shops grossing less than $5,000 a year; rooming or boarding houses containing no more than four rooms for rent or hire, within a building occupied by the proprietor as his residence. Publications and advertisements indicating discriminatory practices or services should be prohibited in this article.

Enforcement of the Act should be in the hands of an appropriate agency of the Resources Office, possibly incorporating within such Office ~~the~~ any existing Commission on Human Rights. Its initial, and [redacted] chief, work would, hopefully, be educational, persuasive, and conciliatory. But the Commission should have the"power to receive, initiate, investigate, seek to conciliate, hold hearings on, and pass upon complaints alleging violations of" the state Civil Rights act. The Commission would conduct preliminary investigations upon receipt of or initiation of complaints, determine if there is sufficient cause to believe that unlawful discrimination is being practiced. If so, it would proceed first to encourage compliance by conciliation and persuasion. If this fails, the Commission would then serve a complaint upon the party charged with discrimination, hold a public hearing, subpoena both witnesses and documents, barring the Commission member who filed or received and investigated and sought to conciliate the complaint. If the law is found to be violated, a cease and desist order should be issued, subject to review and enforcement in the state courts. Complaints are dismissed when staff investigation finds no probable cause, although the complainant can appeal this decision to the state courts. (Procedures found in the Model State Administrative Procedure Act should serve as a guide to protection of complainants, respondents, use of subpoenas and avoidance of general "fishing expeditions" in the conduct of hearings.)

Retaliation, and conspiracy to retaliate, against anyone exercising rights guaranteed by the State Civil Rights act should be made an unlawful act punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

Finally, the act should provide for the establishment of local commissions of human rights to encourage all levels of local government to protect citizens from discrimination, permitting counties to create such commissions, and cities and counties to cooperate with them in order to eliminate discrimination, and to pass ordinances enforceable in state courts.

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The Commission whose duties are summarized in the Civil Rights act to enforce the Act and to receive, initiate, investigate, conciliate, hold hearings on and pass upon complaints alleging violations of the Act, should, we believe, be a part of a broader state Agency or Office whose chief responsibility would be to initiate, and implement public policy dealing with minority assimilation, and to direct and coordinate the programs in existing agencies on the state and local level having to do with this problem. The details of such an Agency, Commission, or Office should, of course, be determined by specific states, but the chief functions of such an agency are fairly clear. (We shall refer to this agency hereafter as the Resources Office.)

We believe that the task of assimilating minorities is so urgent and so complex that a specially created, permanent Office is required to effectively initiate and direct the program. Quite possibly the Office should have several divisions, one being concerned with the enforcement of provisions of Civil Rights Act, and the other to include all of the other activities of the minority assimilation program. The immensity of the task of minority assimilation is so great that piece-meal, ad hoc programs are doomed to failure. The Office should be composed of those whose task it will be to continue to search out ways in which to implement, improve, speed minority assimilation, as well as implement the programs of initial legislative efforts. We suggest that the importance of this Office be established in many ways: the appointment of a Director whose prestige is assured by his designation as an Officer of the State

Administration who is responsible directly to the Governor and to the Legislature.

One function that should be performed by this Office is the collection and dissemination of information relative to problems of minority assimilation. It should be in possession of progress upon all such programs. It should be ready to distribute by a number of means information that would effectively counter the work of hate-groups and racists, simply by publishing straightforward and factual information. This office should also have responsibility for directing studies to be made of problems peculiar to minority assimilation in each state and, in cooperation with other states, in their regions. For example, the economic cost of unassimilated minorities should be an initial and integral part of the work of this agency and this study should be kept up to date. Other such studies which immediately come to mind would be possible effect of reapportionment; of urban decay; of rural migration; of birth control; of the relation of cultural deprevation and non-verbal "sub-cultures" and the possibilities of maximum educational attainment.

One of the reasons for urging an overall and comprehensive program for minority assimilation is the fact that there has never existed, on either Federal or state level, planning which takes seriously into account the problem with which we are here concerned. The over-all planning for this task should be done closely with state planning agencies (largely concerned with economic matters; indeed, no plan should be regarded as completed until it had gone through the Office concerned with minority assimilation and relevant state agencies such as education, finance, etc.)

Another activity of this Office would be concerned with the establishment of a code--possibly leading to legislation--covering the mass media. Perhaps an agency in this Office could administer such a code. In any event, some sort of code of fair practices is needed, especially in the coverage of news relating to "race relations", and also to matters of the sponsorship of certain types of "devotional" and/or "educational" programs by well-known economic-racial conservatives.

This Office should also have responsibility for dealing with problems of state-local relationships, and programs, dealing with minority assimilation. Assuming that the Civil Rights Act were effectively drawn, the state responsibility should supersede local perogatives in cases of minority discrimination. Indeed, the Office could well provide a clear delination of authority from the Federal Civil Rights act, through State efforts (summarized in Article 1 of the State Act), and to the local level. This would insure not only that the Office serve as a clearing house of information, but would insure as well that minorities received the full resources--legal, economic, and otherwise--of the state, federal, and local governments in the abatement of their problems.

The Office which we have described here will bear the principal governmental burden for the ongoing problem of assimilating minorities. It should be characterized by integrity and determination, for one of its chief tasks will be to create, and maintain, an atmosphere of openness and willingness throughout the State to complete the tasks facing all of the people of the state. The constitution of the Office should be framed in such a way that it be free of political tug-of-war and campaign pot-shots. The Executive should probably be appointed by the governor, with appropriate legislative approval, and a Board of Directors with over-lapping terms, whose appointments are determined by their insight into the urgency of the problem and ability to cope with it, plus experience in the State in various capacities, without regard to political affiliation. The Constitution of the Office should make it clear that the office is central in the State's administration, and that its tasks are second to none performed by the state.

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Education, with employment, are the two areas in which public policy recommendations are most likely to meet with success, and they are the areas which require the most immediate attention.

I. EDUCATION

A. The first step in meeting the problem of education faced by a determination to assimilate minorities is the immediate integration of the public school system, all grades, all phases. The gradualism and evasiveness, and in some instances fear, that have accompanied compliance with the 1954 Supreme Court decision suggests that an over-all state plan to integrate school systems immediately and completely is needed--quite independent, therefore, of specific plans made by localities at the behest of the Federal District Courts. We believe that such a plan, and the implementation thereof, should be put into the Resources Office of the state agency just described rather than in the state department of education. Officials in the State Department should share a responsible part of the planning to complete the integration of the school system. But final responsibility for the program, and for its implementation, should reside with the Resources Office.

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Among the issues that must be faced in planning the end of minority isolation, is the problem of de facto segregation in the concept of "neighborhood schools." This obvious subterfuge must be faced and solved in the plan to complete integration of the school system. Another issue that the plan should cover is the integration of public school faculties, which is essential in assimilation of minorities, and would provide in most cases a positive example of such assimilation. Similarly, provisions must be made for the integration of school administrations and school boards as well as of faculties and students. Possibly some form of a quota system should be used in the initial stages to insure that Negro teachers, administrators and school board members are appointed.

B. Related to the integration of student bodies, faculties, administrations and school boards is the fact that an emergency program is in order in each Southern State that would bring the school system abreast of other systems in the nation. This involves, in the first instance, an up-grading of the teaching professions in public education by increased salaries and benefits, with the corresponding increase in requirements for teacher qualification and certification. These qualifications should be maintained through renewal of certificates upon continued work and study.

C. Public schools have a responsibility today to educate other than young people, and this task is one that touches one of the central problems of minorities--adult illiteracy, and pre-school-deficiencies. Public school systems must supplement the education of those who have, suffered under a segregated school system, and this means primarily adult general education programs, begun immediately, and offered in the evening hours and, for those unemployed, daytime hours. The program should be tuition free, and textbooks provided without cost. Related to this is the problem ((isolated by Martin Deutsch and others)) of the permanent effect in the formative years of ages 1-5 of "non-verbal" and non-reading environments. (To meet this problem, public schools must commence "head-start" programs on a year-round basis, as early as four years old, introducing children to the rudiments of education, socialization, reflection.)

D. School text-books ought to be "desegregated" and "integrated". This notorious problem in American education must be met immediately. The influence--politically, economically, militarily, socially, culturally--of minorities must become a part of the instruction of young people in the traditions of their democracy.

E. Related to a task already discussed for the Resources Office is the necessity of an overt program to educate the white majority of Southerners about the basic constitutional rights of all citizens. The legal egalitarianism of the Constitution must be made obvious. Furthermore, the white majority must be made to realize that economic opportunity and well-being, along with political and social equality, is as far as their own immediate situation is concerned, the essential feature of the American system of democracy. This program can be carried out in several ways which relate it to the work of the Resources Office. Members of the Resources Office could prepare material for use by the Governor in speaking on the urgency of the problem of minority assimilation.

F. Trade and Re-training schools are in need of creation and/or expansion. Those who are presently disinherited economically and socially by the centuries of segregation have a right to be prepared by education and trade to be assimilated into this society. Those presently suffering the greatest hardship through lack of skills and training in the South are Negroes who have suffered under, at best, an inadequate educational system. Trade and retraining should not be restricted to young people. The public education system has a responsibility to prepare all citizens capable of earning a living for a trade.

Another function of trade and re-training schools would be to work particularly with those schools whose student bodies have been most severely dislocated by integration--particularly those students in them who have been unwilling or unable to continue in an integrated school system.

This preparation in trade and technical schools should be carried out in an integrated atmosphere as part of the education of moving into integrated employment.

Finally, this preparation should be in skills that are relevant to the last half of the twentieth century, and not restricted to automobile mechanics and plumbing--that is, in electronics, computor operations, etc. much elaboration

G. There are a number of specific recommendations dealing with the field of higher education.

1. The fact is that equality in higher education is still a distant goal in the south (and through most of the nation) because of the continuance of the systematic exclusion of Negroes from adequate preparation for college and university work. Because of this, all segments of higher education have a special responsibility for instituting programs to overcome this educational deficit produced by inadequate and segregated school systems. A variety of means ought to be employed: special sessions, tutorials, institutes--in every corner of the state--should be undertaken, under the auspices of the institutions of higher education to prepare Negro students for higher education. Otherwise, claims about equality of education in both public and private institution will continue to be fradulent, despite clauses about acceptance of "all properly qualified applicants without regard to race or creed."

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2. Public institutions have a special responsibility to initiate programs designed to overcome the deficiences of segregated school systems. Two procedures seem most obvious: first, the boards of control of state institutions of higher education should establish remedial and preparatory programs physically accessible to all citizens, designed to overcome past and present deficiences of public school education, and enable all students to have the opportunity to enter institutions of higher education. Such programs should be offered at convenient hours, in excess of regular programs of public education, designed specifically to prepare students for college work. Wherever possible, these programs should be conducted on the campus of institutions of higher education, and instruction should be given or led by college faculty. Second, the Resource Office, in coordination with state departments of Education and board of control of state institutions of higher learning, should institute a permanent program to encourage students of minority groups to plan their high school careers so that they will be able to exercise the option of choosing or rejecting higher education, rather than have circumstances make that decision for them.

3. Similarly, private colleges and universities should be encouraged to institute similar programs in

their admission programs. Perhaps part of that encouragement might consist of matching funds from the state to prepare students in special summer and after-hour sessions to meet admission requirements. (Private colleges unwilling to participate in such programs should face re-examination of charter and/or tax-exempt status.)

4. A study patterned after the Teachers College, Columbia University The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition (1965) should be prepared under the auspices of the Resources Office, with the cooperation of the state boards of education and board of control of state institutions of higher education. (Of particular interest should be the findings with regard to the phasing out of graduate, technical, medical and law schools;) on the possibility of using these facilities for compensatory education for young people and for the general education of adults--(both on an integrated basis;) finally and most important, on measures necessary to strengthen the existing predominantly Negro colleges. The guide-line for this latter recommendation should be the realistic appraisal ~~of~~ found in the Teachers College study by Earl J. McGrath: "Any reasonable estimate of the speed of desegregation suggests that these institutions for the foreseeable future are likely to provide the major source of educational opportunity for Negroes who continue their education beyond high school."

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5. Professional schools must themselves assume the major burden of responsibility for actively seeking out potential Negro students in their particular fields. This is especially true in schools of medicine, law, and in graduate schools of the natural and physical sciences. These schools should have a permanent program designed to acquaint freshmen and sophomore college students with their disciplines, with requirements for entrance, and engage in specific training programs and institutes in summer and after-school hours preparing Negro students to meet entrance requirements. Professional schools (with certain exceptions) are notoriously conservative about such matters. Nevertheless, the degree of their public financial support today lays upon them the special responsibility to undertake such programs. Such financial support also provides a basis for a coordinated program of federal and state authorities to require that such professional schools undertake such programs as a condition for continued support.

6. An immediate and substantial program of continuing the education of Negro public school teachers is in order. This program should be geared to the problems of continued integration of public school systems. Negro (and white, for that matter) teachers who lose their position because of integration should be fully supported financially for a minimum of two years to continue their education and

to develop skills especially needed in their particular area or state.

Throughout this report, we have reiterated the crucial factor of education in minority assimilation. While it is clear that "education, alone" will not eliminate the problem of minority assimilation, it is clear that it is the key that is in the ~~position~~ Power of public policymakers.

The successful beginning, therefore, of public policy to assimilate minorities might be geared by its success in the very area of its greatest and, in the long-run, its best hope: education. Furthermore, the success of this endeavor in education can be ~~gauged~~ Judged easily: by the degree and the ease to which minorities are able to pass from the first to the last stages in education, public and private, within the state, and the degree to which the public policy of a state has successfully eliminated all barriers to complete education based on minority status alone. In the culture and society and economy of the United States in the last half of the twentieth century, the importance of education cannot be overemphasized. Education is, perhaps, assuming the nature of a fetish in our country; if so, it is a fetish which has become the key to entrance into, and alteration of, the mainstream of American society. This situation is stated deliberately and provocatively in the report by Earl J. McGrath on Negro colleges. His statement makes it clear that if as we have agreed a State Civil Rights Act is necessary to convince minorities that state governments are now, after more than a century, serious about their plight, public policy regarding to education will be a test of the endurance and the integrity of that seriousness.

> Without . . . greatly magnified support much of the present heartening public concern about the inequalities the Negro has suffered in American society and efforts to eradicate them will regrettably be abortive. For as a number of economists, sociologists, and generally well-informed persons have observed, economic well-being, job opportunities, social status, and general public acceptance today depend on the amount and kind of education the individual has. This will be increasingly true, regardless of race.
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> *Opening the doors to higher education for the Negro is an indispensible step, indeed, the* sine qua non *in his personal and social advancement* (italics the author's). The right to vote, the right to work, the right to live where he chooses, the right to move freely anywhere in American society--these rights are all dear to the man who knows what freedom is and wants it. But the right to education is no less precious than these, and to a growing degree it is the single right without which a man cannot fully obtain the others. Negroes and all citizens who want to gain for them the full benefits and privileges of living in this society ought to pour their energies into efforts to expand the opportunities for higher education among Negroes and to improve its quality.

II. EMPLOYMENT

A. Article 3 of the State Civil Rights Act covers the basic elements of equal access to employment opportunities. It should be noted that the Resource Office has power not merely to receive, but also to initiate, violations of the Act, which includes employers of more than five (5) persons, and labor organizations and private as well as public employment agencies. (The State Civil Rights Act would also empower the Resource Office to work with the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission created by Title VII of the 1965 Civil Rights Act.)

B. The Resources Office should be responsible for establishing and maintaining a relationship between federal, state, and private employment services and colleges, universities, trade schools and high schools and locally based minority organizations (social, fraternal, political organizations). The purpose of this relationship would be to activate and encourage compliance with Article 3 (and Title VII) of the State (and Federal) Civil Rights Acts; to make a special effort to acquaint Negro and other minorities of available employment opportunities; to report to the Resources Office opportunities for which qualified persons are not available so that steps might be taken to institute training programs for these openings; and otherwise relate the problems of employment and unemployment, training and the lack thereof, to the Resources Office.

C. The Resources Office should have the responsibility to guarantee that industry is attracted to the state on an integrated basis.

III. LAW: ADMINISTRATION AND ENFORCEMENT.

A. Possibly the key to long-term success in the area of law enforcement and administration is to couple policy recommendations with an on-going commitment of state political leaders to educate their citizens in the meaning of "equal protection of the law." Political campaigns are a proper forum for such education; political leaders speaking to service clubs, etc., should direct speeches around such themes. State and local bar associations should be encouraged by the Resources Office to undertake projects dedicated to an elucidation of the significance of "equal protection of the law" to American democracy.

B. The most obvious place to begin a program designed to equitably enforce and administer the law is to eliminate discrimination in the employment of state and local police forces and in the courts of law. State and local enforcement agencies should undertake campaigns to equalize the distribution of employees by education and training.

C. Given the present status of law enforcement in the South, especially the rural South, some system of statewide licensing of law officers, to be renewed periodically, should be instituted. The revocation of such a license would prevent the individual from being an enforcement officer anywhere in the state.

D. All restrictive clauses on classes of officers--

especially those prohibiting a Negro officer from arresting white people--should be elininated.

E. A continuous system of instruction should be maintained at all levels of law enforcement about the basic civil rights of all citizens. Licenses should be granted only to those persons who had received such instruction and had satisfactorily passed an examination on the subject. This program should be the primary instrument to alter the attitude of law enforcement officers in areas strongly inclined to racial prejudice.

F. Committees on various levels empowered to hear, investigate, and act upon charges of police misconduct are necessary. The problem of the constitution of such a panel is well-known. One possibility is a panel composed of citizens elected for this duty, the law-enforcement officers, and members appointed from the local bar association.

G. An investigation should be launched leading to the publication of data on the question that capital punishment in the South is a form of racial intimidation, or vengeance.

H. Investigations should be made into specific problems of racial segregation in prison systems or within specific prisons. The movement toward a more humane effective prison system is a particularly important problem for Negroes in the South, and this work should be encouraged by periodic investigations from the Resources Office.

IV. HOUSING.

A. The Resources Office should be empowered by law to work with the state planning commission, and with local housing authorities, to eliminate existing ghettos, to prevent the creation of new ones, and to approve plans submitted by localities to the federal and state governments for urban renewal and resettlement.

B. Close supervision of public housing to avoid discrimination should be vested in the Resources Office. The proof of non-discrimination in new public housing would be actual residence of Negroes at completion. This can be done by having contractors accept the responsibility to recruit minorities in reasonable quantity as tenants. When recruitment lags, or fails, the contractor might be penalized by suspension of additional funds or cancellation of the existing contract.

C. Federal-state ventures into non-discriminatory housing should also consider renting existing housing and subletting it on a non-discrimnatory basis.

(Note: Eugene Feingold and Robert J. Harris have in preparation a study of "cease and desist agencies" concerned with public housing, and their tentative conclusions argue against such agencies-insofar as housing discrimination is concerned. Presumably their study, when completed, will suggest alternatives. I have embodied two of their tentative suggestions in #2 and #3 above.)

V. VOTER REGISTRATION AND PARTICIPATION.

A. Universal registration of all citizens eighteen years and older. Only those actually serving prison sentences should be barred from registration.

B. Provision for regularly scheduled evening and week-end registration should be made. Volunteer deputy registrars should be recruited in the event of shortages of funds on the local levels.

C. Provisions for absentee voting should be simplified and these ballots more widely used.

D. Election Commissions should be established having control over both primary and general elections. These commissions should also investigate abuses in registration procedure.

VI. MEDICAL AND HOSPITAL SERVICES.

A. A state agency, possibly from the Resources Office, should be empowered to investigate and enforce non-discrimination in all hospital and medical services. This should be coordinated with recent directives from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare seeking to eliminate remaining segregation in federally supported hospitals and medical services.

Particular attention should be paid to practices in emergency rooms, ambulance services, and receiving rooms where, in the past, discriminatory practices have been responsible for unwarranted embarrassments, suffering, and even death. Possible fine and imprisonment admendments to the State Civil Rights Act might be considered in the event of prolonged non-compliance.

B. Discrimination in organizations of the several medical professions should be prohibited by law. (Cf. State Civil Rights Act.)

C. Negroes should be encouraged by programs launched by the Resources Office, but supported by local organizations of physicians, hospital associates, nurses, etc., to enter the various medical professions. Information about type of pre-medical training, loans, special training outside regularly scheduled high school and university work, should be inaugurated in communities of minorities.

VII. FARM EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, OWNERSHIP.

A. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but superior to the State Department of Agriculture, of problems of assimilation of minorities of farm populations, by the establishment of a special section devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban area migration, and farm ownership. The first and most obvious task of this section would be to coordinate state problems in this area with the many relevant programs of the federal government.

B. The indictment of the United States Department of Agriculture by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in March 1965 ("Equal Opportunity in Farm Programs" makes plain the fact that a large measure of the success of meeting the crisis of minority assimilation of farm population must be largely born by state activities. While the Civil Rights Commission statement is valid--"few of the economic problems now burdening the rural South can be solved until basic changes are made in the Federal programs designed to bring about solutions--the chronic nature of the problem--again as stated by the Commission--demands the immediate attention of policymakers in the state:

> For decades the general economic, social, and cultural position of the southern Negro farmer and rural resident in relation to his white neighbor has steadily worsened. Whether measured in terms of value of products sold, level of living, land and home ownerwhip, or schooling, most of the 47 million Negroes living in southern rural areas are seriously disadvantaged when compared with rural white southerners.
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> Each census enumeration of population and agriculture has reflected the fact that the Negro farmers have not participated fully in the benefits of government programs and the progress of American

agriculture. The continuing reliance of Negroes on cotton, tobacco, and peanuts in an economy where white farmers are rapidly diversifying to other farm enterprises has been shown in Government reports issued every 5 years. Statistics have attested to the shrinking acreage farmed by Negroes. Every 10 years the census has reported a widening gap in income, education and housing, between southern rural whites and Negroes.

Although small farmers, without regard to race, are rapidly decreasing in number and although economic pressures appear to be forcing a reduction in number and an increase in size of farms, there is unmistakable evidence that racial discrimination has served to accelerate the displacement and impoverishment of the Negro farmer.

For more than 100 years--and particularly during the past 30 years--the U.S. Department of Agriculture has administered federally financed programs designed to improve almost every aspect of the lives of low-income farm and rural families. Although other political, social, and economic factors have simultaneously operated to the disadvantage of the rural southern Negro, it should be a matter of national concern that the gap between Negro and white rural residents in the South has increased during the very period when the programs of the Department were helping thousands of rural white families to achieve substantial gains in income, housing, and education. As the group most depressed economically, most deprived educationally, and most oppressed socially, Negroes have been consistently denied access to many services, provided with inferior services when served, and segregated in federally financed agricultural programs whose very task was to raise their standard of living.

The Commission's analysis of four major U.S. Department of Agriculture programs has clearly indicated that the Department has generally failed to assume responsibility for assuring equal opportunity and equal treatment to all those entitled to benefit from its programs. Instead, the prevailing practice has been to follow local patterns of racial segregation and discrimination in providing assistance paid for by Federal funds. At the same time, the Department has not developed adequate procedures for evaluating the degree to which its programs reach Negro as well as white rural residents.

One result of this failure of responsibility has been the perpetuation of a double standard for southern Negroes and whites affected by the Department's programs. In the Cooperative Extension Service this has led to the creation of separate and unequal administrative

> structures providing inferior services to Negro farmers, youth, and homemakers. In the Farmers Home Administration, it has meant a different kind of service to the two races, with Negro farmers receiving for the most part subsistence loans with limited supervision, while white farmers received supervised loans for capital expenditures. In the Soil Conservation Service, the result has been little service at all to many Negro landowners in areas where no Negro staff members are employed.
>
> As applied to staff, the double standard has taken various forms in the programs studies. These have included failure to recruit, employ, or upgrade Negroes, or to permit them to serve white farmers; isolation of Negroes in separate offices or at segregated meetings; and providing Negro staff members with inservice training of shorter duration and inferior content than that given white staff members. In State extension services Negro staff members have often been required to provide to Negro farmers technical services outside their area of training, while white farmers have received assistance from specialists in these areas.

The discriminatory record of the U. S. Department of Agriculture merely writes in large letters the activities of state departments of Agriculture in the south. We believe that the most immediate, effective, and permanent resolution of the problems of minority farm populations will probably come about through federal-state-local cooperation, given the large stake--financially, politically, and otherwise--that the federal government has in the farm economy.

C. The most practical way in which to meet the problem of minority farm populations are, first, by easing of availability of long-term loans for land purchase and improvement, and short-term loans for operating costs, diversification, and for meeting emergency expenses. Second, by making available, in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to farm owners, workers, youth, and homemakers in rural communities the educational services of the Departments on state and federal levels, through 4-H clubs, and other such activities.

D. The Resources Office should assume the responsibility, in conjunction with but nevertheless superior to the state department of agriculture, of coordinating the problems associated with the assimilation of minorities of farm populations, chiefly by the establishment of a special section devoted exclusively to the problems of farm employment, training and re-training, rural-to-urban migration, and farm ownership. This section of the Resources Office would take responsibility for coordinating state problems, and programs, with the relevant agencies and programs of the federal government.

* * * * * * * * *

While the problem of the "inward commitment" of political leaders and policymakers concerning the assimilation of minorities is obviously fundamental, and the magnitude of the task with which this report is concerned is transparent, neither of these factors should be permitted to impede the efforts to face these issues of crisis with determination, intelligence, and goodwill. The first and irrevocable step that must be taken, we believe, is an over-all and coordinate plan to exploit existing state programs, and to create new ones, to meet this crisis. In this, the South might even provide leadership to the federal government, which has so far been unable or unwilling to accept the necessity of a coordinated plan and program to deal with minority (racial and economic) assimilation.

The honest and effective and permanent assimilation of minorities, especially racial minorities in the South, into the mainstream of American life, hope, and opportunity is a matter about which this democracy has neither option, nor a great deal of time. The failure to bring about this assimilation immediately and democratically will toll the one failure this democracy cannot afford. The failure to do so, democratically, will be the irretrievable failure of the system of democracy in the United States of America.

And that is the choice which is clearly before us.

March 5, 1968

Mr. James Y. Holloway
Box 936 College Station
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Mr. Holloway:

Mr. Watters has asked me to reply to your letter of March 2, concerning your order requests.

We are not ordering the Report to the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in bulk, but you can order a single copy for $1.25 from Bantam Books, Inc., 271 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016.

The six copies of the summer New South are being mailed under separate cover.

You will be hearing from Mr. Watters personally in a couple of days in regard to your invitation to cover the conference being held next month.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Secretary to Mr. Watters

jcs

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403

BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION
JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY

March 2, 1968

Rec'd 3/5/68

Dear Pat:

You know to look out for requests when you see my paper coming your way. But I need -- if possible, 2 copies -- of the President's Commission on Urban Disorder's Report, which I understand Bantam is putting out in paperback. They'll probably never reach us here, and it occurred to me that you folk will be getting them in as early as anyone, or would have access to them. I hate to pester you about this, but if you could, I'd appreciate it very much, and can assure you that we'll put them to good use. (Also the text of the short report that came out a few days before the final report.)

/ for Seminar: Contemporary Political Thought

And I can use another half-dozen copies of the Summer NEW SOUTH.

Please bill me for both items, please.

This is in no way a recompense, but why not come up and cover our RACIAL PROGRESS? conference next Month, April 25-26. We're having Julian Bond, Mrs. Hamer and Wm. Strongfellow. John Lewis can tell you about it, and the situation here. He did us a first-rate job when he was here. I think that there may be a story in the conference; it is an innovation for us, and perhaps for other Southern and border schools. But I know it'll be interesting. Let me know what you think.

And thanks for your help.

Kindest,

BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION
BEREA, KENTUCKY 40403

JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY

BEREA, KY
MAR 3
PM
1968
40403

6c
FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
U.S. POSTAGE

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 18, 1968

Mr. James Y. Holloway
Box 936 College Station
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

It was good talking to you. Here's the picture; please return it.

I sure hope you do get by here while you're in Georgia.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

Encl. - 1.
5x7 photo of Les Dunbar.

May 24, 1968

Mr. James Y. Holloway
Box 936
College Station
Berea College
Berea, Kentucky 40403

Dear Jim:

I have read the speech. Among the foremost reactions is a sort of startled shame that it was all news to me; I never had heard of Ellul, etc. The ideas, however, were more familiar -- mostly out of bitter experience. Long ago, I came on my own to the knowing that it is the institutions -- with a life and a power of their own -- that do the evil, not the people in them, good or evil as they may be. Technique sums it up better.

I'll go to reading your sources. Meanwhile, it did occur to me that Southerners, out of their conditioning in racism, are maybe further along than most Americans in the ability to accept for others, if not themselves, the fate of being objects. A question, too -- does technique necessarily result in evil? You don't say that, but your examples suggest it. I was thinking that the Viet Cong seem to have been able to thwart technique so far; then thought further, well -- no, they just have a better one. Is the difference the human element -- the fact they can believe in what they are doing and we can't?

As to Ferry, black power, etc., have you read Paul Goodman's piece in the May 23 New York Review of

Books? I think it comes far closer than Ferry to describing what ails most whites. Incidentally, I think, too, that the statement you sent me some time ago of the Berea students about the OEO programs in the mountains was as good an expression of the best of black power as I have seen.

Ahyhow, thanks for stirring me up.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403

BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION
JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY

May 14, 1968

in PW's possession.

Dear Pat:

I'm sending along a paper I read last month in a faculty lecture series -- some folk wanted a copy of the script and I just got around to having it retyped and reproduced. I'm not given as a rule to circulating speeches, but I thought I'd send you a copy to try to convince you that it is not simple perversity that accounts for the way I read developments, "at home and abroad" as the newspapers say.

Moreover, you may think I've taken leave of my wits because we are running a revised and expanded "Farewell to Integration" in the current Kat. Ferry spent the day with me a couple of weeks ago, and said you'd written him about the piece, but didn't go into particulars -- which I read last night in their magazine. My reservations about his proposals (and about some of Sotkely-Hamilton proposals) are scattered throughout this piece. A guaranteed annual income would be as nice as having a new constitution to control technology, but one can make that proposal seriously only when he assesses political processes for the last fifty years. Whether Mississippi or Washington, politics seems fated to use their power over the wretched of our earth the way they have used it in the welfare programs -- which now includes plans to deny assistance to militant college students. In other words, my reservations are with his political proposals; I think his theses have merit because that is where we are in this country, racially, and therefore, it makes more sense to discuss Ferry's case than a possible gambit of legislation from Kennedy's scriptwriters.

But I'm not hopeless (maybe), since I want to use New South's "Poverty" issue in my Christian ethics classes next year, and will have the bookstore place the order, in the hope that you'll have enough for both semesters. The "Maybe" is because I'll also use Malcolm Speaks, and Will's book, and Ellul's PRESENCE OF THE KINGDOM.

There aren't too many Id be serious about in saying this, but I would like to get your reaction, when you have time to plow through it.

Kindest,

J.

Mechanics always evil?
Southerner's conditioning to objects, to fatalism

BEREA COLLEGE • BEREA • KENTUCKY • 40403

BOX 936 COLLEGE STATION
JAMES Y. HOLLOWAY

File

October 26, 1968

Dear Pat:

Am returning Les' photograph.

Many, many thanks for letting us use it. We'd have been up a stump had you not helped us out.

Hope things are going well with you. I'm to be in Georgia late next month, and if we hit Atlanta I'll try to give you a call.

Kindest,

J.

Nov. 5, 1951

Mr. J. W. Dees
Dept. of Social Science
Bethune-Cookman College
Daytona Beach, Fla.

Dear Mr. Dees:

The Council has not published a round-up of progress in race relations by states since the October, 1949 issue of NEW SOUTH. In looking through our current files, however, I have found the following indications of Negro progress and inter-racial integration during 1950 and1951:

(1) L. E. Thomas, attorney, was appointed judege of Miami's all-Negro municipal court, March, 1950. Thomas is the first Negro judge in the South since reconstruction and his court is the first in Florida set up on purely racial lines.

(2) Jacksonville and Ocala employed their first Negro policemen; Jacksonville hired 6, Ocala, 1.

(3) Florida's new election law makes it illegal to require Negroes and whites to use separate entrances and exits at polling places, Attorney General Richard Ervin ruled Oct. 25, 1951. The opinion applies only to counties which use paper ballots.

(4) Two Negroes, Porcher L. Taylor andElcee A. Lucas, entered the City Council race in Jacksonville, Spring, 1951.

(5) Mrs. Frances M. Walker became the first Negro to qualify for an elective office in Palm Beach County, filing as a candidate for the school board March, 1950.

(6) The Young Democrats of Florida approved some kind of link with Negro members of the party as one way to revitalize their organization, May, 1950.

(7) Miami, Fla. recently opened its new million-dollar municipal library on a completely non-discriminaory basis. It is said to be the only city-owned public library in the South which Negroes may use on the same terms as white readers.

(8) The U. S. Supreme court threw out the Florida state court ruling which barred Negroes from playing on the Miami public golf course except on Mondays, Oct., 1950.

(9) Changes in the by-laws of the Florida Medical Association permitted Negro members for the first time in its history, April, 1950. Under the new regulations all Negro doctors licensed to practice in Florida are eligible for membership.

(10) Fraternity Council, Miami University, objected to the establishment of a chapter of Lambda Chi Alpha because of that group's limitation of membership to "Gentile Caucasians." Phi Delta Sigma unanimously voted to admit Negroes. (Jan., 1950)

(11) Surfside, just north of Miami Beach, adopted an ordinance on April 9, 1951 prohibiting the display of signs bearing words which are discriminatory in nature, such as "restricted" or "selected clientele." Penalties up to $500 fine or imprisonment for 60 days or both are provided.

The enclosed issue of NEW SOUTH summarizes what information we have on Negro municipal workers in Southern cities. Our records on the employment of Negro policemen in Florida show these totals at present:

Clearwater	2	plainsclothesmen		
Cocoa	1	uniformed	policeman	
Dania	1	"	"	
Daytona Beach	5	"	"	
Deland	2	"	"	(1 is part-time)
Fort Myers	2	"	"	
Gainesville,	2	"	"	(radio patrol car)
Jacksonville	6	"	"	
Key West	2	"	"	
Melbourne,	1	"	"	
Miami	39	"	"	
Ocala	1	"	"	
Sanford	2	"	"	(1 is part-time)
St. Petersburg	4	"	"	
Tampa	6	"	"	
West Palm Beach	4	"	"	

Trusting that this information will be useful in preparing your talk, I am

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

encl.

November 6, 1951

Mrs. H. E. Arterburn
c/o Square Deal Lumber Co.
Park City, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Arterburn:

I will be traveling in Kentucky next week in connection with my work as survey assistant for Southern Regional Council and could stop off in Park City on November 16 or November 17. You wrote the Council concerning a proposed survey last January, and I thought that perhaps you would like to discuss your progress in this undertaking and find out more about the advisory services that we can give to communities conducting surveys.

I would appreciate hearing from you before November 13 when I will be leaving Atlanta.

Hoping that we can get together, I am

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

Same letter to:
Rev. Kenneth G. Phifer
Presbyterian Meeting House
P. O. Box 682
Alexandria, Va.

November 19, 1951

Mr. C. J. DeValt
Secretary, Negro Chamber of Commerce
703 N. DeVillier St.
Pensacola, Fla.

Dear Mr. DeValt:

We thought that perhaps the enclosed news story "Dixie Chiefs Laud Negro Policemen" might be of some use in your campaign to secure Negro policemen in Pensacola, if it has not already come to your attention.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

Encl.

November 19, 1951

Mrs. H. E. Arterburn
c/o Square Deal Lumber Company
Park City, Ky.

Dear Mrs. Arterburn:

Thank you for your prompt answer to my offer to visit Park City. I spent a most enjoyable week in Kentucky and am just getting caught up on my correspondence.

I am sorry to learn that thus far you have been unable to secure the interest of a sufficient number of people to carry out a hometown self-survey. Perhaps the Town Council's survey or some other community project will stimulate livlier civic interest and you will be successful in introducing the self-survey idea at a later date.

We have found that it usually takes quite a bit of time, careful planning and persistent effort to get such a project underway, so do not be discouraged. Often small towns such as Park City find it wiser not to attempt a complete survey and select one or more areas--health, law enforcement or public education--to study, according to their most pressing problems. Columbia, Kentucky, for example decided to study community health and found the sections in our MANUAL on "Community Health" and "Public Health Facilities" useful guides.

If you find you are able to develop plans for a survey at a later date we will be glad to assist you in whatever way we can.

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

November 20, 1951

Miss Juliet Poynter
Shelbyville, Ky.

Dear Miss Poynter:

I was very glad to learn through your telephone conversation with Mr. Tydings last Wednesday and a subsequent talk with Dr. Irwin Sanders that Shelbyville is initiating a survey project through the Kentucky Community Service Bureau at the state university.

Kentucky is very fortunate to have such a Bureau available and I am sure you will receive excellent guidance from Dr. Sanders and his staff.

We are quite interested in hearing reports of your progress and will be glad to supplement the fine services of the Community Service Bureau in any way that we can.

Wishing you and your fellow workers every success in this undertaking,

Cordially,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

November 20, 1951

Dr. Irwin T. Sanders
Bureau of Community Service
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Ky.

Dear Dr. Sanders:

Would like to express my appreciation for the time which you, Mr. Lewis and Mr. Davis gave me last week and the interest that you showed in our survey program.

I am sending the enclosed note to Miss Poynter and am looking forward to hearing more of the Shelbyville project.

The "Mr. Hughes" who I thought was our contact at Fulton,Ky. turned out to be a product of poor memory. I find from a letter dated Jan. 24, 1950 that our former survey assistant, Mrs. Jane Fleming, referred Mrs. W. S. Atkins, Memphis Conference Secretary, SSR, The Methodist Church, Fulton to Mr. J. M. Tydings as being interested in promoting a self-survey in her community. She was one of your contacts, wasn't she? There was also a Mrs. J. B. Hughes of Louisa, Ky., who was interested in getting a self-survey underway around the same date. I plan to write both and will relay the results to your office. Miss Helm, who was interested in a survey in Bowling Green, is ill and that possibility seems out temporarily.

With best wishes,

Cordially,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

Encl.

November 20, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Would like to tell you again how much I enjoyed attending the Kentucky meeting and having the opportunity to get to know some of your people.

Both Dr. Sanders and two of the men in his Community Service Bureau talked with me about their surveying projects. Dr. Sanders says that he will keep me posted on what the Bureau finds at Shelbyville; as Miss Poynter told us over the phone, they plan to be there early in December. I am writing a note to Miss Poynter expressing our interest in their progress and offering to supplement the Bureau services if they want to call on us--with the university that close they can undoubtedly get all the help they need right there.

Miss Helm, whom I hoped to see in Bowling Green, is ill at this time and will not return to the library until the next semester. I was referred to a Mrs. Frank Moore who is active in civic doings, particularly the League of Women Voters. She seemed interested in the idea but had no time herself and could think of no one else appropriate who was not already involved in League or other projects. She promised, however, to discuss it with Miss Helm after she returns to work and to keep in the back of her mind the possibility of the League undertaking areas related to their interests.

I believe I forgot to mention in our conversation after the meeting that the young man from the Baptist theological seminary was interested and thought other members would be interested in hearing how and where surveys develop in Kentucky and what results follow. Perhaps if things work out in Shelbyville some mention could be made in the report which the interim committee sends out to the members. (I understood that a mimeographed report was to be mailed before the next meeting.) Mrs. V. P. Henry of Columbia told me that they had done the health section and may at some future date do other sections.

We will certainly pass on any information on surveys which develop in Kentucky.

Hoping that I can get back to Kentucky again,

Cordially,

Anna Holden
Survey Assistant

Clearcopy Onion Skin

November 29, 1951

Miss Betty Carter
WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION
640 5th Ave.
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Miss Carter:

Thank you so much for sending the club program on self-surveys. It has made the rounds of the staff already and we are all quite pleased with the type of thing you have gotten up and with the attention shown the Council in the bibliography. It goes without saying that we are delighted no end that this self-survey material will reach the many people included in your circulation. We would like to have about five more copies to keep on hand if you could send them.

It occurred to me after sending the two booklets that you would also have been interested in the Jacksonville, Fla. report, "By the People." I am sending one now ; we also have a large stock of these on hand for distribution.

I will be glad to let you know from time to time about requests for manuals and inquiries concerning assistance that seem to stem from your program. To date we have distributed about 4000 copies of this edition to members, community councils, social service agencies, etc. We are currently working with a survey at Shreveport, La. that is nearing the end of the fact-finding stage.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Anna Holden
Research Assistant

January 9, 1956

Miss Irene Osborne
c/o Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Irene:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 Chestnut Street, S.W.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA:rh

LETTER TO CONSULTANTS

Dear Mr. ____________________:

The conference for consultants has been definitely set for Saturday, January 14, 1956. The meeting will begin at 9:30 A.M. and last until 4:00 P.M. with time out for lunch. The meeting will be held in the Conference Room of the Atlanta University Administration Building located at 223 - Chestnut Street, S. W. (50 Chestnut St. S.W.)

Lodging will be available at the Atlanta University Dormitories for those desiring it. We are enclosing a reply card for your convenience to indicate your expected time of arrival and whether or not you desire accommodations at the University.

It is hoped that you can arrange to arrive in Atlanta on Friday evening in order for the group to have a little pre conference bull session.

We are enclosing some material which gives background information on the Council and its policies. We are hoping that you will have the opportunity to read through this material prior to the meeting on Saturday.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope

Enclosures

Reply card
Program Functions etc
The South of the Future
SRC toward the South of the future

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Conference on the Consultant Program Service
Atlanta University - January 14, 1956

Mr. John Hope II, presiding

AGENDA

9:00 AM - Registration

9:25 - Preliminary remarks by chairman

9:30 - "SRC: Policy, Aims, and Methods"

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director

Harold C. Fleming, Asst. Director for Information

9:55 - Discussion

10:25 - "SRC and the State Organizations"

Fred B. Routh, Asst. Director for State Organizations

10:45 - Discussion

11:00 - Coffee Break

11:15 - "Background and Rationale of Program"

C. H. Parrish, Asst. Director for State Organizations

11:35 - Discussion

11:45 - "Intergroup Programs: Evaluation and Action Techniques"

Robert Johnson, Consultant

12:05 PM- Discussion

12:20-1:30 - Luncheon at Atlanta University Dining Hall

1:30 - Consultants' reactions to proposed program

2:30 - "Plans, Prospects, and Procedures"

John Hope II, Asst. Director for Program

3:00 - Other Business

TECHNICAL MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, Southern Regional Council.

FROM: Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Consultant

SUBJECT: Some notes and comments on Waring's "The Southern Case Against Desegregation" Harper's Magazine, January, 1956.

The article can and should be answered, but it cannot be answered primarily by reference to social science research. Rather, the answer would seem to lie in questioning or pointing out fallacies in the assumptions and interpretations, spelling out alternative and at least equally valid assumptions and interpretations, etc.

The author is moderate, conciliatory, and "objective" in tone. He gives the impression either of sincerity or else of being extremely clever to put the best foot forward for a national audience. He avoids most of the more obvious pitfalls for which he could be attacked on scientific grounds. He refers to "cultural differences" and says he is not debating the superiority of any race. He does not say that desegregation will not occur but rather that it is a long way off in the Deep South. He admits the existance of a middle and an upper class of Negroes who differ from the bulk, but he deemphasizes the importance of these. He disclaims any ability to speak for Negroes and admits that it is logical to suppose they would prefer to be free of restrictions.

In view of the above, perhaps the best strategy of handling Waring's article is to assume and state that he is basically "on our side" -- even though he may not know it. If he is sincere and not covering up, I think a case can be made for this conclusion. Then one would show that he has erred in following some of his "facts" to their logical conclusion, and in a number of specific details.

One can hardly refute his statements that the bulk of the Southern white people are opposed to mixed schools and have various fears about desegregation. Likewise, his statement that there are cultural differences of health, home environment, marital habits, crime, and intellectual development is basically factual. He does not go out on the limb of suggesting that these differences will always be there, but, by using this as a major argument for holding the line on complete segregation, he is guilty of circular reasoning, overlooks the cumulative effect of segregation in maintaining differences, and is open to the charge of wanting to maintain the differences as a continuing reason for continuing segregation. This is one of the major points on which his assumptions and reasoning can be attacked.

It is significant that the article completely bypasses all of the arguments on moral, ethical, and political ideology grounds. Christianity, democracy, "a government of laws," and the international and national security impact of race practices are not mentioned. This would seem an implicit admission of vulnerability here. Instead of facing the implications of Christianity and democracy, he speaks of "the array of power aligned on the side of the N.A.A.C.P. in press, pulpit, and politics."

In general, he seems to considerably overstate the extent to which desegregation would bring immediate and widespread "mixing". He overlooks the probability of gradual desegregation if restrictions are ungrudgingly removed, and the possibility that, by fighting the removal of compulsory restrictions, white people may force Negroes into more bitterness and aggressiveness than would otherwise be the case.

There are a number of specific but perhaps less important or less emphasized points on which he can be attacked. Some of these are:

(1) His reference to "public opinion" in the South. There are obviously several public opinions -- at any rate, a Negro public opinion as well as a white.

(2) His attack on the "Northern" and "metropolitan" press for lack of fairness and objectivity -- with the patently untrue implication that the Southern and non-metropolitan press is or has been fair and objective on racial news (though of course there has been a great improvement in recent years).

(3) The statement that most Southerners favor "uplift" of the Negro, without stating that this is a paternalistic attitude insofar as it exists, and that there are very considerable limits as to the kind of application white Southerners are "for."

(4) Statement that the South is both willing and eager to have the Negro earn greater acceptance on many levels, especially economic. There is certainly little evidence for the eagerness, even the willingness, except in limited ways.

(5) "Southerners feel that they are best equipped by experience to cope with race problems." This is true as a factual statement of what Southerners think, but the author seems to imply that they are right, too. Obviously "cope with" means specifically certain kinds of white superiority techniques.

(6) Reference to "thou shalt not protect the purity of thy race." In the face of clear scientific evidence to the contrary, this implies there is such a thing as a pure race and that race mixing is biologically unsound.

(7) Occasional references to "racial differences." Despite the clear statement of "cultural" differences, he occasionally lapses over to "racial" differences, with the implication that they are inherent.

(8) Statement that attendance of a few middle-class Negro children at "white" schools would be no more acceptable to Negro parents than to white is made without qualification or explanation, though he disclaims any ability to speak for Negroes.

(9) "Even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, illegitimacy has little if any stigma." This and other statements on this subject are far too unqualified. Davis and others have shown that middle-class Negroes are perhaps more strictly "puritanical" on this than are whites.

(10) "Maintaining order is the first concern of Southerners." There is little evidence for this as being literally true and considerable evidence that it is a rationalization. Inflammatory actions and statements of many Southern leaders deny it.

(11) He speaks of a "vast increase in daily contacts" between the races in desegregation. This seems a considerable overstatement.

(12) "Negroes pay only a small fraction of the taxes." The implications of this are directly antithetical to our whole philosophy of public schools and other governmental services. Also, it ignores the fact that low-income people pay taxes indirectly.

(13) He speaks of "bootleg" or voluntary segregation, but implies that it can be complete. No one objects to "voluntary" segregation so long as it is really voluntary. But it is hardly conceivable that purely voluntary segregation will be complete, for long.

(14) Citizens Councils are "protective organizations" "to combat the lawless element." Either he is deliberately overlooking part of the story, is uninformed, or almost everyone else is misinformed, for there would seem to be plenty of evidence to the contrary.

(15) In general, he deemphasizes class differences, rural-urban differences, and regional differences among Negroes, although he admits the existence of class differences. The evidence available on this is important if one is interested in what might be, if Negroes had a better chance. The deemphasis suggests a greater interest in maintaining the status quo.

Technical Memorandum

To: Mr. John Hope, II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC

From: Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Consultant

Subject: The American Case Against Segregation - A Reply to Thomas R. Waring

Section I

Within the past year increasingly successful attempts have been made by white Southerners to present the case for the maintenance of segregated schools in terms which are acceptable to reasonable white Northerners. The most effective of these Southern spokesmen has been Hodding Carter, who has published such articles in Reader's Digest, Saturday Evening Post, and Look Magazine. The most recent expression of this "moderate" white Southerners' point of view in a national publication is found in the article by Thomas R. Waring, published in the January 1956 issue of Harper's Magazine. There is some evidence that this reasonable pro-segregationist approach has influenced the editorial opinion of some of the more conservative national publications.

Mr. Waring, like other spokesmen for the "reasonable white Southerner," starts from the assumption that there are valid and compelling reasons - described by him as "facts" - which make it impossible for white "Southerners to accept the desegregation of the public schools." He maintains that white Southerners of good-will, who are in the vast majority, "favor uplift of the Negro," but fear that this uplift "is being forced at too fast a pace." He also insists that white Southerners resent the interference with the sovereignty of their states in their right to maintain segregated schools; and, he adds, that the Southerner believes that "he is better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions."

These opinions are not novel. In the context of Mr. Waring's article, however, some of them are clearly inconsistent with other statements which he makes, and their lack of relevance to the basic issue of the Constitutional rights of Negro Americans appears to be quite clear. Undoubtedly there must be many Southern whites of good-will who favor the uplift of the Negro people. More pertinent questions, however, are: How effective have these people been in protecting the rights of the Negroes; and how active or open were they in supporting the Negro in his struggle for the equalization of teachers' salaries, equalization of schools, voting privileges, and adequate graduate and professional state-supported education.

The argument of "too fast a pace" is also not uncommon, but again leaves many relevant questions unanswered: What is a desirable pace for the righting of an injustice? To what extent can those who are not the immediate victims of the injustice be expected to arrive at the same judgment concerning the rate of change which the victims believe to be necessary? It is precisely because of these expected differences in opinion that it is necessary to resort to the more objective arena of the Federal courts.

The sovereignty of the states in matters of education is not in itself at issue in the discussion of the problem of segregated schools. More pertinent to this problem is the issue of whether the states have the "right" to perpetrate injustice and inequality upon some of its citizens. In its May 17, 1954 decision, the United States Supreme Court answered this question clearly by stating:

> Such an opportunity (for education), where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

Mr. Waring's assertion that the Southerner believes that he is "better equipped by experience to cope with race problems than people from other regions" is made without supporting evidence. Seen in the light of his discussion of the question of the sovereignty of states, it is necessary to point out that problems of racial justice in the South are no longer matters of regional concern, but have tremendous national and international implications. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the Southern states in and of themselves have voluntarily contributed to the progress of the Negro or have stimulated or encouraged economic, political, or educational equality.

It is of ironic significance that the one extensive quotation cited by Mr. Waring in support of the "Liberal" Southerner's position was made by an Atlanta editor in 1888. Reliance upon the position considered liberal 70 years ago in an article published in 1956 is in itself evidence of the time lag in this type of thinking which seeks to understand and deal with contemporary problems in terms of the conditions and perspective of the past. This may well be the essential weakness and futility of the position of those "reasonable" white Southerners who seek to justify or explain the continuation of segregation in the modern world; namely, that segregation and other forms of racism are not compatible with the economic, industrial, technological, political, and international forces of the middle of the 20th Century.

Section II

Under the heading of "cultural differences" Waring lists the following reasons for the maintenance of segregated schools in the South:

1. That Negro children are not equal to white children in health and cleanliness;
2. That the home environment of Negroes is inferior to that of whites;
3. That the marital and sex habits of the Negro are inferior and more primitive than those of whites;
4. That there is a high incidence of crime among Negroes;

5. That the Negro child is retarded in intellectual level and achievement compared with the white child.

If one accepts, for purposes of discussion, Waring's assertions on these points, they still do not justify the maintenance of schools segregated on the basis of race. It is agreed that the "facts" which he presents do not reflect innate racial differences. They, therefore, must be interpreted as indications of the detrimental consequences of past segregation and the general inequality and discrimination associated with racism.

In view of the meretricious effectiveness and the emotional appeal of the specific points raised by Waring, it is necessary to answer each point separately:

1. Health

Waring maintains that Negro parents are not as careful, on the average, as their white neighbors in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children, and that the incidence of venereal diseases is much greater among Negroes than among whites. After admitting that statistics to document this statement are difficult to obtain, he nonetheless cites statistics from South Carolina for the year 1952-53 which purport to show that while 1.3% of the white persons examined were found to have syphilis, an average of 9% of the Negroes examined had this disease.

Waring did not state that these percentages applied to Negro and white children; but he nonetheless concludes that fastidious white parents "just don't want to take risks of any kind with their children." He presented no evidence to prove that a disproportionate number of Negro children are contaminated with contagious venereal diseases or that these diseases may be communicated to white children in a school setting.

It is now clearly understood by public health officials that communicable diseases are not to be understood or dealt with primarily in racial terms. These diseases are related to socio-economic status, overcrowded housing, and other social problems which are aggravated by problems involved in segregated living. Furthermore, white children and white adults are not immunized against these diseases by rigid patterns of segregation in the schools. Certainly, necessary and prevalent contacts with Negroes in the role of servants or workers provide greater opportunity for the transmission of communicable disease.

Utilization of advances in medicine and public health and a well-organized school health program for the benefit of the entire community should provide protection for all children from dangerous communicable diseases. Non-segregated schools will necessarily have to maintain the same health facilities and safeguards that are now maintained in any well-run school - and unfortunately not provided in the majority of segregated Negro schools. As the economic and social conditions of the Negro improve, and as the public health facilities available to the entire community are also made available to Negroes, the incidence of certain diseases among Negroes will decrease.

2. Home Environment

Waring contends that the home environment and cultural background of Negro children is different in many ways from that of white children. He states that the relationship between whites and Negroes is still generally that of the master and the servant and the boss and the laborer. While he recognizes the emergence of a middle-class among Negroes, he believes that this group is small and in the most "unenviable" position of all since they are not accepted by whites and have progressed beyond the cultural level "of the vast bulk of their own people."

Aside from the stereotyped generalizing which suggests that all whites are basically superior to all Negroes culturally, economically, and in home environment -delusions of group aristocracy - Waring's discussion of this point reveals the basic inconsistency of his whole approach. On the one hand he maintains that white Southerners of good-will favor the uplift of the Negro and that the Negro should qualify himself fully for association with "the white man's company"; while on the other hand he betrays the fact that even if the Negro were to raise his cultural and economic level to a point acceptable to whites, that this would not lead to "the white Southerner's acceptance of non-segregation." He rejects the idea that the admission of "a few well-scrubbed and polished colored children of cultivated parents" may be an opening wedge for integration in the schools by stating that "this would be no more acceptable to the colored people than to the whites." He insists upon a continuation of segregation even among middle-class Negroes by suggesting "private schools for prosperous Negroes as for prosperous whites." This point of view clearly reveals the intransigence of the pro-segregationists and the fact that they really want no part of non-segregation. The issue of cultural differences and inferior home environment of the average Negro as a reason for maintaining segregation is revealed to be spurious.

3. Marital Habits and Sexual Looseness

Waring opens his introduction of the problem of marital habits and sexual morals of the Negro by again admitting that "statistics are not readily available, for obvious reasons..." He maintains, however, that on the average "one Southern Negro child in five is illegitimate," and that even among Negroes who observe marriage conventions, "illegitimacy has little if any stigma."

His position is revealed in its essential inconsistency when he, on the one hand, discusses the "more primitive view of sex habits" found among Negroes, and, on the other hand, is forced to recognize that extra-legal inter-racial sex relationships were "due largely to lustful white men seeking out acquiescent Negro women..." Certainly these "lustful white men" developed their lust and "primitive view of sex habits" in a rigidly segregated society.

Problems of sex and inter-racial marriages were not at issue and do not appear to be relevant to the struggle for racial justice and equality before the law. The fear of social and sexual mingling among races, understandable though it may be in a segregated society, cannot be offered as a justification for the continued denial of the full citizenship rights of any group or individual. Social relations and marriage are always matters of personal choice and decision. These intimate aspects of inter-personal relationships cannot and should not be legislated and were not involved in the judicial decisions preventing the states from segregating children in public schools solely on account of their race.

A confusion of the issues of citizenship rights of the Negro with problems of personal, social, and sexual relations may reflect, among other things, the anxiety on the part of certain whites that if the barriers imposed by the state against equality of treatment for the Negro were to be removed, then the whites themselves would not be able to exercise personal restraint and control in the expression of positive feelings for Negroes. In a curious sense these types of arguments may be viewed as an attempt on the part of individuals to have the state deny equality of citizenship rights to Negroes in order to protect whites from the consequences of their own confused, mixed, and ambivalent feelings toward Negroes. The rights of Negroes, however, cannot be denied on the implicit grounds that whites might find them acceptable if the barriers are removed.

4. Crime

In his discussion of crime, Waring maintains that crime in the South has been more prevalent among Negroes than among whites and that much of the outbreak of crime and juvenile delinquency in Northern cities is due to the influx of the Negro population. Again he does not present the evidence or statistics upon which he bases these assertions.

The problem of differential definition and the meaning of crime statistics according to race has long concerned objective criminologists. The ease with which Negroes are arrested and convicted for minor infractions, which under certain circumstances would be over-looked among whites, certainly has been observed and must be taken into account in any evaluation of racial factors and crime.

Students of the psychological consequences of segregation have recognized that one of its most obvious manifestations among Negroes is an increase in hostility toward whites and toward other Negroes. This may well, under certain circumstances, express itself in delinquent and criminal behavior. Again, therefore, the discussion of crime among Negroes must be seen as at least in part a consequence of segregation rather than as a justification for continuing segregation.

Waring makes the blanket statement: "Maintaining order is a first concern of Southerners." This statement must be scrutinized in the light of his own implicit admission that conservative, law-abiding Southern whites are helpless in their fear "that hatred and bloodshed would increase without separation of the races." He supports this fear by the warning that "The thin tolerance of the ruffian and lower elements of the white people could erupt into animosity and brutality if race pressure became unbearable." He warns further that in this riotous bloodshed it will be "Negroes' blood which will flow for the most part." Certainly it is difficult to reconcile these dire predictions and the inevitability of racial lawlessness among the lower elements of white Southerners with the stability of the government of these sovereign states whose leaders are concerned with the maintenance of law and order. Furthermore, it might be germane to point out that the hatred, violence, and bloodshed described by Waring are more likely to occur under conditions of racial segregation or in the transition from segregation to non-segregation than under conditions of equality of the races.

In his anticipation of racial disturbances associated with desegregation in the public schools Waring states that such disturbances would occur "first among pupils themselves, and later by enraged parents." Systematic studies of the desegregation process show that there is no evidence that prolonged racial disturbances associated with the desegregation of schools ever occur spontaneously among the pupils themselves. Whenever there has been such trouble among the students, it has been found that these disturbances were initiated and encouraged by adults.

5. Intellectual Development

Waring maintains that "colored children are about two grades behind the whites in attainment..." He insists that the integration of Negro and white children will place an excessive burden on "a single generation of white children," and that, "while they are rubbing off white civilization onto the Negro children, Negro culture will also rub off onto the whites." Again the sense of Waring's argument is that one of the consequences of past segregation - academic retardation of the Negro child should be used to justify continued segregation. The lack of validity of this argument is apparent and is clearly illustrated by the fact that in the legal fight against segregated schools some of the states argued that the Negro child was not being harmed by being required to attend all-Negro schools. Now that this point is no longer at issue before the courts, the proponents of segregation not only admit this intellectual damage resulting from past segregation, but attempt to use it in support of continued segregation.

Many generations of Negro children have borne the brunt of the educational and psychological damage inherent in their attendance in segregated schools. There is no evidence that a single generation of white children will suffer any permanent damage as a consequence of attending well-regulated, non-segregated schools.

Existing psychological evidence obtained from the research of such outstanding psychologists as Otto Klineberg reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated shcools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiency within a few years. More recent evidence involving older children shows that Negro children of superior intellectual ability who attend inferior segregated high schools are able to overcome their academic deficiency during the first college year and compete successfully in northern interracial colleges. It is clear, therefore, that the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one if the child is provided with an opportunity for an education in a non-segregated school with high educational standards. Under these conditions there is evidence that the Negro child benefits and no evidence that the white child is disadvantaged.

Section III - Summary and Conclusions

The latter part of Waring's article is devoted to a general castigation of the role of the NAACP in the struggle of the Negro for racial justice and equality. Waring maintains that until the school question became agitated in recent years, race relations in the South "on the whole were good"; that the leadership in this racial crusade comes from outside of the South and is sparked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; that if the schools were integrated, Negro school teachers would be displaced by whites; and that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools "so long as the schools for Negroes are adequate." These arguments, too, are not new and probably reflect a perspective of race relations which is tolerable and acceptable for some "reasonable" white Southerners. The question, however, is the extent to which they are compatible with the actual facts and the social reality which the South faces today.

In asserting that race relations in the South were good up until the agitation for non-segregated schools, Waring takes the position that good relations are synonymous with the Negroes' acceptance of the status quo. From another point of view one could argue that such acceptance in the face of the reality of injustice is evidence of the poorest type of race relations and synonymous with social stagnation. Social progress, on the other hand, necessarily brings with it symptoms of tension, disturbance, and inevitable transitional difficulties. These are the concomitants of progress and the indications of an eventual bettering of the substance of race relations.

The NAACP is a convenient target or scapegoat for those who are disturbed by the insistent demand of the Negro for his full citizenship rights. It is true that the national headquarters of the NAACP are in New York City. It is equally true, however, and should be known by all, that the role of the NAACP in the school segregation cases and in any other area of its activities is determined exclusively by the degree to which the Negroes in a given community initiate a case and seek and invite the participation of the NAACP in the quest for justice. Under no circumstances does or can the national NAACP initiate a case prior to the desire or the demand of the Negro citizens of a given community.

The argument that Negro teachers would lose their jobs in integrated schools must be evaluated in the light of the national problem of a general shortage of competent teachers, which is no less acute in the South. Certainly, in the transition for a system of segregated to non-segregated schools in a given community there will be questions of the most efficient utilization of teaching personnel. In an attempt at solution of these problems there may be instances in which less competent and professionally qualified Negro teachers will be displaced by more competent Negro or white teachers; presumably, also, there will be cases in which less qualified and competent white teachers might be displaced by more competent and qualified Negro and white teachers. If, however, there are cases of discriminatory and punitive discharge of Negro teachers, these cases will have to be brought to and decided within the halls of the Federal courts.

The assumption that Negroes in general are not eager for mixed schools, but would settle for adequate Negro schools, is one which may be seriously questioned in the light of the social tensions, potential disturbances, and worsening of race relations which Waring himself so graphically describes. If the Negro people on the whole were content to repudiate the clear decision of the United States Supreme Court, which maintained that separate educational facilities can never be equal, then there would be no agitation on their part for non-segregated schools. They would passively accept the pious and belated offers of even the most backward states to "equalize" the physical facilities of Negro schools, It has become clear to almost every Negro who is aware of the problem that it is not only psychologically but economically impossible for the Negroes to have separate schools that are equal. This is particularly true in those states in which there is the maximum amount of resistance to the Supreme Court's decision. A dual school system in these states would necessarily be at the expense of the Negro schools. The fact is that there is no possibility of compromise on this issue without continuing the hardships on the Negro children or imposing additional and new hardships on white children.

Section IV - What Has the Supreme Court Decided?

In presenting the hope that Negroes will accept voluntarily continued segregation, Waring leans on Judge John J. Parker's interpretation of the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court. In this interpretation

Judge Parker states:

> It (The United States Supreme Court) has not decided that the states must mix persons of different races in the schools... Nothing in the Constitution or in the decision of the Supreme Court takes away from the people freedom to choose the schools they attend. The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It does not forbid such segregation as occurs as the result of voluntary action. It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation.

A further interpretation of the meaning of the Supreme Court's decision which Parker does not give, but which might be relevant to an evaluation of many of the issues raised by Waring, is that the United States Supreme Court, in its May 17, 1954 decision, did not forbid the states from segregating its pupils in state supported public schools on the basis of health, home environment, marital status, legitimacy or illegitimacy of students, criminal or delinquent behavior, and level of intellectual functioning. Nothing in that decision prevents a state from setting up schools for children with or without communicable or venereal diseases; or setting up schools for children from broken homes or who are adjudged legitimate or illegitimate; nothing in the decision forbids the state from setting up schools in terms of intellectual level of students. Some groups of educators or welfare workers might wish to test the constitutionality of these forms of segregated schools when and if they are established.

The present decision, however, clearly, specifically, and only forbids the state from setting up schools for children "solely on the basis of race." This application of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution means that all explanations, rationalizations, techniques, devices, and subterfuges which result in racially segregated schools are unconstitutional. If a state desires to protect the health of the 98% of the white children whose parents do not have syphilis, it must equally protect the health of the 91% of the Negro children whose parents do not have syphilis by setting up, if it so desires, schools for those Negro and white children whose parents have syphilis. If the state desires to protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those white children from higher cultural and intellectual backgrounds, then it must equally and without separation protect and nurture the cultural and intellectual potentials of those Negro children from similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds by setting up schools attended by Negro and white children of similar cultural and intellectual backgrounds and potentials. Anything short of this is a clear violation of the supreme law of the United States as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court and is therefore illegal. Widespread illegality, rationalized or not, is anarchy - a government by whim and prejudice rather than a government by law. No amount of "reasonable" or emotional arguments and explanations can obscure this basic fact.

Arkansas
Council On Human Relations

LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
211 IZARD ST.

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in Arkansas.

OFFICERS
[illegible]

BOARD OF DIRECTORS
[illegible]

STAFF
[illegible]

February 7, 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear John Hope:

This is our tenative answer in regard to workshop March 10 for board and staff of Arkansas Council on Human Relations. We would like to reserve final decision until our Executive Committee meets Monday, February 13.

March 10 is an acceptable date. Since tenatively we plan to meet at a camp, a later date might guarantee more ideal weather, though like California, Arkansas can guarantee that every weekend is a lovely one!

The staff, subject to the confirmation of the Executive Committee, is planning in terms of a weekend at Camp Aldersgate seven miles West of Little Rock. It is available at $4.50 per person beginning Friday evening and extending to Sunday morning. If this schedule could be made by the consultants, we think it would greatly increase the value of the workshop. After our Executive Committee meeting, we will also reply to your earlier memorandum about our particular needs.

Sincerely yours,

NAT R. GRISWOLD
Executive Director

NRG:vwp
cc - Fred Routh

Recd 2/8/56

INFORMATION SHEET
FOR
STATE WORKSHOP SCHEDULING

L 1. Does the South Carolina Human Relations Council want such a State Workshop held for its Board and Staff? Yes X NO ____.

2. Can you arrange for such a day workshop within the next two months? Yes X ; No ____.

3. If so, whene should it be held?

Columbia, S. C., - preferably.

4. The best date for your workshop from our point of view is Saturday (all day), April 7. Is this date satisfactory? Yes ____; No X *. If so, give your appraisal of the number of Board members we may expect ____.

Please advise me whether this date is satisfactory at your earliest convenience -- on or before Thursday, February 9th if at all possible. We hope to prepare a final schedule in Atlanta on Friday, Feb. 10, wo that we can advise the consultant teams by mid-February when and where their services will be required. Bear in mind that the success of this workshop depends upon your finding a date when virtually all of your Board can be present for a full day's session. Only financial limitations restrain us from making it a two day meeting.

5. If this date cannot be met, please suggest two alternative dates, one on a Saturday and one on some other day in the week (preferably but not necessarily Wednesday or Thursday) and indicate your estimate of the number of Board members who will attend.

What Saturday? March 17. Number of Board 30 members.

Members expected? 10-15.

What other date? March 14. Number of Board members

expected? 15-20.

* Our annual membership meeting is scheduled for April 11. Irene Osborne will be with us Feb. 13-17, and will participate in our regular monthly executive committee meeting Feb. 15. So, we hope the workshop can be scheduled about the middle of March. Saturday is impossible for a number of our key members. Sunday afternoon and evening in our best time. We may expect better attendance Wednesday afternoon and evening than a. m. and afternoon.

There are a few persons other than Board members whom we'd like to invite to participate - hope this will meet with your approval.

Alice N. Spearman,

ANS/ig 2-6-56.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: GSM; HF; CHP; and FR

RE:

DATE: February 7, 1956

I am attaching Dr. LaViolette's letter about our role in the Southern Sociological Society meeting.

I have suggested as nominees for our consultant group the names of-- Mrs. Bonita Valien, Dr. Lee Coleman.

I have indicated that we will designate a third (or more if desired) a little later after our program gets under way.

The emphasis on case material "observed directly" in their work seemed to me a limiting factor for some of our consultants. As far as possible, these should involve descriptions of the desegregation process in communities where is near completion.

As I see it now, we may want to "draft" Irene Osborne to tell about Washington or get descriptions of cases in West Virginia, Arkansas, or in other states where we may have a story to tell by April. George Mitchell, Fred Routh or some other member of the staff might do this "off the cuff" if necessary. Suggestions welcome.

COPY

February 7, 1956

Dear John:

This letter has been delayed a little, but not for reasons which you would predict! A few hours after talking with you on Thursday evening, I had a very violent gastrointestinal upset; hence with registration, Friday was a rather gruesome day; Saturday somewhat better. Then on Sunday I chopped my left big toe with an ax! We rushed some 12 miles to the hospital and doctor. It was really doubtful if I should have gone, but a bleeder is a bleeder, and since my coagulating time is always a little slow, and since it is always nice to avoid osteomyelitis, I went down and had to washed up and sutured with about eight statiches. All this is, from my perspective, rather humorous.

Now to the main point. The plan which we wish to work out for the Race Relations section of the Atlanta meetings is this:

> First, we shall have Dan Thompson give a fifteen minute statement on the significance of studies in race relations to general sociological and social psychological theory. In view of his work on the Children of Bondage project, I felt that he would be almost an ideal person to do this; furthermore, his residence here makes it possible for us to talk over in some detail the plans for the content of the whole session.
>
> Second we plan a panel of about three people. These people we wish to select in terms of their ability to present a series of problems which they have observed directly in their own work. It occurred to us that the magnitude of the change in the South and the fact that some have been engaged in consulting work and in community action--it occurred to us that your group would be a good place to look for people to work on the panel.
>
> The panel personnel are to deal with problems defined by a community or communities, the procedures undertaken for working on those problems, the kind of personnel involved in solving the problems, the response of the various segments of the community to the solution of the problem. We are interested in some concrete evidence and data.
>
> Third, we intend after the panel has completed its statements, to have a concluding speaker pick up the major points of the panel and relate it to theory and to opportunities for research and theory testing. At the present moment this person is Leonard Weissman, of this department, who is a social stratification theorist and research man, extremely able and highly verbal, and very quick on his intellectual feet.

We have chosen the general topick of Stratification and Community Action. Several years ago I looked over a widefield of literature and decided that it was time to 1) look again at the significance of studies in race and ethnic relations as they had directed sociological theory in the United States, and 2) to see what the trends of theory were in stratification as they related to community organization.

When we did the Mobile study for Civil Defense, we approached Mobile from the perspective of stratification and community action. It is a very effective perspective.

We need to secure from you nominees for the panel. I am deeply impressed with the idea of inviting Mrs. Valien to join it. I suppose that we should have a list of six, so that those who are not going to Atlanta will let us know at once. We would hope that each would prepare a short paper or extensive notes; we will plan to have at least one meeting before the session after we get to Atlanta.

Again, we want to have you suggest names with respect to actual work on problems—direct consulting with responsible community leaders, advising with consultants, the news reporting service, etc. I will telegraph individuals as soon as I hear from you.

With best wishes, I am

Cordially,

[illegible]

Memorandum

To: Consultants - SRC Consultant Service Program

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

Re: State Workshops for Boards and Staffs

First, I want to repeat in writing the very sincere personal thanks which I expressed at the January 19th meeting for your important contribution to my thinking on SRC program and to express on behalf of the Council our appreciation for your initial guidance in launching the Consultant Service Program, which you have agreed to participate. We look forward with confidence and satisfaction to the positive results of the professional "know-how" and stimulation which you will inject into the various state SRC affiliates which you will service in the coming months and, I hope, years.

I wish to report that the State Organizations have been advised of the Service and tentative workshop dates have been offered with the request that they give alternative dates if ours are not convenient for them. We hope to hear from them within a week. Immediately thereafter, tentative assignments will be made and I will write you indicating where and when we will want each of y our to serve in State Workshops. We are hoping to have our first workshop on February 17 and 18 and then to hold at least one each week thereafter so that we can complete this phase of program by mid-April and look to the next steps. I am also hoping that "next steps" for consultant services will be in a sense generated out of the valuable contributions that you make to the state affiliates that you serve.

You will find enclosed the following documents for your use:

1. Expense and Compensation Regulations
2. Travel and Expense Voucher
3. The second of Bob Johnson's Technical memoranda which I feel is most pertinent as background for your thinking as you plan for the workshops. The other will follow as soon as it can be mimeographed. These memoranda should be considered as confidential until you are advised to the contrary.

Other pertinent information will be made available about the situation in the state, agenda, etc. before your Workshop dates but I would caution you not to expect too much or lean too heavily upon these expected data. From your wide knowledge and experience, I think you will agree that the fundamental needs are pervasive and that they will probably differ more in degree and emphasis than in kind and quality from state to state. Bear in mind the concensus of the January 19th discussions that the major need of the state organisations in program development is expert knowledge of How? not Why? though expert knowledge of the letter is a valuable basis for effective guidance regarding the former.

I shall welcome any comments you may have from time to time or suggestions for program development which occur to you as you think about the various aspects of the cause we serve.

Memorandum

To: Directors of State SRC Organizations

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

RE: State Workshop Prospects

In my memorandum of January 3rd, I described our plans for State Workshops for Board members and staff in those states where it is actually left by the state affiliate and the central office that such a device would be workable and highly valuable in giving effective Program Assistance.

I shall appreciate your answering the attached list of questions at your earliest convenience and returning them to me so that we can put this service into operation at the earliest possible moment.

I realize that some of these questions will require communication with your Board members and that some of you will need more time than others. If some cannot reply with assurance by February 9th, do so as soon thereafter as possible. I know the full schedule that you are carrying and I certainly do not want to seem unreasonable in my requests. The only motive is to serve you as efficiently and promptly as is realistically feasible.

# INFORMATION SHEET
for
State Workshop Scheduling

1. Does the Human Relations Council want such a State Workshop helpd for its Board and Staff? Yes____; No____, Uncertain____.

2. Can you arrange for such a one day workshop within the next two months? Yes____; No____.

3. If so, where should it be held?

____

4. The best date for your workshop from our point of view is Saturday (all day) ______. Is this date satisfactory? Yes ____; No____. If so, give your appraisal of the number of Board members we may expect____.

Please advise me whether this date is satisfactory at your earliest convenience — on or before Thursday, February 9th if at all possible. We hope to prepare a final schedule in Atlanta on Friday, February 10th so that we can advise the consultant teams by mid-February when and where their services will be required. Bear in mind that the success of this workshop depends upon your finding a date when virtually all of your Board can be present for a full day's session. Only financial limitations restrain us from making it a two day meeting.

5. If this date cannot be met, please suggest two alternative dates, one on a Saturday and one on some other day in the week (preferably but not necessarily Wednesday or Thursday) and indicate your estimate of the number of Board members who will attend.

What Saturday?______________________ Number of Board

Members expected?____________________

What other date?______________________ Number of Board

Members expected?____________________

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
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GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
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ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
F. B. ROUTH, STATE ORGANIZATIONS
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMORANDUM February 9, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

To: GSM; HF; CHP; FR (copies-MA & GWA)
Consultants: Dr. Robert Johnson, Dr. Harry Walker
Host: Reverend John H. Marion, Executive Director, Virginia Council

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

Re: Virginia Workshop for Staff and Board

The first state Workshop will be held in Richmond on February 17 and 18, at the Central YMCA, First and Fourshe. Reverend Marion suggests that we meet at Virginia Council office (100 E. Franklin Street, Phone No. 3-8538) between 5 and 6 p.m., Friday, February 17th. We will go over to the YMCA where he has arranged for us to have dinner with his staff and Executive Committee. We will then go to the evening meeting of this group.

This meeting will be of an exploratory and stock-taking character. I consider the full attendance of participating central staff members and consultants at these Friday evening gatherings essential to the success of the Workshop and therefore suggest that all of us arrange to arrive in Richmond no later than 5 p.m., Friday, February 17th. Unless you hear to the contrary, I suggest that you go directly to the Council office where Reverend Marion will advise you about your lodging arrangements.

It is my understanding that Hope, Parrish, and Routh from the central staff will definitely attend. Please advise me whether Fleming and Mitchell can attend.

Fred — the Briefing statements should reach the consultants as soon as possible.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: G [illegible] A

RE:

DATE: 2/5/56.

Gabe, please distribute the memos to the proper parties. I have underlined the initials of the person to which each copy should go.

Thanks!

John

February 10, 1956

RECEIVED FEB 13 1956

Mr. John Hope II
Assistant Director for Program
SRC
c/o Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Hope:

Our Executive Committee met this morning and agreed that it would be very helpful to have you come to us for a one day work conference. We think the staff and as many board people as can arrange to attend will gain inspiration and a sense of direction for facing our situation in Mississippi.

In the meantime we are open to guidance from the Central Office as to the most practical approach to utilizing your services.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Executive Director

RSL:epw

cc: Fred Routh

MEMORANDUM

2/22/56

TO: GSM, GSA, RH

FROM: JOHN HOPE II

RE: SUPPLEMENTARY APPROPRIATION FOR HARD CORE CONFERENCE

It is my understanding from our conversation this afternoon that you are making available an additional $1,000 to the Consultant Service Program for the Hard Care Conference to be held in Atlanta probably on March 23 - 24, 1956. This fund is to be used to assist the state affiliates, where necessary, in defraying the travel expenses of their representatives.

Please advise me if my understanding is in error. Otherwise, my plans will go forward on this assumption.

rh
c.c. RHA
GSA

Select
Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

MEMORANDUM

FROM

JOHN HOPE II

TO: Miss Ruth Alexander (copies to GSM and GMA)

RE:

DATE: February 27, 1956

This will authorize payment of the amount indicated on the Travel and Expense Vouchers of Dr. Harry J. Walker, February 23, 1956 of $74.50 and Dr. Robert B. Johnson of February 20, 1956 of $83.16. It is my understanding that both have sent copies directly to you and to me. Both of these should be charged to the consultant's account.

For preparation of Technical Memoranda on the article entitled "The Southern Case Against Desegregation," Harpers Magazine, January,1956 payment in the amounts listed below is authorized to the following:

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky
$17.50

Dr. Kenneth Clarke, Northside Center of Child
Development, 31 W. 100 10th Street, New York
26, New York $35.00
this amount($52.50) should be charged to the reserve fund and the checks mailed to the addresses indicated above.

MEMO

March 1, 1956

TO: RHA

FROM: GSM

February 29 in conversation with John Hope, I told him this office would be responsible for providing for the consultants' program a further one-thousand dollars over and above sums heretofore agreed to to be made available to this program.

I suppose in a pinch we could provide this from this year's unused State balances.

Copies: GSA
JH

Dr. Whitney Young,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Young,

In connection with the consultant program, Mr. Hope has requested that we send to you the following material:

1. Briefing statement on Arkansas.
2. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
3. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
4. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander.
Administrative Assistant.

Encls.
GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

Dr. Lee Coleman,
Department of Sociology,
University of Kentucky,
Lexington, Kentucky.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Coleman,

In connection with the consultant program, Mr. Hope has requested that we send to you the following material:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in *Arkansas Gazette*.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

Encls.
GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope 11.

Clearcopy Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

FOR: GSA.

Mrs. Preston Valien,
Fisk University,
Nashville, Tenn.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Mrs. Valien,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.
2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.
3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.
4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

FOR: GSA.

Order 3-4
To Southern School News

Dr. Whitney Young,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Young,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.
2. The Negro and the Schools by Ashmore.
3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.
4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

These items taken to Dr Young by GSA

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.

FOR: GSA.

Dr. Louis Killian,
Department of Sociology,
Florida State University,
Tallahassee, FLORIDA.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Killian,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:-

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

FOR: GSA.

Mr. Harry J. Walker,
Howard University,
Washington, D. C.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Mr. Walker,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

FOR@ GSA.

Dr. Kenneth Clark,
Northside Center,
31 - W. 110th Street,
New York.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Clark,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.
2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.
3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.
4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

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Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c.
John Hope.
Encls.

P.S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

FOR: GSA.

Dr. William Jones,
Department of Sociology,
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville, Tenn.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Jones,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.
2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.
3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.
4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you do not have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P. S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

FOR: GSA.

Dr. Hylan Lewis,
Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia.

March 5th, 1956.

Dear Dr. Lewis,

Mr. Hope is desirous that you have the following resource material:

1. Current subscription to Southern School News plus six months back issues.

2. The Negro and the Schools, by Ashmore.

3. Schools in Transition, edited by Williams and Ryan.

4. Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow - A Statistical Survey, edited by Swanson and Griffin.

He thinks that you may have some or all of the material listed above. However, please let us know the items that you donot have and we will try to furnish the same.

Sincerely yours,

G. S. Alexander,
Administrative Assistant.

GSA:rl.
c.c. John Hope.
Encls.

P. S. We are enclosing the following:

1. Statement by Kenneth Clark.
2. Statement by A. Lee Coleman.
3. Copy of letter appearing in Arkansas Gazette.

Mailed ~~to~~ Exec Directors — Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi & South Carolina 3/[illegible]

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

To: Directors and Associate Directors of SRC Affiliates in Alabama, Georgia,
Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program, SRC. March 16, 1956.

The attached questionnaire has been prepared in order to give the consultants as clear a picture as possible of your program and problems before they meet with you at the Workshop in Atlanta on March 23-24,1956. This, I believe, will economize our time and allow us to get down to the specific problems of the so-called "Hard Core" states with a minimum of preliminaries. Two days is a short time.

While the agenda is not yet complete, the guiding principle is -- a minimum of speeches (Almost none) and a maximum of free discussion aimed at problem solving; examination and re-appraisal of method and strategy for these states in the light of the current and long range situation; and the formulation of the program best fitted to achieve the aims of SRC in your states. In addition to the plenary sessions, I am hoping to set aside time, probably Saturday afternoon, for each state delegation to sit down for at least an hour and discuss its situation and obtain specific guidance in solving its problem. Consequently, it is essential that the consultants have this questionnaire in hand for study before the conference. For this reason, I am asking that you fill out and return two copies, one to me at Nashville and the other to the Atlanta SRC office on or before Wednesday, March 21st. I suggest further that you prepare a copy for your files and bring it along with you.

Add any other information that you feel will help the consultants in appraising the situation in your state. Number appropriately and write on back of sheets or insert sheets.

Finally, I hope you will use these questions as a basis for rethinking your program and problems in advance of the workshop so that all of us will be ready to think clearly, constructively, and creatively on our mutual problems during this brief period.

It is my understanding that all state directors and associate directors (where there are such) will attend this meeting. It is hoped that all Board chairmen and SRC Board state representatives will be able to attend. Where this is not possible, please seek a substitute from your Board, i.e., the program committee chairman or some other Board member whose value to the Council might be definitely increased by such an experience.

I look forward to a most fruitful workshop for all of us.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL.

CONFIDENTIAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

INFORMATION FROM STATE DIRECTORS FOR USE OF CONSULTANTS IN WORKSHOPS.

1. Approximately what proportion of your time is now spent in promotion and organizational work? ____%; in strictly program activities? ____%; and other activities, if any? ____%.

II. (a) What are the general program areas of intergroup relations in which you are (a) now working? (b) feel that you ought to work in the immediate future (in the next year)? Rank these in DESCENDING order giving "reasoned guess" as to the proportion of program time used in each. (not organization, money-raising, membership-getting, etc.)

Problem AreasFor Your Program Activity	OCCUPIED NOW		SUGGESTED FOR NEXT YEAR.	
	Yes or No	Rank 1,2,etc.	Yes or No	Rank 1,2,etc.
A. EDUCATION, e.g., public school desegregation, entrance to colleges, universities, vocational and professional schools, etc.				
B. EMPLOYMENT (public and private), e.g. PRIVATE branch plants or national concerns; firms with Government contracts; firms catering significantly to Negro market, etc.; PUBLIC agencies, installations and facilities - federal, state and local.				
C. TRANSPORTATION (local, inter-and intra-state).				
D. RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT (parks, playgrounds, pools, etc.)				
E. HEALTH AND WELFARE (hospital and medical services, etc.)				
F. HOUSING (private and public).				

Problem Areas For Your Program Activity (Cont'd.)	OCCUPIED NOW		SUGGESTED FOR NEXT YEAR.	
	Yes or No	Rank 1,2,etc.	Yes or No	Rank 1,2,etc.
G. PERSONAL SAFETY AND PROTECTION of benefits and rights of citizenship, e.g., justice in the courts; equal police protection; protection against mob rule; protection against police brutality and equal chance to vote on all candidates and public issues.				
H. MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES for effective handling of tension incidents, disturbances etc.				
I. CLEARING HOUSE FUNCTION systematic and continuous information gathering, documenting and reporting of intergroup relations, happenings (positive and negative).				
J. COUNTERACTING ECONOMIC REPRISALS AGAINST -- CONSUMERS BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS BORROWERS				
K. POSITIVE INVOLVEMENT of Leadership of Organized Groups, e.g., church, civic, service, political, labor, cultural, etc. Purely local, state, regional groups. Local or state affiliates of NATIONAL organizations.				
L. OTHERS (List them) **				

II. (b) Comment on the reasons for your present program emphasis (e.g., first and second ranking areas of emphasis) and for your suggested future emphasis if this differs from the present.

____

____

____

____

III. Are there any major program areas where you are not working which you feel warrant major emphasis now but where there are strong obstacles or restrictions which, in your opinion --

(a) the SRC central office can significantly allay or deter, or eliminate through close cooperation or coordination with you?

(List them) ** ____

____

____

____

(b) other organizations, institutions, etc. can help eliminate? If so, list these areas, indicate the major obstacles, and, if possible, suggest means by which they can be weakened or eliminated.**

____

____

____

____

____

IV. What general types of program (or action) technique has your state organization used and which of these, by and large, do you find more and less effective? Please check the types listed below which you are now using, add any in use that are not included under "other" and arrange them in the descending order of their importance to you, i.e. most important, 1; next, 2; etc.

Program Action Techniques	NOW IN USE.	
	Yes or No.	Rank.
Persuasion and Exhortation, e.g., speeches, interviews, panel participation, etc.		
Use of Instruments of Mass Media, e.g., radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, car posters, etc.		
Education by Personal Contact and Correspondence, including distribution of literature, etc.		
Fact-Finding, e.g., surveys, self-evaluations, etc.		
Revelation or "Shock Treatment".		
Conferences with public officials, e.g., superintendents and other school officials, and/or other public officials.		
Participation, e.g., working with other organized groups within areas of common program interest		
Negotiation, e.g., conciliation, mediation, adjudication, etc.		
Giving Information about and Assistance in the Lawful Use of Judicial (court), Legislative, and Administrative (Executive Orders) Actions available to citizens for the Promotion of Democratic Intergroup Relations.		
Others (List them) ** ____________________		
____________________		
____________________		
____________________		
____________________		

B. PROGRAM LIMITATIONS -

V. (a) Are there organized opposition groups (e.g., pro-segregationist, white supremacy, pro-states "rights" etc.) operating in your state? Yes ____,No.____ Please indicate below the names of these and as far as possible the scope of operation of each. Facts as to their addresses, names of officials; printed statements, speeches, etc. of their officials, news stories which indicate their aims, policies, plans, methods, etc. will be helpful AS FAR AS YOU HAVE THEM ON HAND AND AVAILABLE, BUT DON'T SPEND ANY TIME COLLECTING such information for this questionnaire.

Names of Pro-Segregation Organizations.	Scope of their Operations.			
	Local	State-wide	Regional	National

VI. (a) In your judgment, what means (techniques, strategy, etc.) against Negroes and whites, respectively, are each of these groups using to maintain the status quo and specifically to prevent or delay public school desegregation in your state. (Check the means now in use on the list below; write in any additional ones in use under "others"; and circle the check mark by the means or techniques most emphasized by each such organization).

Types of Restrictive Means in Use - against Negroes (N) Whites (W); or Both (B).		NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS		
Violence	N.			
	W.			
	B.			
Intimidation, threat of physical harm to person or group	N.			
	W.			
	B.			
Economic restrictions, reprisals (actual or threatened) against the following:				
Employees	N.			
	W.			
	B.			
Employers, business establishments, self-employed professional, etc.	N.			
	W.			
	B.			

Types of Restrictive Means in Use (cont'd.)		NAMES OF ORGANIZATIONS		
Individual consumers, e.g. refusal or restriction on sale of goods and services, credit	N.			
	W.			
	B.			
Others: (list nature of these and whether practiced against N.,W.,or B.) **				

(b) What particular means of restrictions seem to you most serious in your State at present? (e.g., denying credit to farmers, businesses or consumers; refusing to sell goods or services, etc.) **

(c) What is your rough estimate of the number of persons affected by such reprisals and restrictions and the extent of hardship imposed upon them? Comment **

(d) Do the victims of such methods come to you for advice or assistance?

Yes ___; No ___; If so, approximately how many in the last year? ____

(e) What role, if any, have you played in such situations?

(f) In what other ways, if any, have you given program attention to such restrictive measures? **

VI (CONT'D).

(g) Approximately how much of staff time, if any, has been spent on restriction and reprisal problems in the last year? ________

(h) In your opinion, have the restrictive efforts mentioned above limited or decreased support to your organization that otherwise would be forthcoming from individuals and groups in communities where your organization is working? Yes ____; No ____.
If so, comment on how and to what extent this has affected your operations.**

____

____

____

____

C. DEGREE OF READINESS FOR PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.

VII. Have any counties, school districts, and /or incorporated communities (cities or towns) in your state desegregated their public schools? Yes ____; No ____. If so, how many ____. Name them and indicate the approximate pupil enrollment and, if easily available, the percentages of this which are Negro and White, respectively. **

____

____

____

____

VIII. Provided they are not prevented from such actions by the state department of education or the legislature, are there any counties, school districts, and/or incorporated municipalities in your state that you believe -

(a) are willing (ready) to desegregate their schools in the fall of 1956, i.e., their boards, superintendent, etc.? Yes ____; No ____; don't know ____. If so, how many ____. Name each, indicate the approximate pupil enrollment involved and, if easily available, the proportions of these who are Negroes and Whites, respectively. **

____

____

____

(b) seem to be "on the fence" and have the prospect of being persuaded to desegregate in the fall of 1956? Yes ___; No ___; don't know ___. If so, about how many? ____. Name each, indicate the approximate pupil enrollment involved and, if easily available, the proportions of these who are Negro and White, respectively.**

____

____

(c) are actively or adamantly opposed to desegregation in the fall of 1956 and you feel that such a possibility is out of the question? Yes ____; No ____; don't know ____. Approximately how many? ____. If not all, approximately what proportion of the total state pupil enrollment do you feel is covered by this group? ____%.

IX. Are there, at present, private and/or parochial primary or secondary schools for whites in your state that you feel would maintain segregation even though public schools began desegregation? Yes ____: No ____. If so, give the names and locations of these.**

X. With regard to the public school desegregation issue, comment on the position (pro or con) and the role taken by the leadership of organized groups in your state which exerts a strong influence in the power structure and/or upon public opinion of the state, e.g., political; religious; economic (including Management and Labor); civic and community welfare; professional, etc.**

D. RESOURCES.

1. What, if any organizations, agencies or other organized groups
   (a) are now cooperating and/or may, in your opinion, be depended upon to cooperate with you in the immediate future in the following program areas?**

EDUCATION - PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION?
Now:

____

____

In future:

____

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS, E.G., TRANSPORTATION, RECREATION, ETC.
Now:

____

____

In future:

____

OTHERS (LIST THEM AND INDICATE PROGRAM AREAS - SEE QUESTION A.III.)
Now:

____

____

____

In future:

____

____

____

____

II. ARE YOU COOPERATING WITH ANY ORGANIZATIONS, AGENCY AND/OR INSTITUTIONS IN ACHIEVING ELEMENTS OF THEIR PROGRAM WHICH YOU FEEL CONTRIBUTE TO YOURS? IF SO, LIST THEM AND, IF FEASIBLE, INDICATE TO WHAT PHASE OF YOUR PROGRAM THEY SEEM TO BE CONTRIBUTING.

Organizations Agencies, and Departments with Goals Compatible with SRC. (List below those in your state).	STATE SRC AFFILIATE -			
	Now Working With		Planning to Work With in next 6 Months	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS:				
National				
State				
Other				
PUBLIC AGENCIES, DEPARTMENTS, ETC.				
Federal				
STate				
Local				
Other				

III. ARE THERE PERSONS IN YOUR STATE WHO WOULD NOT OR SHOULD NOT BE MEMBERS OF YOUR BOARD, but who are sympathetic with the policies and objectives of SRC, who you feel are cooperating or might be persuaded to cooperate with you in a more or less "behind the scene" unofficial manner in some or all phases of your program? If so, what is your estimate of the approximate number? ____. (As far as possible and prudent, please indicate the numbers and names of such persons and the phases of your program in which they are likely to be interested.)

Program in general: number? ____. Names**

____

____

Education - Public school desegregation: number? ____. Names **

____

____

Employment: number? ____. Names **

____

____

Other phases of program (list them and give numbers and names) **

____

____

____

____

____

____

IV. How many of your Board members are giving you active cooperation and support?

(a) In the school desegregation phase of your program, e.g., attending conferences and interviews, making contacts for you, making speeches and other public expressions, etc.? Number? ____.

(b) In other phases of your program? (Indicate the numbers of Board members and the phases, respectively, in which they are now assisting you.) **

V. Are there any Board members not actively interested in the school desegregation issue who you feel would, if asked, work actively with you or assume the leadership in any of the major program areas other than public school desegregation? If so, how many? ____. Give the numbers in each program area in which you feel they would so contribute.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MEMO

To: Mr. G. S ~~M.~~ Alexander

From: John Hope II

Re: Tentative Draft, Questionnaire to State Directors

I am enclosing the rough copy of the questionnaire from which your stenographer was typing when I took it from you last week along with copies of the inserts which have been recopied for insertion at the proper places. When you have finished the typing of the questionnaire, please insert these insert pages and pass copies of the questionnaires with inserts to Mitchell, Routh, Fleming, Irving and mail one to Parrish. Send me the original and any remaining copies. I am holding the original copies of the insert for my own uses.

Indicate to these parties that it is tentative and probably incomplete and that I will welcome any suggestions that they have for additions, deletions, or changes.

Please return my rough copy of questionnaire.

For Mr. Alexander.

JOHN HOPE.

Called December 9th.

Proposes now to write to the key ones of those who were at the A.U. Conference, and say that we are moving again, and they or some of them should look to be called on for occasional jobs.

Asks Fred and CH to speed to John Hope the memos they undertook at NAIRO meeting.

Learned with interest of possibility of use of our John Hope machinery by the various religious denominations.

Received my authorization to use Robert Johnson as a consultant for some preliminary work toward standards of evaluation - "a few days", GSM said.

c.cs.
John Hope.
Fred Routh.
C.H. Parrish.
GSM.
RA.
GSA.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

TO: R.H.A. & G. S.A.

All expenditures on account of John Hope and the program which he supervises (consultants and training for the State programs) are to be charged to unexpended State balances for fiscal year 54-55; including expenditures already made (for this purpose only) on fiscal year 55-56.

Memorandum

To: George S. Mitchell; Harold Fleming; C. H. Parrish; and Fred Routh
(copies to Misses Ruth Alexander and Florence Irving; and G. S. Alexander)

From: John Hope II

Subject: Plans for state workshops

I I am attaching a suggested draft of an initial letter which I propose to send to each state director and state chairman. This can be a memographed with the names and addresses filled in and should be mailed on Tuesday, January 31, if possible.

II I am also attachihg a highly tentative schedule for state workshops for your consideration and ~~candid~~ criticism and subsequent adjustment. The main purpose of this schedule is to give you something to start from. From the dates suggested, you will realize that your suggestions should reach me at the earliest possible ~~date, preferrably~~ ~~as soon~~ as possible on or before Thursday February 2. As soon thereafter, I shall make contact with at least the first four or five organisations in whose state we wish to hold workshops and with the consultant team chosen for these in order to determine their ability of carrying out these plans. On basis of this information I will prepare a final schedule for our guidance in putting rush programs into operation at the earliest possible moment. Some of these contacts no doubt, will be made by long distance telephoning in order to expedite matter.

III I suggest that Fred and Harold, and perhaps Florence Irving, determine the major points of information to be included in Briefing Statements regarding each state situation for use by the consultants relying as fully as possible on data already available in files of the Atlanta office and from staff located there. In this way, the process might be standarised and handled by Miss Irving in a more or less routine manner ~~under~~ chronological order ~~under~~ of our needs. It might expedite matters if tentative rough draft was prepared by Miss Irving and then circulated to Fred, Harold, C. H., George and to me for any additions and changes that are needed. Then the final draft might be prepared for distribution to the consultants

IV I have just received a revised copy of the consultant expense statement form from Gabe which as I understand it is adjusted to fit the bookkeeping procedures now in use. This form is quite satisfactory to me and I suggest that you take a look at Gabe's copy and add your approval and make any further suggestions that seem necessary.

I expect to see Fred and C. H. in Nashville Monday, January 30th about these and related matters.

42

Suggested letter from
Assistant Director for Program to
both State Directors and Chairmen

Dear ________________________:

My role in the SRC organization was indicated to you by Dr. Mitchell in his letter of December 30th, I believe.

For the last few weeks, my efforts have been directed primarily to getting better acquainted with the Council and to formulating with the assistance of other members of the central office staff, some tentative program plans, i.e., means by which the central office staff might help you to further increase the scope and efficiency of your program to the end that we together may breathe life and vitality into the lofty and democratic policies and goals of the Southern Regional Council in each of the twelve states in which it has affiliates. I am well aware that for some states such a possibility may seem remote at this moment when the opposition has the newspaper headlines and seems so defiantly determined to stay the trend toward a democractic South. However, I sincerely believe that in terms of historical perspective, they, not we, are on the defensive; that long range social, economic, and political forces as well as the foundations of legal sanction are now moving inexorably in our favor. Nevertheless, the speed and efficiency with which these constructive forces assert themselves in day-to-day intergroup practices within our communities and the extent to which costly, destructive counteractions can be avoided depend more than ever upon the effectiveness with which we play our role.

In a sense, this is the hour for which you and I have "trained" for many years (if not generations). For us the question of whether the SRC objectives can be attained is behind us. Our prime question is: how can the constructive democratic leadership which constitutes the boards and staffs of the several state SRC organizations affiliated best operate within the framework of SRC policy to bring about the "New South" which we seek with maximum efficiency and speed, and with a minimum of costly, unnecessary social conflict and interracial tension. Each state organization will have to appraise carefully and realistically its resources and the social terrain in which it must operate in answering this question with respect to its current program. Its plans needs to encompass projects aimed at immediate, short range, and long range objectives. In short, we must try to perceive clearly the "forest" dispite the (sometimes painful) fact that the individual "trees" seem to loom high and ominous above us. This, I fully realize, is not easy but it is urgently necessary. It is my candid belief that your dynamic leadership contribution during the next crucial twelve to eighteen months can be decisive in shaping the new patterns of Negro-White relationships in the South for many years to come. We may gain or lose a decade in the speed of social change during this fluid period.

We are tentatively formulating our plans to this end. We have employed for your (occasional) use a panel of nine highly qualified consultants trained in the disciplines of Social Science and having wide experience has practitioners in the field of intergroup relations to advice you in regard to program. Within this group will be found a variety of specialized competences which we hope to make available to you. Within the next eight to ten weeks we will make them available in teams of two each for a series of workshops for state Boards and staffs in some six to eight states. In each of these, a team along with central staff members will be put at your disposal for a period of from one to one and a half days for a frank and open discussion (nota lecture) of your program. The membership of each of these workshops is purposely confined to the board members and staffs of one state so that you may discuss your program plan, problems, etc. fully and specifically - - for your guidance, not for publication, Obviously, such a meeting should be scheduled at a time and place convenient for as large a number of board members as possible, particularly the executive committee, program committee, chairmen of other committees, and other key board members. Since several of the consultants are members of college and university faculties, the most convenient time for the majority is the week-end, e.g., Friday night and all day Saturday, or Saturday and Sunday. However, I shall try to meet your time preferences as closely as possible. You are the best judge of place for such a workshop.

Because of the number of states and consultants involved, we shall have to draw up a tentative date for each state workshop. We hope that the date selected for you will be convenient since this would expedite the completion of this initial project and free us for other efforts. However, if it is not, ~~do not hesitate to~~ Promptly let me know, indicating suggested alternative dates so that we can re-schedule your workshop with a minimum of delay.

I cannot emphasize too strongly my hope that each workshop can be "tailored" to the specific needs of the state organization where it is held. It is hoped that the consultants will spend most of their time reacting to your questions and the statement of your problems, and that formal statements will be reduced to a bare minimum. Consequently, I am asking that you think through your program in the near future and indicate to me the brief outline of your present program, your principal problems, and the needs which you feel the consultant team (and central staff members) may fill during this brief period. This will give sharp and positive focus to our discussions.

We will try to brief the consultants in advance as far as possible but your statement in advance of the workshop is imperative.

Sincerely yours,

John Hope II

Assistant Director for Program

JH:MDW

Tentative Schedule for State Workshops

	Suggested Consultant Teams				
States	**1st choice**		**Alternate**	**Time***	**Place**
1. Virginia	Walker Johnson	or	Hy. Lewis	2/10-11	
2. North Carolina	Walker Hy. Lewis	or	Johnson	2/17-18	
3. Tenn. (or Ark. ?)	Young B. Valien	or	Killian	2/24-25	
4. Alabama	Killian B. Valien	or	Wilson	3/2-3	
5. Arkansas	Jones Clark	or	Young, Killian	3/9-10	
6. Texas (or Fla.?)				3/16-17	
7. Florida				3/23-24	
8. South Carolina				3/30-31	

*All dates on Friday and Saturday

Memorandum

To: Consultants - SRC Consultant Service Program

From: John Hope II, Assistant Director for Program

Re: State Workshops for Boards and Staffs

First, I want to repeat in writing the very sincere personal thanks which I expressed at the January 19th meeting for your important contribution to my thinking on SRC program and to express on behalf of the Council our appreciation for your initial guidance in launching the Consultant Service Program, IN which you have agreed to participate. We look forward with confidence and satisfaction to the positive results of the professional "know-how" and stimulation which you will inject into the various state SRC affiliates which you will service in the coming months and, I hope, years.

I wish to report that the State Organisations have been advised of the Service and tentative workshop dates have been offered with the request that they give alternative dates if ours are not convenient for them. We hope to hear from them within a week. Immediately thereafter, tentative consultant assignments will be made and I will write you indicating where and when we will want each of you to serve in State Workshops. We are hoping to have our first workshop on February 17 and 18 and then to hold at least one each week thereafter so that we can complete this phase of program by mid-April and look to the next steps. I am also hoping that "next steps" for consultant services will be in a sense generated out of the valuable contributions that you make to the state affiliates that you serve.

You will find enclosed the following documents for your use:

1. Expense and Compensation Regulations
2. Travel and Expense Voucher
3. The second of Bob Johnson's Technical memoranda which I feel is most pertinent as background for your thinking as you plan for the workshops. The other will follow as soon as it can be mimeographed. These memoranda should be considered as confidential until you are advised to the contrary.

This is enclosed in this mailing

Other pertinent information will be made available about the situation in the state, agenda, etc. before your Workshop dates but I would caution you not to expect too much or lean too heavily upon these expected data. From your wide knowledge and experience, I think you will agree that the fundamental needs are pervasive and that they will probably differ more in degree and emphasis than in kind and quality from state to state in the 6 or 8 states being considered. Bear in mind the concensus of the January 19th discussions that the major need of the state organizations in program development is expert knowledge of How? not Why? though expert knowledge of the latter is a valuable basis for effective guidance regarding the former.

I shall welcome any comments you may have from time to time or suggestions for program development which occur to you as you think about the various aspects of the cause we serve.

MEMORANDUM.

TO: GSM.

FROM: JH.ll.

RE: Travel Expense Advances to Consultants.

Please authorize payment of the following:

Mrs. Bonita Valien -- -- -- -- --	$ 44.77	([redacted])
Mr. Whitney Young -- -- -- -- -- --	$ 67.43	[redacted]
Dr. A. Lee Coleman -- -- -- -- -- --	$ 95.10	[redacted]

Some consultants have expressed difficulty in making large outlays from personal funds and this seems to be a satisfactory middle position. Their vouchers will show total expenditures with this advance deducted, and the balance due them, including consultant fee and all other expense, can be mailed to them upon their return home.

3-1-64

Housing

HOUSING TRENDS

End Is Near For Segregation In U.S. Housing

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

Thoughtful Americans are well aware that time is running out on the relative immunity thus far allotted the housing market in mounting crusades to overthrow racial discrimination.

Jim Montgomery

Little has been said about it publicly by industry leaders since the initial furor nearly a year-and-a-half ago over the late President Kennedy's executive order on equal housing opportunities, forbidding discrimination in government-backed housing.

While the order has had almost no effect on the housing market to date, some builders, lenders and real estate men anticipate that it will begin to later this year.

An article in the current issure of The Mortgage Banker, trade journal for a major segment of the home loan business, offers some fresh insights into this, as it says, "most complicated of all domestic problems."

Particular attention is devoted to the recent and continuing "growth of the Negro middle class and the great market for housing which it represents."

THE AUTHOR, Chester Rapkin, professor of city planning and finance at the University of Pennsylvania, points out that more than two-thirds of all American Negro families have yet to attain middle-class status," so that regardless of other developments "income will undoubtedly remain as the most severe restraint on (their) housing choice."

However, he adds, with approximately 1½ million Negro families now earning $5,000 or more a year, "a non-white middle class of significant size" has emerged with a consequent strengthening of typical American middle-class behavior patterns and values.

And he finds among the Negroes in this class "a great impulse to home ownership" in better neighborhoods — an impulse which with few ex-

the inundation that whites observe and fear"; pent-up housing demand in the expanding Negro population is so focused by limited supply on a new section when it "opens up" that such areas often are quickly transformed from white to Negro occupancy.

By contrast, Prof. Rapkin contends, "in a completely open market there would be some tendency for Negroes to scatter throughout the metropolitan area rather than to seek housing only in or at the borders of existing non-white neighborhoods, and as a result a considerably smaller number of whites would have to worry about living among a large number of Negroes."

He further observes that "if one is to judge by performance rather than by verbal expression, the massive number of racially-mixed areas which have developed in cities in the North give testimony to the fact that white families may be more willing to live in such areas than they are inclinded to admit on opinion polls."

ESTIMATES of middle-class Negro housing demand also show, he says, that the homebuilding industry in particular and the economy in general would benefit considerably "if non-white families were permitted and inclined to participate in the housing market in a manner identical to that of the white families."

The same estimates, according to the article, suggest that middle-income Negro families in the South have fared relatively better than those in the North in obtaining housing commensurate with their income status.

This, it says, is "particularly true in Atlanta, Houston and New Orleans, where combined efforts of the Negro organizations, municipal government, and the building and mortgage finance groups have been directed towards providing new homes for middle-class Negroes."

less of other developments "income will undoubtedly remain as the most severe restraint on (their) housing choice."

However, he adds, with approximately 1½ million Negro families now earning $5,000 or more a year, "a non-white middle class of significant size" has emerged with a consequent strengthening of typical American middle-class behavior patterns and values.

And he finds among the Negroes in this class "a great impulse to home ownership" in better neighborhoods — an impulse which, with few exceptions, remains largely frustrated by discrimination.

Exploring what he describes as the "still . . . considerable resistance (by whites) to personal relationships and to residential proximity" with Negroes, the professor notes that "the resistance appears to be greatest where Negroes attempt to acquire a unit similar or perhaps superior to that inhabited by the surrounding white families, but there is often little or no resistance to Negroes renting visibly inferior accommodations, even though they may be in the immediate vicinity of white dwellings. . . .

"WHAT THE WHITE family really appears to be concerned about is not an occasional Negro neighbor, but the fear that these will be followed by others and that the area will become predominantly non-white."

The "curious twist" here, he declares, is that "it is the pattern of (housing) market segregation which itself causes

ing to the article, suggest that middle-income Negro families in the South have fared relatively better than those in the North in obtaining housing commensurate with their income status.

This, it says, is "particularly true in Atlanta, Houston and New Orleans, where combined efforts of the Negro organizations, municipal government, and the building and mortgage finance groups have been directed towards providing new homes for middle-class Negroes."

But the professor also is convinced that it will take government intervention through effective enforcement of unequivocal laws and regulations "if discrimination in the (nation's housing market is to be reduced substantially in the near future."

Meanwhile, he predicts, the effect of the executive order on housing "will be felt in the near future," with the first half-million housing units subject to its provisions coming on the market "later in 1964.

"AT THAT TIME, we can expect to find some scattered purchases by Negro families in new housing areas;" and while this number will grow moderately as a larger volume of such units becomes available, a variety of factors will keep the pace from becoming great at first.

Even with stronger government intervention, the author says, "it appears that it will be close to the end of the decade of the 1960's before the intent of the order is widely felt and its impact measured."

But "in one way or another," predicts Prof. Rapkin, "the middle-class Negro (families) will acquire accommodations commensurate with their income, outlook, interests and behavior."

July 6, 1964

Mr. Michael Brennan, S.J.
3630 Pine Blvd.
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Mr. Brennan:

I am sorry, but we have no recent publications on housing; any publications we do have deal only with the southern states. For information for your master's thesis on President Kennedy's November, 1962, executive order on equal opportunity in federally aided housing, especially in the St. Louis area, may we suggest several books and some sources:

Sources--Missouri Commission on Human Rights, Room 234, St. Capitol Building, Jefferson City, Missouri; and Trends published bimonthly by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 426 W. 58th St., New York 19, N. Y.

Pamphlets you might order: Our Non-White Population and Its Housing, 1963. Housing & Home Finance Agency, U. S. Government (perhaps regional office in St. Louis?)/ The Federal Role in Equal Housing Opportunity, Potomac Institute, 1501 18th St. N.W., Washington 1, D. C.; Citizen Action for Housing & Renewal (3rd of series), U. Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Blvd, Pittsburg, Pa.; Trans-Action, March 1964 issue, published by Community Leadership Project at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. (75¢), "Property Values and Neighborhood Integration"; Renewal, April-May, 1964, 19 South LaSalle St., Room 1302, Chicago, Illinoise, "Breaking the Housing Barrier (in the Northern Suburbs)," by Carol Kleiman.

Books
1961 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report No. 4: Housing; also 196[illegible] 50 States Reports by CCR Advisory Commissions

1963 Report of U. S. Commission on Civil Rights contains government regulations, legal developments, Presidents Executive Order, Implementation (and lack of it)

Laurenti, Property Values & Race. 1960.

I hope these will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

3630 W. Pine Blvd.

St Louis 8, Mo.

July 1, 1964

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am doing my master's thesis on President Kennedy's Nov. 1962 executive order on equal opportunity in federally aided housing, especially in the St. Louis area. I would appreciate your sending me any free pertinent material available and a list of other available information.

My address will change in the following way:

August 1-24 -- Campion Jesuit High School
Prairie du Chien, Wisc.

August 25- June 14, 1965 3400 W. Michigan
Milwaukee Wisc. 53208

Sincerely,

Michael Brennan, S.J.

(Mr.) Michael Brennan, S.J.

8-30-64 Housing

HOUSING TRENDS

Texans Score Gains in Attack On Blockbusting

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

If you are a homeowner in an all-white neighborhood, what would you do if a Negro family purchased and moved into a nearby house?

Jim Montgomery

Resort to violence?

Panic and sell out for whatever you could get?

Or try to adapt to your neighborhood a new approach, now being attempted in a major Southern city, aimed at defeating block-busting tactics without aggravating racial friction?

However remote any integration of your neighborhood may seem at this time, it would be unrealistic to assume it could never happen.

Yet there is precious little precedent for any but tragically destructive reactions.

Destructive to both human and property values.

Now, a group of Houston, Texas, homeowners are setting a hopeful example, under pressure, of a constructive alternative which most other white homeowners still have time to think about.

The circumstances of this development were outlined in a recent report by The Wall Street Journal.

ABOUT TWO YEARS AGO, Negroes started moving into an established, formerly all-white, 1,000-home Houston residential development.

Though the range of property values in the area was not assessed, it was suggested by a description of one home purchased by its present white owner in the 1930s for $26,000.

Anyway, with a continuing influx of Negro families—now totaling 175—more and more white families were listing their properties for sale. Three months ago, for-sale signs stood in front of 165 homes.

But last spring, a new committee of white homeowners in the area pitched in to try to stabilize the situation and halt a sharp downtrend in property values.

They emphasized from the start that their effort was not anti-Negro, but organized instead to discourage block-busting, a term which refers to attempts by some real estate men to buy properties from whites at distress prices and resell at higher prices to Negroes.

Evidence this month indicating at least partial success for the counter-offensive included:

Only 65 houses still sporting for-sale signs.

"Not-for-sale" signs in front of 225 houses; among them, one reading, "This is our house—it is not for sale," staked out by an elderly white woman determined never to move.

A SLOWDOWN in the exodus of white families, according to the committee, which also says 11 white families have moved into the neighborhood in recent months.

The owner of the $26,000 home mentioned above, who had cut its price to $18,000 in an unsuccessful effort to sell, has raised his market price back to $26,000.

Property values generally are reported firming up.

Though not members of the white homeowners' committee, Negro and civil rights leaders are said to support its efforts on the grounds that they are lessening the chances of the area's turning into a ghetto.

Also, Negro and committee leaders have agreed in joint discussions that a population ratio in the 1,000-home development stabilized at 65 to 85 per cent white and 15 to 35 per cent Negro would be most favorable for the Negro residents.

The Wall Street Journal report did not imply that all the problems have been solved or that stability has been achieved. But violence has been averted, the decline in property values reversed.

and Houston
Nat'l Observer

Atlanta: The Landmark Apt. hotel

VE-fyi
MA

Housing

August 26, 1964

Mr. Meyer Weinberg
Editor
Integrated Education
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

Dear Mr. Weinberg:

Since Mr. Dunbar is on vacation, your letter has been referred to me for reply.

I am sorry to tell you that the Council has no recent publications specifically on housing. Our Special Report: Louisville (P. 33) does have some information on integrated housing in this city. Our older publications on housing were concerned with better and more adequate housing for Negroes, and would not be useful to you.

The Louisville story on integrated housing is typical of what is going on in practically every large city in the South: the Negro population increases, there is great demand and need for additional housing, a breakthrough occurs (sometimes called "block-busting" and sometimes planned) and Negroes buy housing in formerly all-white neighborhoods. Usually within two to three years the neighborhood becomes all-Negro. There are these so-called "transitional areas" in Memphis, Tenn., Mobile, Ala., Miami, Fla., Atlanta, Ga., Greensboro, N. C. In Louisville, there has been an attempt by the socially oriented agencies to persuade home-owners to stay rather than to engage in panic-selling. What success they will have is still uncertain.

There is what is called "token integration" in some public housing in Louisville; where this occurs and is maintained it will be helpful in future housing integration in both public and private housing.

According to the regional H.& H.F. office in Atlanta, there is integrated public housing in the following cities:

Kentucky: Louisville, Lexington, Williamsburg, Newport
Florida: Miami
Tennessee: Rogersville
North Carolina: Winston-Salem, Greensboro.

In the case of Newport, Ky. and Rogersville, Tenn., the HHFA office does not have a formal agreement on file, but knows of Negro families living in public housing which is otherwise all-white. It is token, but it is integrated housing. Lexington, Ky. has signed a formal agreement, but a copy has not yet reached the regional office; so far as they know there is not yet any Negro/white occupancy but only an agreement for future integration.

In Atlanta, there are at least three "transitional areas": Peyton Road, Grove Park, North Bankhead. (see attached photo copy) but they are gradually becoming all-Negro. The FHA financed Church Homes Project will have 520 rental units for open occupancy. This is a Negro church project; the church has some white members. There may be some integrated housing here. The project is now under construction.

It is our understanding that the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) is discussing an open-occupancy development that would be planned and privately financed.

Current Report from the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, June 1964, states that the President's Committee and the Community Relations Board of Metropolitan Dade County (Miami) co-sponsored a two day conference on June 9 and 10 to which leading local builders were invited and where ways and means of achieving equal housing opportunities were discussed. Information from this report on Maryland, Delaware, and Washington, D. C. is attached.

You may wish to read the following:

The Federal Role in Equal Housing Opportunity, The Potomac Institute, 1501 18th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
The Mortgage Banker, February 1964 issue, Chester Rapkin, "The Heart of the Matter: More Housing for Negroes"

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosed:
photo copies from Some Observations About Minority Housing in Atlanta, Ga. by Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, and from Current Report

Louisville

Recd 8/25/64

INTEGRATED EDUCATION

343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604
Telephone 922-8361 A/C 312

MA- pls reply
Mmj
Lead

August 22, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I need your help. This time, with information, rather than money. I need to know a great deal about the extent of residential segregation throughout the South. Could you send me any of the Council's publications relating to this topic in general and/or in relation to specific cities? I am working on a very short book, in which, among other things, I intend to relate integration developments (schools, that is) in both North and South. Incidentally, I found your article in the February *Journal of Politics* extremely good. Congratulations on it.

Mmj:
Cr. ref

Cordially yours,

Meyer Weinberg

Meyer Weinberg
Editor

gh

9-6-64
J-C

HOUSING TRENDS

Housing Decay Pressure Builds On Government

By JIM MONTGOMERY
Constitution Business Editor

Residential construction, including single-family houses and apartments, appears to be booming in Atlanta and many other communities.

Jim Montgomery

But are existing housing needs being met? Future needs anticipated?

Far from it, according to a national organization devoted to studying the nation's housing inadequacies and formulating recommendations to overcome them.

National Housing Conference officials pleaded their case during a platform committee session at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City last month.

And if the NHC is anywhere near right, the nation is building old housing problems as fast as new housing:

Item—By the year 2000, just 36 years from now, there will be 150 million more people in the United States, 80 per cent of them in and around metropolitan areas.

Item—Right now, one American in five lives in substandard housing.

ITEM—The annual production of new housing in this country has never exceeded 60 per cent of the rate needed to replace existing slums as well as provide the growth in population.

This "lag in housing construction, a field which is one of the largest single sources of employment," is seen further as "a drag on economic expansion which will become more acute as the impact of automation increases."

With this "unfinished business" approaching increasingly critical dimensions, the NHC is out to win broad public support of programs designed to provide good housing for all Americans and thereby de-fuse a potentially devastating social time bomb.

Here are the NHC recommendations:

1. Spur production of houses to 2½ million a year (from the present level of close to 1½ million) through public as well as private enterprise in order to meet the needs of both the forgotten and remembered families.

2. Include a public housing program of at least 100,000 units a year for low income families.

3. Expand the private housing market through financial assistance to low-income families who are either ineligible for public housing or who wish to live in decent housing of their own choice at rents they can afford.

4. Include at least 100,000 new houses a year at nominal interest rates for families who wish to own their own homes but cannot afford them at present market rates, making the nominal rates flexible to rise or fall when family income does.

5. **PROVIDE** $1 billion a year in urban renewal assistance, including rehabilitation subsidies necessary to bring the existing housing inventory up to satisfactory standards while keeping family displacements to a minimum.

6. Federal financial assistance for mass transit to relieve the stranglehold of traffic congestion on urban development.

7. Authorize state and local governments to purchase land for planned urban expansion and "new towns" provided with streets, schools and utilities; then sell such areas for private development in accordance with an overall plan.

Obviously, many of these proposals, because they are government-oriented, raise the hackles of private enterprise.

Not that the goals are objectionable to businessmen who know the urgency of the needs because they have seen the growing malignancy of the nation's urban and rural slums.

But for a few isolated exceptions, however, private housing interests have thus far been unable to stop the tide of neighborhood decay, much less turn it back. Perhaps they can't.

SEPTEMBER 1964

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS OF CHICAGO

Vol. 6 No. 5

PUBLISHED PERIODICALLY BY THE CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

8 Skilled Trades Admit First Negroes

Negroes have been admitted into eight skilled trades in the Chicago area that previously had no Negro members.

These breakthroughs have taken place since the first of 1963, according to Jim Burns, coordinator of the investigations and law enforcement division of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

Burns, who directs the Commission's intensive program in the building trades, said recent developments indicate the admittance of Negroes to trade unions seems to be on the upswing.

Since the first of 1963, Negroes have become the following:

- An apprentice tilesetter, a member of Tile Layers and Helpers—Mosaic and Acoustical, Local 25.
- An apprentice architectural ironworker, in the Architectural and Ornamental Iron Workers Union, Local 63.
- Two apprentice sprinkler fitters, in the Sprinkler Fitters and Apprentices Union, Local 281.
- Two apprentice pipe coverers in the Heat, Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers Union, Local 17.
- Two sheet metal workers, who are currently employed and who are scheduled to take trade entrance examinations on October 15.
- Four elevator constructor helpers, in Elevator Constructors Local 2, who have been hired by Westinghouse and Otis Elevator.
- Operating engineer, a member of International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 150, who has been promoted by the City of Chicago.
- An oiler, in training to be an operating engineer, a member of International Union of Operating Engineers, Local 150, also hired by the City.
- A machine shop apprentice, in training at Washburne Trade School.

Negroes are on the waiting lists for indentureship in the following unions for the first time: Bridge and Structural Ironworkers, Local 1; Pipefitters Association, Local 597, and Composition Roofers, Local 11.

Commission Seeks Nominees For Human Relations Awards

It's time once again to nominate candidates for the Chicago Commission on Human Relations annual awards in human relations.

Awards are given annually by the Commission to individuals and organizations that have made outstanding contributions to the improvement of human relations in Chicago.

A special award, a memorial to the late Thomas and Eleanor Wright, is given to a professional human relations worker. Mr. Wright was at one time executive director of the Commission and his wife was director of public information.

"We need your help in locating those who deserve to be so honored," Lee Schooler, chairman of the awards committee, said. "Your nominations are the basis for selections. We invite you to send us your choices for the awards on nomination forms available from the Commission."

Entry forms can be obtained from the Commission, Room 1310, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606, telephone 236-4912. Nominations must be in the Commission office by Monday, October 5.

The awards will be presented at the Commission's Nineteenth Annual Awards Luncheon which will be held at noon Wednesday, December 2, in the Grand Ballroom of the Sherman House.

Those eligible for an award are any business or industrial enterprise, any civic or community organization, religious institution, organ of communication, government department, trade union, or any individual who has made an outstanding contribution to good human relations in Chicago. Human relations agencies and organizations are not eligible.

Schooler, who is president of the Public Relations Board, Inc., heads the committee of 13 who will select the winners.

Members of the committee are: Charles A. Davis, of Charles A. Davis and Associates; the Rev. William E. Hogan, of St. Martin Church; Howard G. Mayer, of Mayer and O'Brien, Inc.; Sister Mary Ann Ida, of Mundelein College; Attorney Lewis Manilow; Irwin Klass, of

(Continued on Page 4)

Record More 'Firsts' In Jobs for Non-Whites

Chicago Commission on Human Relations records show that since the first of 1964, numerous business firms throughout the city have hired Negro men and women for positions—mostly white-collar—never before filled by them.

The Commission has assisted in many of these placements, along with other government and private agencies.

The firms and the positions include:

Sinclair Refining Company, 155 N. Wacker Drive, hired a Negro secretary in May and now employs 12 Negro white collar workers.

Acme Steel Company, 135th Street and Perry Avenue, hired two Negro secretaries—one in industrial relations and another in the safety department.

United States Steel Corporation and its division American Bridge, 208 S. La Salle Street, has hired 19 Negroes for white collar jobs.

Chicago Teachers Pension Fund, 228 N. LaSalle Street, hired a Negro woman as a counsellor on retirement plans.

Stop & Shop, 16 W. Washington Street, hired a Negro management trainee.

Material Service Division of General Dynamics Corporation, 300 W. Washington Street, hired a Negro as a dispatcher.

Beverly Bank, 1357 W. 103rd Street, hired a Negro teller trainee.

Sherman House, Clark and Randolph Streets, hired a Negro desk clerk.

Lambrecht Food Company, 2334 N. Kilbourne Avenue, hired a Negro receptionist.

Seymour Richards Construction Company, 7127 N. Clark Street, hired two carpenter apprentices.

Borg-Warner Corporation, 200 S. Michigan Avenue, hired a Negro secretary in the sales department, and later hired five more Negroes in various departments of the office.

Inland Steel Company, 30 W. Monroe Street, hired two Negroes as engineer trainees working on their fleet of Great Lakes ore boats.

Quaker Oats Coporation, with offices in the Merchandise Mart, hired a Negro secretary in its public relations department.

Fred S. James and Company, insurance, 1 N. LaSalle Street, hired a Negro clerk-typist.

Skil Corporation, 5033 N. Elston Avenue, hired a Negro secretary in industrial relations.

James Lyon Company, 310 S. Peoria Street, hired a Negro plasterer, truck driver and carpenter apprentice.

American National Bank, 33 N. LaSalle Street, hired 12 Negroes this year in various white collar capacities.

Pullman Bank and Trust Company, 400 E. 111th Street, hired two Negro tellers, a secretary and an office clerk.

20 Cities Adopt Fair Housing Laws in Past 17 Months

Twenty-four cities and fourteen states throughout the nation now have fair housing practices laws, a continuing survey by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations reveals.

Twenty of these cities, including Chicago, and two states, adopted fair housing legislation since April 1, 1963.

The cities are: Akron, Ohio; Albuquerque, N. M.; Ann Arbor, Mich.; Beloit, Wis.; Chicago; Des Moines, Ia.; Duluth, Minn.; East St. Louis, Ill.; Erie, Penna.; Grand Rapids, Mich.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Madison, Wis.; New Haven, Conn.; New London, Conn.; Peoria, Ill.; Philadelphia, Penna.; St. Louis, Mo.; Schenectady, N. Y.; Washington, D. C., and Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The four cities that earlier passed fair housing practices ordinances are: New York City; Pittsburgh, Penna.; Toledo and Oberlin, Ohio.

Fair housing practices legislation takes consideration of race or religion out of the housing market.

The two states in which fair housing legislation was passed in the last seventeen months are California, whose law became effective September 20, 1963, and Michigan, by virtue of a new state constitution which went into effect at the first of 1964.

King County, Washington, adopted a fair housing practices law which went into effect March 3, 1964.

The City Council of Freeport, Ill., adopted on November 5, 1963, a resolution urging fair housing practices.

Three cities adopted laws which are limited to outlawing "panic peddling." They are: Kansas City, Mo., effective January 20, 1964; Buffalo, N. Y., enacted January 7, 1964, and Wichita, Kan., effective June 5, 1964. Four other cities adopted "panic peddling" laws earlier.

"Panic peddling" is the term used to describe the process of exploitation of racial prejudices by real estate brokers in an effort to obtain property listings from white homeowners in a racially changing neighborhood.

Copies of the original fair housing survey, "A Report to the Mayor and the City Council of Chicago on the Present Status and Effectiveness of Existing Fair Housing Practices Legislation in the United States as of April 1, 1963," and the latest memorandum, are available from the Commission, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606.

Annual Report

Copies of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations *Annual Report for 1963* are available at the Commission, 211 West Wacker Drive, Room 1310, Chicago, Illinois 60606, telephone 236-4912.

List CCHR Publications Available to Public

The following is a list of publications produced by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations which are available without charge to the public upon request.

General
- *Your Civil Rights*, 1964 edition
- *Annual Report/1963*
- *The Growing Negro Middle Class in Chicago*, 1962

Housing
- *A Report on the Present Status and Effectiveness of Existing Fair Housing Practices Legislation in the U. S., as of April 1, 1963*
- *Increasing Housing Opportunities for Nonwhites—Near Northside*, a survey
- *Fair Housing Legislation Passed and Defeated Since April 1, 1963*
- *Policies and Practices of Newspapers in Real Estate Advertising*, December, 1963
- *Report on Complaints Received Under the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance for the Period Ending June 30, 1964*
- *Rules Governing Practice and Procedure before the Chicago Commission on Human Relations Relating to the Chicago Fair Housing Ordinance*
- *A Guide to Chicago's Fair Housing Ordinance*, prepared by the League of Women Voters of Chicago
- *Know Your Rights in the Sale, Buying and Renting of Property* (in Spanish)

Employment
- *Annual Contractor Employment Practices Report*, a survey to determine compliance with the non-discriminatory clause in government contracts.
- *Trade Union Survey: Racial, Religious and Nationality Membership in 44 Trades*, a survey of trades covered by prevailing wage ordinances

Health
- *Negro Births in Chicago Hospitals Providing Maternity Services*, a statistical report for the years 1953, 1956, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1963
- *Negro Physicians and Medical Students Affiliated With Chicago Hospitals and Medical Schools*, a survey of 67 hospitals
- *Births By Race in Chicago—1950-1963*

New Residents
- *Adult-Educational Services Inventory*, resources of four community areas: Grand Boulevard, Near North, Lincoln Park and North Lawndale
- *The Volunteer Tutoring Program: Who and Where*, a report of tutoring services throughout the Chicago area
- *The Volunteer Tutoring Program August 1964 Supplement*
- *You and Chicago*, English and Spanish editions

Fair Housing Handbook

A "Fair Housing Handbook" has just been published by the American Friends Service Committee and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

"A practical manual for those who are working to create and maintain inclusive communities," the handbook contains guidelines and program activities for those who wish to organize a local fair housing committee, and for new groups which may feel a need for guidance.

The book states that the number of voluntary citizens groups working for fair housing practices grew from 18 in 1959 to approximately 400 in 1964.

Copies are available from the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. Single copies cost 50 cents each; in quantities of 100 or more, 35 cents each.

Study Metropolitan Chicago

A course designed for persons who have a civic or professional interest in the Chicago metropolitan area will be given at the University of Chicago downtown center, 64 E. Lake Street, from 7 to 9 p.m. beginning Monday, October 5.

Entitled "Metropolitan Chicago," it will seek to place the current problems of the city and the region into the perspective of long-range development, past as well as future.

Professor Harold M. Mayer of the department of geography, formerly research director for the Chicago Plan Commission, is in charge.

Annual Awards

(Continued from Page 1)

Federation News; Claude J. Peck, Jr., of Joseph T. Ryerson & Sons, Inc.; Clyde Reynolds, of Provident Hospital; Rabbi Irving J. Rosenbaum; Mrs. William Saphir, of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers; Rabbi Ralph Simon, and Mrs. David Wallerstein.

HUMAN RELATIONS NEWS
CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS
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10-16-64 8

Negro Housing Called Good Here

By The Associated Press

A Negro business executive says members of his race are better housed in Durham, N.C., Atlanta and Memphis than anywhere else in the world.

The executive—the president of a large life insurance company—attributes the favorable housing picture to the activity of established Negro financing firms in these cities.

He is quoted anonymously by two Atlanta college professors in a chapter of a book just published by the University of North Carolina Press on Southern economic development.

The authors are Dr. Harding B. Young, dean of the School of Business Administration at Atlanta University, a Negro institution; and Dr. James M. Hund of Emory University's School of Business Administration.

THE TWO EDITORS of the book are Dr. W. Tate Whitman, an economics professor at Emory, and Dr. Melvin L. Greenhut of Florida State University.

Young and Hund made an extensive study of Negro business enterprise in the South. They note that the three cities cited by the insurance executive as outstanding in housing each has a leading Negro insurance company supplying funds for home financing as well as related business firms.

They found that the benefits from a Negro financial institution was magnified beyond its own particular acitivity.

Not only does it make mortgage loans, they report, but also it calls attention of the white community to the fact that the Negro is a good risk for a home mortgage.

EXPANDING on this thought the writers suggest that "the effective approach to desegregating money seems to be through competition. Whenever one finds a Negro financial complex, one finds comparable white institutions making loans to Negroes."

"Upon the organization of a Negro commercial bank in Houston," they continue, "white lenders in that city conceded that the bank would affect them. 'We're not admitting it publicly, but we're beginning to make an effort to show our Negro customers that we're interested in lending to them,' said the president of a white savings and loan association. 'In the past we haven't been interested in making mortgage loans to Negroes.' "

Young and Hund say that with large Negro enterprises soundly managed and profitable, the persistence of uplift motives is easily detected. Each of the three big insurance companies, for example, takes pride in the fact that it has contributed to better housing, they said.

11-27-64 Const.

No Druid Hills Block-Busting Intended, Racial Council Says

The Council on Human Relations of Greater Atlanta "is not interested in placement of Negro families, or in block-busting," according to acting executive director Robert Carey.

The council earlier had said the Druid Hills-Emory University section would be the target of a campaign for "fair housing and open occupancy."

The council, a biracial organization, also said it would try to create "an attitude of openness, enabling people so desiring to move into the area without fear of reprisal or rebuff."

CLARIFIES POSITION

Carey, in his later statement apparently made to clarify the council's position, commented:

"Our interest is one of entering into dialogue with the community and persons in the community about a problem which history will soon lay on their doorstep."

He added, "It is not our to dictate to any given community and we have no intention of so doing. Our hope is that persons of the community will feel free enough to come forward to meet the challenge that is before them."

Carey said the council had taken an interest in housing "in the belief that the question of housing is one of the most pressing and problematical questions that face this city or any city."

OTHER CITIES

"In city after city across the nation," he said, "persons have fled from this challenge only to curse and condemn the results of their feeling.

"We feel that responsible citizens when presented with the opportunity to deal creatively and constructively with the problems that are theirs will, if given time and the opportunity for fruitful dialogue, arrive at a solution that is creative and constructive."

The council, Carey added, "is not interested in placement of Negro families, or in block-busting. We are neither equipped for any such activity nor do we find such activity to be symonomous with our philosophy and program."

Publicity on Druid Hills Housing Called Accidental

11-29-64 JC

By PAUL VALENTINE

An unplanned public battle of words is raging over when, how and if the Emory-Druid Hills residential area of northeast Atlanta should be racially integrated.

It all erupted early last week when United Press International filed a story announcing a proposed plan of the Atlanta Council on Human Relations to set up meetings, workshops and personal contacts to help ease tension in the event Negro families in the future might seek housing in the Emory-Druid Hills area.

Druid Hills Civic Association president A. H. Hogan quickly rebutted that his organization will fight any such project. Moreover, he said it was unfair for the human relations council to have announced its proposals publicly thus pinpointing the area as a possible "target" for unethical real estate speculators playing on the sensitivities of white residents.

Instead, Mr. Hogan said, the Council should have come to the civic association in confidence to explore its proposals.

COUNCIL EXECUTIVE director Robert Carey said Saturday the proposal was not originally intended for public release and that it would have been presented privately to area residents.

He said the proposal leaked unaccountably to UPI last week, however. At no time, he said, had the Council executive board specified the proposal for release to news media.

ULTIMATELY, Mr. Carey said, a committee or group of persons living in the area would be set up on its own volition and would take over the function of the Council in dealing and negotiating with any issues arising.

"That way," he said, "the community would be making its own decisions by way of this open occupancy committee. It would be an internal thing with the decisions being made by the committee."

NEWS ANALYSIS

Mr. Carey said the Council during recent months had considered several areas of Atlanta for the proposal but decided on Emory-Druid Hills for two chief reasons:

1. Changing Negro residential patterns in east Atlanta will probably continue shifting eastward and possibly northeastward, eventually abutting portions of the Emory-Druid Hills area. The Negroes involved in this transition generally could not afford to buy into the wealthier Emory-Druid Hills section, "but the mere fact of their proximity can disturb people." The Council, thus, would aim its program at averting panic because of proximity.

2. There is "some likelihood" that a number of Emory-Druid Hills residents—"by virtue of their education and leadership skills" — might engage more meaningfully in the Council's proposal than residents in other parts of the city. He cited the concentration of Emory University faculty members and young out-of-state businessmen who now live in the area as possibly more approachable on dealing with residential integration before it happens.

Executive board chairman Morgan Stanford also said there was "never any intention of releasing it to the press."

Mr. Carey said, "It is regretable as far as I'm concerned. We had wanted to talk individually and quietly with residents about the program without creating undue alarm."

Mr. Hogan said public disclosure of the proposal could be a "setback" to continued development of the area.

"It could be a setback for us, too," Mr. Carey said, "in terms of approaching individual people. It will make any calm and reasonable dialogue all the more difficult."

THE COUNCIL director also said public statements and reports since disclosure of the proposal have twisted its original intention beyond recognition.

Contrary to some thinking, he said, the Council has "not entered into some kind of conspiracy" and picked Emory-Druid Hills as a "target for integration," nor does it intend in any way to "pressure" residents into accepting Negro neighbors.

In brief, he said, the Council —with approval of its membership to be determined by vote at a Monday meeting — would approach the Druid Hills Civic Association and individuals living in the area to discuss with them various ways in which to deal positively with the possibility of Negro families seeking housing in the area.

Talks with residents would be aimed at easing fears and also at explaining that preparation for the possible eventuality of Negro residents is the best way to avert panic and large-scale unloading of property. Talks would include advice against possible tactics of unethical real estate dealers to exploit the situation.

MR. CAREY stressed there can be no "sudden influx of Negroes" into the community simply because it would be economically prohibitive. Only middle class Negroes at the same income level of Emory-Druid Hills whites could consider buying into the area, and this economic factor could be further controlled by the community's internal committee on open occupancy, he said.

Druid Hills Civic Association president Hogan said his organization embraces residences in an area largely in unincorporated DeKalb County between Atlanta and Decatur and north of Ponce de Leon Avenue.

He said some 3,000 families live in the area and none is Negro, "so far as we know." He estimated only 2 per cent of the land is zoned for apartments (with moderate to expensive rents) and the remainder of the residential land is zoned for single-family dwellings.

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"WHEN WE'RE pointed out as a target," he said, "it damns the area in the eyes of prospective buyers and others. And those people who want to scalp the area . . . will try to depress it."

He said, "I feel we would have great opposition to acceptance of (the Council's) arrangement."

If Negroes were to move in, he said, "You'd have an awful time convincing people prices wouldn't decline."

Mr. Hogan criticized Council director Carey for saying on the one hand that Emory-Druid Hills is desirable for Negroes but intimating on the other hand that the area is "going downhill economically."

Mr. Carey said Saturday, however, he has never indicated he thinks the community is declining.

California Feels Backlash Of Housing Measure Okay

11-29-64 JC

By ROBERT STRAND

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 28 (UPI) — California's new constitutional amendment on housing goes into effect next month, but shock waves from the hotly disputed measure are already being felt.

The amendment nullifies state laws against racial discrimination in selling and renting housing and forbids state and local agencies from passing similar laws in the future.

So far there have been these effects:

—The day after the election, the federal government cut off millions of dollars in urban renewal funds for California.

—The president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards urged members to fight for similar measures in their home states.

Called Proposition 14 on the ballot, the measure was approved at the Nov. 3 election by a resounding 2-1 margin.

RECENTLY voters in Seattle and Tacoma, Wash., Detroit and Berkeley, Calif., repealed "fair housing" ordinances adopted by the city councils, usually by wide margins.

But no other state, including those in the South, is believed to have such a measure as California's Proposition 14 on its statute books. Coming in the most populous state, it was an important victory for real estate and other interests who want "absolute discretion" in disposing of their property.

"Sell your (political) party on your philosophy . . . and plant your own liberty tree," President Ed Mendenhall, High Point, N.C., told the National Association of Real Estate Boards.

REALTORS stoutly denied that they were motivated by racial prejudice in their campaign in behalf of Proposition 14. They argued that the racial problem should be dealt with by voluntary action and not by "forced housing" laws.

The campaign brought churches into politics in a massive way for the first time since prohibition.

They joined the Democratic party, many "moderate" Republican leaders, trade unions and prominent legislators in an alliance aimed at defeating the measure.

Opponents issued auto bumper strips reading "Fight bigotry" and "Would you want your daughter to marry a Realtor?"

Attorney General Thomas C. Lynch predicted that passage would cause "white only" signs to spring up all over the state.

And he warned that California's one million Negroes would be frustrated in efforts to escape "ghettos" that violence would break out.

Democratic Gov. Edmund G. Brown, who opposed Proposition 14, said the vote meant "the majority of the whites in this state just don't want Negroes living in the same neighborhood with them." He said this feeling resulted largely from fears that encroachment of a minority race would lower property values.

CALIFORNIA HAS 68 urban renewal projects involving $268 million that were affected by the postelection action by the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency.

The funds were ordered cut off pending a court test to see if the amendment prevents communities from enforcing a nondiscrimination clause required in urban renewal contracts.

Following the election, Realtors promised a new program to help Negroes find housing by "voluntary action." In the San Francisco area, 35 civic and religious organizations planned a new service which would list nondiscriminatory housing in six counties.

Several attorneys already were reported preparing cases to challenge proposition 14's constitutionality. Before the election, the California Supreme Court refused to order the initiative off the ballot, although it volunteered the unusual comment that it had "grave questions" about its constitutionality.

The issue is whether the amendment amounts to positive action by the state to deny minorities equal protection under the law. This would violate the U.S. Constitution.

12-1-64 C

Druid Hills 'Fair Housing' Is Spelled Out and Denounced

By DICK HEBERT

The controversy over future Negro housing in the Emory-Druid Hills area flared anew Monday night when the Atlanta Council on Human Relations officially adopted an action program spelling out its plans for the area.

While the council held its annual meeting, a handful of residents from the Emory-Druid Hills area waited outside closed doors to register opposition to any attempts the council might make toward desegregating their neighborhoods.

They were joined by Buckhead residents, one of whom said, "This thing's headed for the whole city. You either stop it here or watch it progress."

Robert Carey, the council's acting executive director, came out briefly and listened to a few of the irate residents.

The action program which Carey read to the council—and which was adopted without discussion or change—spelled out:

"The Council will endeavor to institute a Fair Housing and Open Occupancy Committee in the Emory-Druid Hills area for the sake of creating an attitute of openness, enabling people so desiring to move into the area without fear of reprisal or rebuff."

The methods planned for doing this, Carey said, include setting up neighborhood workshops, ministers' unions, panels and discussions and public speakers to "organize the community so it can deal creatively with the problem."

The housing section of the council's program states it will "be working in two primary communities" of the area. The other would be Kirkwood, which currently is "changing rapidly" from all-white to all-Negro.

But it was housing in Druid Hills that aroused most interest. Opponents outside the meeting called the council's efforts "plain stupidity," and said they would "ruin property values."

While Carey said his group's efforts will be only to ease residents' fears so they eventually can greet Negro neighbors amicably, Charles Morgan, Southern director of the American Civil Liberties Union, told the group, "Get this thing over with as soon as possible. It eats on people. Morgan insisted that "amelioration . . . moderation . . . deliberation" are "things of the past." "The thing we need now is speed," he said.

By ROBERT A. THOMPSON

Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends And the Housing of Minority Groups

Between 1940 and 1950 millions of Americans witnessed and cheered two great football players on the Army team. These two famous teammates were known as "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside" because of their ability to run for touchdowns through and around the opposition. "Mr. Inside" could be depended upon for touchdowns by going between the end and tackle, while "Mr. Outside" would always run around the end, with the help of "Mr. Inside." The graduation of both "Messrs. Inside and Outside" marked the end of a long winning streak for the United States Military Academy, a remarkable demonstration of teamwork, and the separation of two friends who came from different sections of the country.

While the sports-loving Americans cheered the great Army teammates, two other teammates were, and have been for a long time, vying for housing and land in our ever-growing metropolitan areas. The latter two teammates, playing on the same American team and occupying dissimilar geographic areas in metropolitan cities, could also because of residential location be referred to as "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside." In the latter situation, "Mr. Inside," characterized as nonwhite, lives or is forced to live mainly in the central sections of metropolitan cities, while the more affluent "Mr. Outside," the white teammate, lives farther and farther from the noisy and blighted central sections of our urban communities. It is highly important that both "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside," in the latter situation, acquire the same sportsman-like attributes of the famous footballers of the Military Academy in order to cope with the silent and powerful urban revolution that is taking place.

All of America's large cities are undergoing this silent and powerful revolution. The revolution concerns, first, America's highly mobile people who have migrated and are still migrating to our major cities. The *American Magazine* for August, 1955 stated about twenty-nine million people changed places between April 1, 1953 and April 1, 1954; that nineteen million or 65.5 percent changed homes within the same county; that five million moved to a different county; moreover, five million moved to another state. The second phase of the revolution involves a determined effort on the part of both "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside" to revitalize and rebuild vast sections of our cities that have declined during the past one hundred years and to provide intra- and inter-urban highways.

The size of the revolution or the extent to which it has grown has been measured by the Housing and Home Finance Agency.[1] In 1900, there were seventy-five million people in America and twenty-four million or 31.7 percent lived in fifty-two Standard Metropolitan Areas; but in 1950 there were a hundred fifty million people and eighty-five million or 56.8 percent lived in 162 Standard Metropolitan Areas. In other words, while the total population increased from seventy-five million to a hundred fifty million for an increase of 100.0 percent, the number of people living in the Standard Metropolitan Areas increased from twenty-four to eighty-five million for an increase of 254.2 percent.

A more definitive description of the location of both "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside" in the Standard Metropolitan Areas was obtained from the United States Census for 1950. In order to compare the relative residential position of "Mr. Inside" with that of "Mr. Outside," 137 of the 162 Standard Metropolitan Areas were selected for comparison as shown in Table 1. Of the total seventy-nine million persons living in the selected Standard Metropolitan Areas, over six out of ten lived in the central city; nearly eight out of ten nonwhites lived in the central city and about six out of ten white persons lived in the central city. Therefore, and for all practical purposes, the nonwhite population lives mostly in the central city and can be called "Mr. Inside."

The percentage of nonwhites living in the central city was highest in the Northeast and lowest in the West. In thirty-two Standard Metropolitan Areas of the Northeast, 86.4 percent lived in the central city; 83.6 percent in the thirty-nine areas of the North Central cities; 75.1 percent in the fifty cities of the South; and 68.3 percent in the sixteen cities of the West. Paradoxically, the percentages for the white population were also highest for cities of the Northeast and lowest for those of the West.

In the main, "Mr. Inside" is "hemmed in." Figure 1 shows graphically the relative residential position of the nonwhite population. For example, a closer look at the Standard Metropolitan Area of Dayton, Ohio shows that the area had 42,953 nonwhites in 1950 and that 28,774 or 67 percent of these lived in three census tracts, namely, 8-1, 8-2 and 8-3. In other words, of the 17,453 nonwhite population increase in the Dayton industrial area, between 1940 and 1950, 85.0 percent occurred in the City of Dayton and 15.0 percent in the adjacent tracted areas.

"Mr. Inside" is not only concentrated in the central sections of the

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[1] Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Population Growth in Standard Metropolitan Areas, 1900-1950* (Washington, D. C.)

TABLE 1

The Distribution of Nonwhite and White Population for Selected Standard Metropolitan Areas and Cities According to Regions and Divisions

1950

Region Divisions	TOTAL POPULATION			NONWHITE POPULATION			WHITE POPULATION		
	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Percent in Cities	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Percent in Cities	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Percent in Cities
TOTAL	79,951,233	49,456,411	61.9	8,091,623	6,414,761	79.3	71,859,610	43,041,650	59.9
Northeast	29,297,590	19,085,230	65.1	1,937,111	1,673,225	86.4	27,360,479	17,412,005	63.6
North Central	22,647,469	14,254,907	62.9	1,972,439	1,649,201	83.6	20,675,030	12,605,706	61.0
South	16,262,666	10,245,012	63.0	3,488,111	2,618,399	75.1	12,774,555	7,626,613	59.7
West	11,743,508	5,871,262	50.0	693,962	473,936	68.3	11,049,546	5,397,326	48.8
NORTHEAST									
New England	5,628,276	2,615,101	46.5	119,956	97,874	81.6	5,508,320	2,517,227	45.7
Middle Atlantic	23,669,314	16,470,129	69.6	1,817,155	1,575,351	86.7	21,852,159	14,894,778	68.2
NORTH CENTRAL									
E. N. Central	17,582,005	11,045,170	62.8	1,599,713	1,376,113	86.0	15,982,292	9,669,057	60.5
W. N. Central	5,065,464	3,209,737	63.4	372,726	273,088	73.3	4,692,738	2,936,649	62.6
SOUTH									
So. Atlantic	8,285,948	4,692,882	56.6	1,873,900	1,374,632	73.4	6,412,048	3,318,250	51.8
E. S. Central	3,136,517	1,910,622	60.9	810,735	590,778	72.9	2,325,782	1,319,844	56.8
W. S. Central	4,840,201	3,641,508	75.2	803,476	652,989	81.3	4,036,725	2,988,519	74.0
WEST									
Mountain	1,316,170	801,540	60.9	49,406	29,941	60.6	1,266,764	771,599	60.9
Pacific	10,427,338	5,069,722	48.6	644,556	443,995	68.9	9,782,782	4,625,727	47.3

metropolitan areas, has less housing, but usually takes over housing vacated by "Mr. Outside." The Commission on Race and Housing in its interim report entitled *Housing Problems of Minority Groups in the United States* (February, 1956) stated that while the nonwhite population increased 17.1 percent between 1940 and 1950 there was only a 14.9 percent increase in the number of dwelling units. In contrast, and for the same period, there was 14.1 percent increase in the white population and 23.6 percent increase in the number of dwelling units. In the main, "Mr. Inside" is not only limited in land area but is also piled up in the majority of our Standard Metropolitan Areas.

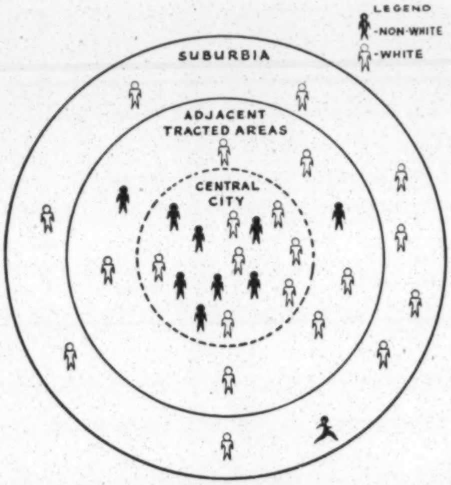

Fig. 1
"Hemmed In"

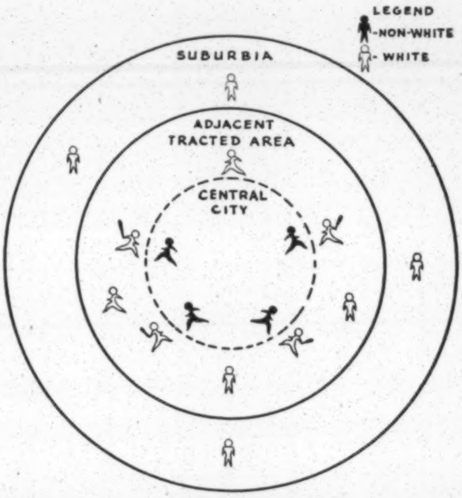

Fig. 2
"Finding a Soft Spot"

The antithesis of piling up is undoubling; so "Mr. Inside" frequently seeks more and better housing by penetrating areas hitherto inhabited exclusively by whites. In Army parlance, "finding a soft spot" relative to housing means that "Mr. Inside" or a representative persuades white home owners in adjacent neighborhoods to sell the property as sketched in Figure 2. The probe usually takes place in the adjacent blocks or neighborhoods, and the willingness of white home owners to sell to "Mr. Inside" averts violence and assures peaceful occupancy of the property or neighborhood. The initial entry of "Mr. Inside" into a block or neighborhood occupied by white residents is followed usually by the movement of friends of "Mr. Inside."

Finding a white home owner willing to sell to "Mr. Inside" is only the beginning of the problems confronting the purchaser. "Mr. Inside," with money in the bank and willing to pay inflated prices for used housing in old neighborhoods, must persuade the bank, savings and loan

TABLE 2

Percent Increase or Decrease in the Nonwhite and White Population in Thirteen Selected Cities According to Standard Metropolitan Area, City, Adjacent Census Tracts and Nontracted Areas Between 1940 and 1950

Cities	TOTAL				NONWHITE				WHITE			
	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Adjacent Census Tracts	Non-Tracted Areas	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Adjacent Census Tracts	Non-Tracted Areas	Standard Metropolitan Areas	Cities	Adjacent Census Tracts	Non-Tracted Areas
Total	26.6	15.0	54.3	18.9	59.9	59.9	63.0	53.3	23.8	9.7	53.9	17.6
Akron	20.1	12.2	27.9	56.7	90.3	94.0	30.7	106.2	17.8	7.9	27.9	56.0
Atlanta	40.0	9.6	66.4	175.0	20.9	16.1	22.0	81.0	47.6	6.2	76.2	197.7
Cincinnati	14.9	10.6	32.2	9.3	38.6	41.1	38.2	8.7	12.6	6.4	31.9	9.3
Cleveland	15.6	4.2	43.4	27.3	74.7	76.1	19.4	114.9	11.2	– 3.5	43.6	25.9
Dallas	54.3	47.4	56.6	79.0	35.1	13.4	– 23.2	166.7	57.8	54.4	63.8	67.5
Detroit	26.9	13.9	85.4	11.0	109.5	101.4	189.2	110.1	20.4	5.0	81.8	8.8
Flint	18.9	7.6	46.1	27.6	109.2	110.1	124.7	– 34.6	16.1	2.9	46.0	27.7
Hartford	21.1	6.7	38.7	41.4	77.8	78.9	65.9	83.9	19.5	3.4	38.5	41.2
Indianapolis	19.7	19.4	74.7	– 55.2	25.4	29.6	65.3	– 79.6	19.0	17.8	74.8	– 54.0
Los Angeles	49.8	31.0	80.0	8.1	115.8	116.2	129.9	– 12.2	46.7	25.1	78.8	8.5
Oklahoma City	33.3	19.1	95.8	112.3	30.3	15.0	7.5	55.3	34.6	19.6	98.5	120.7
Pittsburgh	6.3	0.8	13.4	3.9	21.6	32.9	6.1	9.5	5.4	– 2.5	13.7	3.8
St. Louis	17.4	5.0	35.2	30.8	42.9	41.4	48.2	41.4	14.4	– 0.6	34.1	30.4

association or life insurance company officials to advance mortgage money. Ofttimes legal, extra-legal and illegal acts and policies of local governments and representatives thereof may prevent "Mr. Inside" from moving into the white neighborhood. For example, racial zoning administered by city officials was a fact until the 1950's and in Birmingham, Alabama the building inspector's office could withhold "the certificate of occupancy" for reasons having to do with race.

Another sinister type of restrictive housing measure with respect to housing sub-divisions for "Mr. Inside" has been the requirement that developers establish buffer strips (unused land) of from twenty-five to one hundred fifty feet in width between the white and nonwhite residential areas. The cost of the unused buffer strip was simply added to the purchase price of the lot and assumed by "Mr. Inside." It was not until April, 1949 that Birmingham's buffer area zoning schemes were struck down by the Federal court as a confiscation of property and a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.[2]

Most frequently "the break through" of "Mr. Inside" into white neighborhoods has been accompanied by violence and dynamiting. Figure 3 graphically shows the "battle of attrition" that develops between "Messrs. Inside and Outside" over the supply of housing in the central city and adjacent tracted areas. The penetration of "Mr. Inside" into new neighborhoods arouses the age-old myth that nonwhites depress property values, despite the fact that Belden Morgan, an independent appraiser and former deputy appraiser of the Federal Housing Authority office in Los Angeles, wrote that "the infiltration of Negro owner-occupants has tended to appreciate property values and neighborhood stability in contrast to its depreciating use by white families as a rental area.

The myths about "Mr. Inside" have become firmly entrenched in the mind of "Mr. Outside," developers, home buyers and renters and the economic penalties resulting from these myths have been very damaging to the total communities. For instance, the lending institutions, insurance companies, savings and loan associations and saving banks have been reluctant to finance housing; builders have shied away from constructing housing for "Mr. Inside," even in "safe" areas; indeed, home appliance and furniture dealers sell him fewer items. The most damaging result of the myths is that there has always existed an artificial shortage of land for "Mr. Inside." The artificial shortage of land and housing has not only meant less housing but also that both new and used housing cost "Mr. Inside" more than they cost others.

Both whites and nonwhites are great movers. An analysis of thirteen Standard Metropolitan Areas, selected because of comparability and availability of data between 1940 and 1950, showed that over twice as many nonwhites as whites moved to these cities. The percentage increase for "Mr. Inside" was 59.9 and 23.8 for "Mr. Outside," as can be seen in Table 2. The percentage increase of nonwhites in the cities of the Standard Metropolitan Areas was six and one-half times higher than that of whites. In Atlanta, Georgia, the nonwhite population increase in the city was 16.1 percent, 22.0 percent in the adjacent census tracts and 81.0 percent in the non-tracted areas; but the white population increased only 6.2 percent in the central city, 76.2 percent in the adjacent census tracts and 197.7 percent in the non-tracted areas.

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[2] Commission on Race and Housing, *Housing for Negroes in Atlanta and Birmingham* (Preliminary Report), (October, 1956).

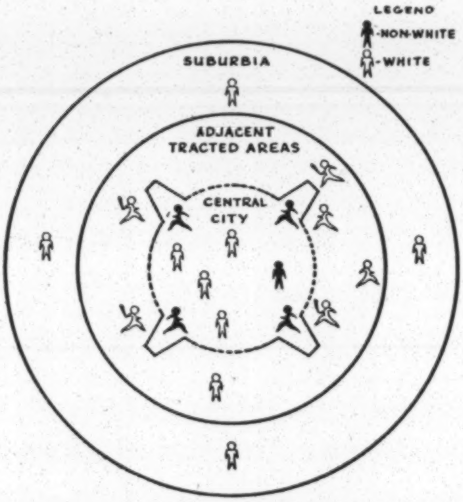

Fig. 3
"The Break Through"

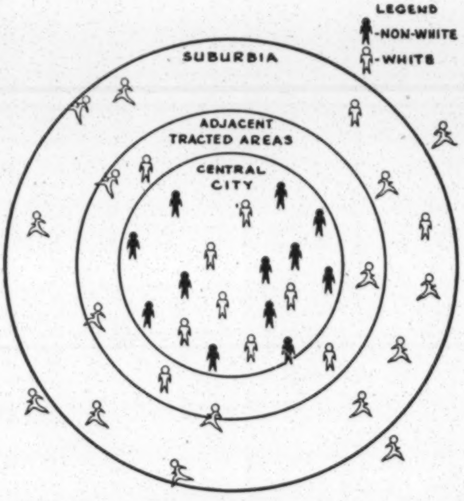

Fig. 4
"To the Outskirts of Town"

The percentage of nonwhites living in the central cities, adjacent census tracts and non-tracted areas of the thirteen Standard Metropolitan Areas in 1950, as revealed in Table 3, was approximately the same as for 1940. The proportion of the white population residing in the central cities of the selected cities was less in 1950 than in 1940, higher in the adjacent census tracts and about the same in the non-tracted areas.

The increase in population, the ease of obtaining loans insured by the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration[3] and conventional loans, the dearth of suitable building sites, the desire to have new homes in new neighborhoods and the myths about "Mr. Inside" have been contributing factors to "Mr. Outside" moving "to the outskirts of town," as indicated in Figure 4. Flight to suburbia by "Mr. Outside" does not automatically guarantee that "Mr. Inside" will obtain a used home, especially if there is a corresponding or greater

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[3] "Values in Transition Areas: Some New Concepts," *The Review* (March, 1952), 5.

TABLE 3

Number and Percent Distribution of the Nonwhite and White Population in Thirteen Selected Standard Metropolitan Areas†: 1940 and 1950

Area	1950						1940						1950		1940	
	Total		Nonwhite		White		Total		Nonwhite		White		NW	W	NW	W
S. M. A.	16,851,339	100.0	1,639,411	100.0	15,211,928	100.0	13,309,129	100.0	1,025,418	100.0	12,283,711	100.0	9.7	90.3	7.7	92.3
Cities	8,823,932	52.4	1,297,110	79.1	7,526,822	49.5	7,671,087	57.6	811,377	79.1	6,859,710	55.8	14.7	85.3	10.6	89.4
Adjacent Tracts	5,779,189	34.3	237,883	14.5	5,541,306	36.4	3,746,521	28.2	145,921	14.2	3,600,600	29.3	4.1	95.9	3.9	96.1
Non-Tracted Areas	2,248,218	13.3	104,418	6.4	2,143,800	14.1	1,891,521	14.2	68,120	6.6	1,823,401	14.9	4.6	95.4	3.6	96.4

† The thirteen selected Standard Metropolitan Areas are: Akron, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cleveland, Ohio; Dallas, Texas, Detroit, Michigan; Flint, Michigan; Hartford, Connecticut; Indianapolis, Indiana; Los Angeles, California; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and St. Louis, Missouri.

increase in the white population. The left-behind "Mr. Inside" is still plagued by the financial and racial web when attempting to purchase used or new housing in the central city. For example, George S. Harris of the Metropolitan Assurance Company was quoted in the *Afro-American Weekly* (June 11, 1955) as stating that "White loan companies will refuse to lend money for houses (for Negroes) beyond 89th Street on the Southside" in Chicago, Illinois. Mr. Harris revealed that the previous boundary had been 67th Street.

In large northern metropolitan areas like Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Cleveland, Ohio, the flight of "Mr. Outside" to the adjacent census tracts may be slow and extended over long periods of months or years. In Atlanta, Georgia, a southern metropolis, neighborhoods involving several hundreds of houses have changed from white to nonwhite in relatively short periods of time. In the process of "Mr. Outside" selling property to "Mr. Inside" and moving to the edge of suburbia, a very fundamental question has not been answered to date. Who gains or loses in the process of racially changed neighborhoods? This difficult question needs to be answered by economists for both "Messrs. Inside and Outside." Does "Mr. Outside" prolong his paying on a mortgage by buying a new home in suburbia at inflated prices and higher interest rates just to be away from "Mr. Inside?" Does "Mr. Outside" get as much floor space in suburbia as he had in the home sold to "Mr. Inside?"

The expense of "Mr. Outside" moving to suburbia is multi-dimensional. The cost of relocating "Mr. Outside" in suburbia or in areas distant from "Mr. Inside" is shared by the tax payers left behind, the businessman and the new suburbanite himself. Figure 5 indicates that all of the city services such as water mains, gas lines, telephone lines, bus lines or transportation and electric lines must be extended to adjacent census tracts and suburbia that have now been inhabited by the more affluent "Mr. Outside." Elementary and high schools must be built in suburbia for the children of "Mr. Outside" and the same must be done for the children of "Mr. Inside" in the central city; so bond funds must be provided in order to meet the new emergency. Expensive expressways are in process of being constructed at an estimated cost in excess of a million dollars per mile, but it is most unlikely that "Mr. Inside" will utilize these highways going to and from work.

The extension of urban transportation lines from the central city to the adjacent census tracts and to suburbia usually increases the operational costs of the companies. Increased expenses of operating extended lines can be met only by improved and economical equipment and increased fares which are borne mostly by the left-behind "Messrs. Inside and Outside." In Atlanta, Georgia for example, the five best paying lines (excluding the Shoppers Special) have an average mileage from center to outlying terminal of 2.9 miles, the Irwin-West Hunter, Mc-

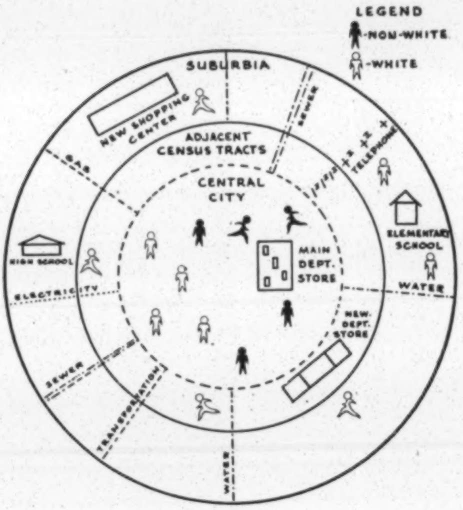
LEGEND
-NON-WHITE
-WHITE
SUBURBIA
NEW SHOPPING CENTER
ADJACENT CENSUS TRACTS
CENTRAL CITY
SEWER
TELEPHONE
GAS
HIGH SCHOOL
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
MAIN DEPT. STORE
ELECTRICITY
WATER
NEW. DEPT. STORE
SEWER
TRANSPORTATION
WATER

Fig. 5
"Safety Is Expensive"

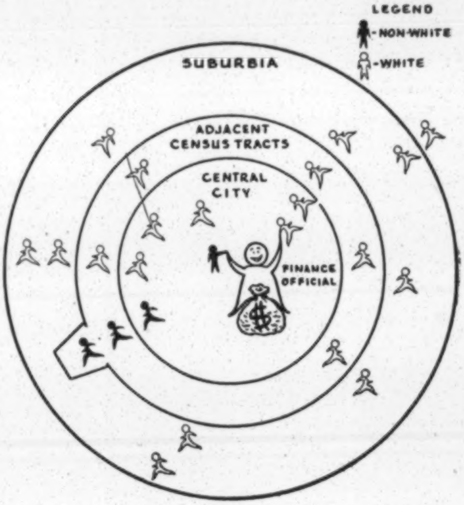
LEGEND
-NON-WHITE
-WHITE
SUBURBIA
ADJACENT CENSUS TRACTS
CENTRAL CITY
FINANCE OFFICIAL

Fig. 6
"Five Star General"

Daniel Street, Decatur-Magnolia Street, West Fair and The Cascade Heights-Ansley Park lines.[4] All but the Cascade Heights-Ansley Park line haul nonwhites almost exclusively.

The Atlanta Transit report further showed that the "revenues of the best paying lines are 84 and 99 cents per mile"[5] whereas a "trolley

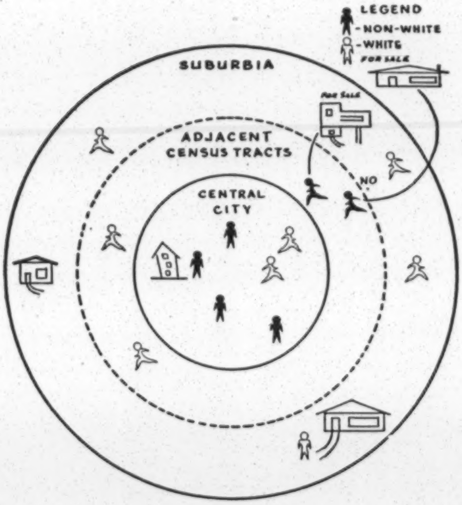
LEGEND
-NON-WHITE
-WHITE
FOR SALE
SUBURBIA
FOR SALE
ADJACENT CENSUS TRACTS
NO
CENTRAL CITY

Fig. 7
"The General"

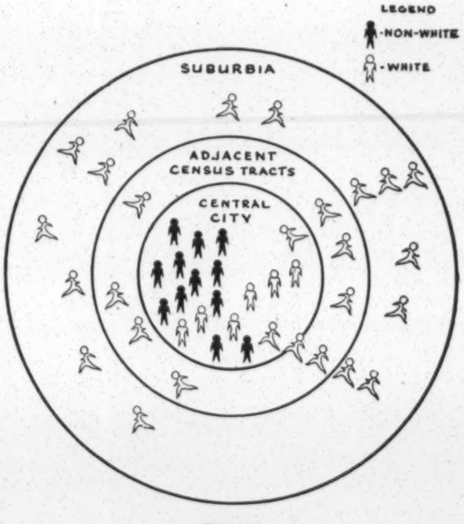
LEGEND
-NON-WHITE
-WHITE
SUBURBIA
ADJACENT CENSUS TRACTS
CENTRAL CITY

Fig. 8
"The Trek Back Home"

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[4] Georgia State Senate Transit Study Committee, "A Plan for Transit Improvement in the Metropolitan Area of Atlanta," November, 1953, page 40.

[5] *Ibid.*

travelling the length of Route 23, distance of 10 miles, will produce an average of 47.7 per mile with 34 passengers at an average fare of 14 cents each,"[6] which was one cent less than the regular fare charged in 1953. It was also reported that "the broad spread in revenues per mile between these two extremes is a function of the length of route and the riding habit of the population within the area served."[7] In essence, "Mr. Inside" gave "Mr. Outside" one cent on his transportation bill to areas that excluded "Mr. Inside." Would the opening up of all housing areas to "Mr. Inside" assist in improving our "sick" transportation systems throughout the Nation?

The more enlightened businessmen in some few metropolitan areas are facing up to the problems created by the flight of the affluent "Mr. Outside" to suburbia. In New York City, Mr. Frederick H. Allen, president of a planning consultant's firm, headed a committee of businessmen that issued a report which stated that the loss of middle and upper income families to suburbia is directly related to the serious financial status of the City and its future.[8] At the recent conference of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Company on the Federal highway program, Mr. James Scheurer warned that profound social and economic consequences can occur if, within a decade, the nation's major cities become masses of low income Negro workers surrounded by rings of white suburbs.[9]

In suburbia, "Mr. Outside" spends more of his income for transportation than was spent while he lived in the central city. "Mr. Outside" travels longer distances to and from work, and in many cases the distances are so great that "he meets himself going and coming." Living in suburbia almost demands that "Mr. Outside" have two automobiles, especially if "Mrs. Outside" has to take the children to school over long distances or if she is employed also. In the main, however, increased cost of transportation represents a minor consideration in the higher plane of living of "Mr. Outside" in suburbia.

The individuals who, by and large, determine whether "Messrs. Inside and Outside" will have a new or used home in the central city, in adjacent census tracts, or in suburbia, swimming pools, picture windows, imported cars and power mowers are the officials of lending institutions. These custodians of funds are among the chief strategists in the urban revolution, and may be referred to as the "Five Star General" in Figure 6. It is within the power of the officials of savings and loan associations, savings banks and insurance companies, and, more recently, officials of labor unions with large reserve funds, to determine the tempo and extent of the urban revolution involving "Messrs. Inside and Outside."

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[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] The New York *Herald Tribune*, August 30, 1954.
[9] *The American City*, November, 1957.

The "Five Star General" may or may not approve the application of "Mr. Inside" to purchase the old home of "Mr. Outside"; he may like or dislike the area to which "Mr. Outside" desires to move, and he may accept or reject the type of materials that go into the houses of both "Messrs. Inside and Outside." *Fortune Magazine* estimated that life insurance companies absorbed 22.8 percent of the mortgages through 1954,[10] and that "life insurance companies have taken up about one-third (over six billion dollars) of the FHA mortgages outstanding and about a fifth (over four billion dollars of the mortgages issued," [11] but this estimate does not include the millions of dollars that the eight hundred seventy-seven life insurance companies absorbed in conventional mortgage loans, nor does it include "a $250 million loan from the Prudential Insurance Company of America that will run at least twenty-eight years and possibly until the year 2054" [12] made to the Chrysler Corporation for the manufacture of cars to be sold to "Messrs. Inside and Outside."

Other strategists on the staff of the "Five Star General" are real estate brokers, mortgage brokers, loan correspondents, and builders or developers of subdivisions. The loan correspondents and mortgage brokers are responsible for placing the funds of the "Five Star General" in housing, while the real estate broker and builder or developer buy and develop land for houses for "Messrs. Inside and Outside." The "Five Star General" and his staff comprise a somewhat important group in making available and distributing the supply of housing in the central city, adjacent census tracts and suburbia.

The "Five Star General" was portrayed by nine officials of white savings and loan associations who protested the issuing by the Federal Home Loan Bank of a charter to Negroes to operate a savings and loan association in Birmingham, Alabama. The protestants attempted to prove at the Hearing that the white savings and loan associations were making available enough mortgage money to "Mr. Inside" by stating that the associations had made about 2,306 loans to him, that the unpaid balance of five million dollars on total loans of seven million dollars indicated nonwhite mortgage money was available and that "the Negro in our area is essentially not a saver." [13] Fortunately, the Home Loan Bank Board did not accept the specious arguments of the protestants and issued the charter to the Negroes, who, within one year after receiving the right to organize a savings and loan association, were able to establish their own organization with a million dollars in assets.

Land and housing are developed by "The General," as shown in Figure 7. "The General" buys land, may or may not receive assistance from the city in installing the street and utilities, and builds the houses. To a very great extent "The General" determines whether the houses will be sold to "Messrs. Inside or Outside," the economic characteristics of the neighborhood with respect to the sale price of the houses and the general pattern of growth of our cities. It is not uncommon for "Mr. Inside" in Atlanta, Georgia, to receive a letter inviting him to buy a lot in a particular subdivision providing that "you be of the white race and at least twenty-one years of age."

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[10] *Fortune Magazine*, "Life Insurance: 84 Billion Dollar Dilemma" (February, 1955), 113.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 186.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 114.
[13] A. G. Gaston, *et. al.*, "Hearings Before the Home Loan Bank Board" (Washington, D. C.), January 12, 1956.

"The General" of Levittown, Long Island, built 17, 447 low-cost houses on a former potato field between 1947-1951. The same "General" has built a "development of the same size near the Fairless Works" in the metropolitan area of Philadelphia. It has been only in recent months that "Mr. Inside" has been able to purchase a house in Levittown, Pennsylvania, through a former white owner other than "The General." Very few, if any, "Generals" have sufficient capital to accomplish what the "General" of Levittown did; therefore, it must be assumed that both subdivisions were made possible by officials of lending institutions — "The Five Star General."

Renewing worn out and blighted sections of our metropolitan areas will make "the trek back home" possible for "Mr. Outside" as seen in Figure 8. Living downtown may be more pleasant for the inconvenienced "Mr. Inside" and "Mr. Outside." While both "Messrs. Inside and Outside," in cooperation with the Federal government, desire to renew the cities in order to make them more efficient, improve transportation and communication and make them desirable places for living, it is the responsibility of both of them to see that the process is carried out democratically. The Federal government, also a "Five Star General" because two-thirds of the net cost of urban renewal projects and ninety percent of the money for the inter- and intra-urban expressways comes from Washington, should not make the same mistakes of "The General" of Levittown.

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MONDAY

20

JULY 1964

JUNE						
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AUGUST						
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8:00
8:30 Housing
9:00
9:30 Wall St. Journal
10:00
10:30
11:00
11:30 Bias in Housing
12:00
1:00
1:30 (news round up)
2:00
2:30
3:00
3:30
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5:00
5:30

Memo : from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Action Guide on Housing
to be used w/ book by James
A. Dillman, Jr., Not By
Prayer Alone

order from United Church of
Christ, C CSA, 289 Park Ave.
S., N.Y., N.Y. 10010

1-9 — 25¢ each
10-99 - 20¢ each
100 or more ¢15 each

15
100
$15.00

Memo : from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

Housing

Films

Burden of Truth 68 min. 1958 $3.00
Northern city - Negro in white neighborhood.

Dr. Sammy Lee 25 min. 1953 3.00
(oriental housing - Calif)

No Hiding Place 50 min. 1963 $7.50
CBS-TV

To Find a Home 28 min. 1963 3.00

NM-file

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

ESTABLISHED 1819

ARKANSAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER

April 19, 1965

Dear Mr. Elliott,

Your research plan looks thorough and, in its implications, exciting.

I think I should tell you that there would be some risk to my job (at least in my judgment) in proceeding to do the Little Rock end of the study. This does not much distress me but it could conceivably be unpleasant all-around and it also could mean that I would have to finish up the study in a great hurry.

The study is ambitious enough that I would have to subordinate other outside writing to it for several months. This is not distressing because I have been more concerned about the housing problem than about any other aspect of the Southern racial situation. It would mean that the fee for my work would be a factor.

My wife, Ruth Marvin Owens, has been as interested in housing as I and has worked more closely on some aspects of the Little Rock situation. What would you think of the two of us doing the study together? She is a thoroughly experienced journalist and is editor of the Arkansas Union Labor Bulletin, the state labor paper.

?

We would be concerned about the style and content of the separate statement on Little Rock that is implied by your plan. I would either want to write it or to have it made clear that our function had been solely as fact-finders. I would want to feel free to dissent publicly from the findings if I could not agree with them.

Ruth Arnold, who had done much of the work on housing for the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, has now left the Council for a job with the Pulaski County poverty group. We are good friends and I am sure she would help as much as she could. There would be no problems in working with the Council but I do not know how useful they would be. They are not an action group.

If you should decide to have someone else do the study, I'd be happy to help them as I could and to contribute a lengthy memorandum setting forth the Little Rock situation as I know it.

Arkansas Gazette.
LITTLE ROCK
ARKANSAS

ESTABLISHED 1819

ARKANSAS' LEADING NEWSPAPER

Little Rock should be an especially good city to study because of the way such agencies as Urban Renewal and the school district have interacted to ghettoize a city that used to have a high degree of housing integration. I fail to note a question about schools on your plan. The closing of white schools or their conversion to Negro schools has been crucial here to creating Negro neighborhoods of formerly white or mixed neighborhoods. Symptomatic is that the easternmost Little Rock junior high school as of now is West Side Junior High. At one point, white parents petitioned the school board to integrate a school rather than turning it into an all-Negro school. The petition was denied. One has to be a stout integrationist indeed to move into a school attendance area where his will be the only white child, especially since Negro schools are demonstrably so inferior to white.

Very truly yours,

Patrick J. Owens
(Associate Editor)

Mr. Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dd
From the Desk of . .
NM/ NAT GRISWOLD

501
FR 4-4521
arkleri

May 12, 1965

Dear Lloyd Elliott:-

Pat Owen came in for a chat about the research project in Little Rock. He was disconcerted that SRC's estimate of the man-hours was low. As I phrased it to him, what if time (funds) ran out at the half-way point?

Of course we have no solomonic ideas about this. We think the project is important, we think nationally important, we think a block-by-block study of the raw data of the census of 1950 and of 1960 is necessary to "pin the thing down." This will take man-hours. I do hope we can do it – the Owens, husband and wife are dedicated in this area of research.

(over)

ARKANSAS
COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1220 WEST CAPITOL
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

Just thought I should share these thoughts with you, will be there June 2-3-

Nat -

May 19, 1965

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
2231 Lamporilla Way, South
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sam:

I believe that both Les Dunbar and I have talked with you about our pending study of housing patterns in the South. Enclosed is a draft of my research design for this project; it will tell you precisely what we intend to do..

Thus far, our pending study remains all too pending. We've made a little progress in lining up researchers for Houston and Little Rock, but no progress for Atlanta and Richmond.

One solution, of course, is that you and I each do one of those cities. [Les may have already approached you about this.] What is your reaction to taking on such a study as your first SRC assignment? There would be good local resource people to tap in either location, e.g., in Richmond, the Housing Committee of the Richmond Council on Human Relations.

How do you react to this suggestion?

Cordially,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm
Enclosure

May 25, 1965

Reverend John J. McMahon
811 Floyd Avenue
Richmond, Virginia 23220

Dear Father McMahon:

Enclosed are two copies of my research design for the southern housing patterns study about which I briefed you over the phone this morning. This research design will explain, in detail, what we hope to do and how we plan to do it.

We would like to "do" Richmond. The Virginia and the Richmond Councils -- and especially the Richmond Council's housing committee -- can be of immeasurable help. As I indicated in our conversation, I am planning to do much of the Richmond research myself. As of now, it appears that the ideal time for me to be in Richmond would be the weeks of June 20th and 27th. However, these can be changed, readily, if necessary or desirable.

I shall begin some preliminary investigation of Richmond soon, using population and housing census data. If, in the next three weeks, you, Reverend Hare and the housing committee could begin to gather some of the information and to answer some of the questions specified in the research design, I could move very quickly into my own research work when I arrive there next month.

Ideally, I would like for yourcooperating researchers to write out, however roughly, brief statements covering the topics raised by the research design. Since the research design is a general one, some of the topics included may not be pertinent to Richmond, and points not raised therein may be very significant. Therefore, you will also want to review the design itself.

When the questions are pertinent and you either do not know or cannot readily find out the answers, please try to list persons in the area whom I could talk to who might be able to give me some of the answers.

Again, I am very pleased that the Richmond group is interested in this project. This will, of course, involve some effort from all of us. But it will be an excellent opportunity for us all to really accomplish something.

Looking forward to meeting you and to working with you.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

Enclosures (2)

May 25, 1965

Mr. Charles Kelly
Executive Director
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Charles:

Since I've not heard from you I'm concerned about what progress, if any, you've made toward finding someone to direct the Houston housing patterns(") Cor o— study that we've been discussing for several months. Have you approached Saul Friedman yet on his leading the study and doing the report? Has the Houston Council's housing committee begun to collect basic data yet?

I realize that you have been busy with other matters, such as the school boycott and Operation Headstart. [By the way, congratulations on getting that big Headstart grant.] But, we simply must get squared away on the housing thing, and soon, if we are to accomplish anything.

Do let me know, soon, how it's going.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

May 28, 1965

Reverend Robert W. Hare
1806 Peter Paul Drive
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Reverend Hare:

For sometime the Southern Regional Council has been planning to do research on housing segregation in the South. One of the cities whose housing patterns we'd like to study is Richmond.

I've been in touch with the Virginia Council and with Father McMahon. Both councils have expressed eagerness to help with this study. It is most important to me, of course, to have the cooperation of your housing committee.

Copies of my proposed research design are being sent to Father McMahon, along with a letter detailing the kinds of help I'm asking of the Richmond Council. Please forgive my not adhering to strict protocol in not sending duplicate information to you. Father McMahon will contact you, and together you can plan the Council's responses to my requests.

I'm looking forward to meeting you and to working with you on what should be a very topical research project.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

May 28, 1965

Mr. Samuel L. Adams
2231 Lamporilla Way, South
St. Petersburg, Florida

Dear Sam:

Great! At last, our housing study is really on the way.

My, but you are discerning. We did run into a cost problem, trying to hire researchers for the other cities (other than Atlanta). My conclusion is that there's too much research money floating around these days to hire non-SRC people of the calibre we'd want for anything near what SRC can pay.

So, the plan now is for you and me to do two cities -- currently, Atlanta and Richmond -- and afterward we'll decide on where (and whether) to go on. The Houston Council may be jacked up enough to go through with co-sponsoring a study of Houston housing, as they've been promising for months now -- but I doubt it. Little Rock has, momentarily, fallen through.

The wheels are in motion for me to be in Richmond the last weeks of next month. Diabolically clever of you to suggest that you do Atlanta while you househunt. For my part, you're on.

And away we go, at long last -- I hope.

Cordially,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

SEA FOAM BOND

NM-
file

St. Petersburg Times
AND
Evening Independent
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

May 26, 1965

Dr. Lloyd Elliott
Staff Economist
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Lloyd:

There actually is no valid reason for the delay of this letter. I am behind schedule in everything, including letter writing.

Your plan for the housing study is beautiful. Thank you for sending it. I read it carefully and came up with only one additional question: "How much will it cost?"

But seriously, I would be happy to work either Atlanta or Richmond, or any other city or cities, for that matter.

Do you already have a time budget on the study or on any phase of it that I might work?

Since I will be minus my family when I arrive, you might prefer my going to Richmond. But that is a decision to be worked out there by you and Les. The Atlanta study might be helpful to me in my own personal search for housing for my family.

Right now I am anxious and ready. I hope I am able to do the job expected. I know I am a pretty good newspaperman. We'll see if I can excell at something new (smile).

Sincerely,

Samuel L. Adams

Samuel L. Adams

The Houston Council On Human Relations

JAckson 6-1829 - 5403 AUSTIN STREET - HOUSTON, TEXAS 77004

LWD } fyi
PA }
NM- file

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*EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

May 31, 1965

Mr. Lloyd J. Elliott
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Lloyd:

Mr. Saul Friedman has agreed to direct our housing study. Although the Housing Committee has not begun to collect data yet, they are working at developing plans to do so.

Thanks for your congratulations on Head Start - we may have to have you to pull it off.

I will let you know how the study develops with the Housing Committee, and will expect you to meet with them later this month.

Sincerely yours,

Charles Kelly

Charles Kelly,
Director

CK/gt

June 8, 1965

Mr. Saul Friedman
The Chronicle
512 Tronis Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Friedman:

As a mail subscriber to the Sunday Chronicle, and a rather regular reader of weekday editions, I've come to know and to relish your reporting and writing. I was extremely pleased to learn from Charles Kelly that you will supervise our study of Houston's housing patterns.

We also have at least one mutual personal acquaintance. My close friend, Carl Akins of San Angelo, knows you from your Neiman Fellow days at Harvard. Carl, incidentally, will teach at UH again this summer.

Charles Kelly must have given you a copy of my general research design for the housing study. It specifies the major facets of housing that we want investigated; it asks the main questions we want answered. Although it is labled "DRAFT," you may consider it final. Minor changes can be made locally to fit local situations

Probably you'll have questions. Please write or phone me (collect) so that we can clear up whatever needs clearing and you can begin. We'd like to publish the results by late summer or early autumn.

Again, it's good to have you aboard.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

August 11, 1965

The Reverend Robert Combs
Virginia Council on Human
  Relations
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Bob:

Presumably you're wondering what has been happening to "Richmond" here in Atlanta during the month plus since I've seen you. I can tell you that work progresses, though slowly, on the proposed report.

For several reasons, including my slow pace and budget considerations, I now forsee publication in October rather than September. Thought you'd want to know this.

Will keep you informed. Regards to Bobby, Roberta, Mr. Lee, Father McMahon, et al, and, of course, to the Combses.

Sincerely,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE/rh

October 8, 1965

Reverend Charles Kelly
Houston Council on Human Relations
5403 Austin Street
Houston, Texas

Dear Charles:

For reasons I will never understand,I couldn't reach you by phone again before leaving Houston the day after I called you from the Houston Council office. I'll never understand why because I'd rather fight city hall than Ma Bell.

Nontheless, I am still vitally interested in the status of Houston housing study. Please -- would you or someone with the Houston Council (perhaps the chairman of the housing committee) write either me or Paul Anthony, letting SRC know exactly what that status is?

Thanks.

And recuperate completely from that surgery. Then go out and slay the dragon of poverty in Houston and Harris County.

Regards,

Lloyd J. Elliott
Staff Economist

LJE:nm

July 15, 1960

Professor William H. Howell, Chairman
Department of Social Science
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Dr. Howell:

I was very glad to receive your letter of July 13, and to learn that you will be able to undertake a study of voting conditions in Orangeburg County. We look forward with great interest to your report.

I may say that in selecting Orangeburg County we were guided by other considerations than merely attempting to pick out the worst instance in the state; Orangeburg County is not that. It seemed of special interest to us because of its size, its mixture of urban and rural population, its high Negro population, and the location in the county of two Negro colleges, thus insuring a high number of well-educated Negro citizens.

I am sending to you copies of our 1957 and 1959 voter studies.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a
Mailed separately:
The Negro Voter in the South
The Negro and the Ballot in the South

August 16, 1960

Professor Wm. H. Howell, chairman
Department of Social Science
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Dr. Howell:

How goes the voting study?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

December 7, 1960

Professor Wm. H. Howell, chairman
Department of Social Science
South Carolina State College
Orangeburg, S. C.

Dear Dr. Howell:

Since we have not heard from you regarding the voting study of Orangeburg County, we are wondering if circumstances have arisen that have caused you to change your plans. If you find that you cannot do the study, will you please let us know right away, so that we may try to interest someone else.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

File

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 5, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

Although you may already have seen it, I wanted you to have the attached copy of Robert Sherrill's article on the situation in Mississippi. It certainly is strongly supportive of your own observations and comes at a strategic time.

Regards,

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL:cpm
Enc.

File

BA

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

June 15, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

Here it is. Will you please share this copy with Paul Anthony.

Things have been in such turmoil regarding the appearance of the doctors in Washington that I hesitate just yet to make any predictions. But, unless somebody steals this away, you all are welcome to publish it in whatever form you want. If you want to revise it in any way you would, of course, have to take it up with the doctors.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:cpm
Enc.

File

PW,
PA
Ret to JS

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
250 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 17

Rec'd 6/21/67

June 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Attached is a copy of a memo we are sending to the doctors' group, including a copy of the telegram they sent to President Johnson. As you will note, we also are indicating the Foundation's readiness to defray the cost of documentation or other preparation for their appearance before the Clark Subcommittee, which is tentatively scheduled for July 11th. The doctors had lunch on June 16th with Senators Clark and Kennedy, and the latter were so concerned by the reports that they want to have a formal hearing on the situation, involving not only the doctors but also Secretaries Freeman and Gardner and Mr. Shriver.

Press and radio/tv coverage in the New York area was very good. Was there any mention in Atlanta?

We'll keep you informed on further developments. Best to you, Paul.

Sincerely,

George Loft
Associate

GL:cpm
Enclosures

✓ copy: Robert Anderson

— Best to you, Bob

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.

June 19, 1967

To: Dr. Raymond Wheeler

From: George Loft

Subject: Mississippi Project

Les Dunbar and all of us on the Field staff are delighted and appreciatibe at how things went in Washington on June 16th, and hope that your efforts will be productive in getting action. Carl Holman sent us for forwarding to you the attached copy of your telegram to President Johnson.

Looking forward to the proposed Clark Subcommittee hearing on July 11th, you may feel that it would be desirable to have further specific documentation on the food and health situation in Mississippi. If so, the Field Foundation stands ready to make the arrangements and to cover your travel expenses for a return trip to Mississippi, or for any other preparatory work which you or others in the doctors' group feel should be done.

We hope that you will be consulting among yourselves, and will look forward to your further advice.

TELEGRAM

June 16, 1967

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

This is an urgent appeal for your personal leadership and prompt action by your Administration to remedy a tragic situation affecting thousands of children in Mississippi. We are physicians with a continuing concern for the health of rural American children in the South and Appalachia. Five of us who have recently returned from Mississippi and one of us who resides there have witnessed at first hand the deplorable physical condition of Negro children in a number of rural counties. Lack of food and adequate medical care are afflicting them with irreversible physical defects and with threatened mental retardation. Our findings are summarized in a report transmitted to you today.

We have met today with appropriate officials in the Departments of Agriculture and HEW to discuss our findings and the need for emergency Federal action to deliver these children from hunger, pain, deformity, and for some an early death. At the invitation of Senator Joseph Clark, we have also met with him, Senator Robert Kennedy, and members of the staff of his subcommittee which is investigating rural poverty.

We know you agree with us that it is intolerable to think that the government of the wealthiest nation in the world can allow its own children to suffer as these children are suffering. We do not feel that our description of this critical situation can substitute for first-hand observation by Secretary Freeman, Secretary Gardner, and Mr. Shriver. We are convinced that once they have seen the dimensions of this human disaster, ways will be found to bring the bountiful resources of this Nation to bear on the needs of American children.

Respectfully,

Joseph Brenner, M.D., Medical Department, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Robert Coles, M.D., Harvard University Health Services

Alan Mermann, M.D., Dept. of Pediatrics, Yale University Medical School and private practice, Guilford, Conn.

Milton J. E. Senn, M.D., Sterling Professor of Pediatrics, Yale University

Cyril Walwyn, M.D., Medical Advisor to Friends of the Children of Mississippi, and private practice, Yazoo City, Miss.

Raymond Wheeler, M.D., private practice, Charlotte, N.C.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1967

Severe Hunger Found in Mississippi

By NAN ROBERTSON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — A team of doctors who recently returned from Mississippi told Congress today that they had found hunger approaching starvation and serious untreated diseases among hundreds of Negro children there.

The doctors met with members of Senator Joseph S. Clark's Subcommittee on Manpower, Employment and Poverty after a four-day inspection of conditions in Humphreys, Leflore, Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba and Greene Counties.

In all, they saw and talked with 600 to 700 children, as well as extensively interviewing about two dozen families.

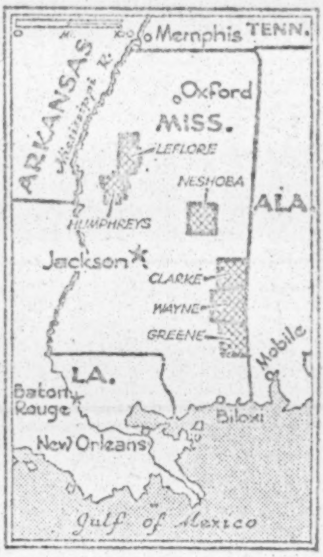
They described the health of the poor children there as "pitiful," "alarming," "unbelievable" and "appalling," even though Mississippi has reached a higher percentage of its poor with food programs, using Federal antipoverty funds, than any state.

Field Foundation Paid

The team, sent with money from the Field Foundation of New York, whose major interests are child welfare and intercultural and interracial relations, was made up of the following doctors:

Dr. Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist with the University Health Service, Harvard University, who is the author of "Children of Crisis"; Dr. Raymond Wheeler, an internist in private practice in Charlotte, N. C.; Dr. Alan Mermann, a pediatrician and assistant clinical professor at Yale Medical School, who made a medical survey in Lowndes County, Alabama, last year, and Dr. Joseph Brenner of the medical department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who has made other medical inspections of the South and in Africa.

Dr. Wheeler, who is executive committee chairman of the Southern Regional Council, a private group whose stated goal is equal opportunity for all Southerners, said he had been born and raised in the South but had not been prepared for what he saw in Mississippi.



The New York Times June 17, 1967

Doctors saw severe hunger and disease among Negro children in six counties in Mississippi (shaded areas).

He stressed the "absence of compassion and concern" among health and welfare workers and described one child who came for treatment with a "nasty laceration." The nurse gave the child a tetanus shot, Dr. Wheeler said, but "didn't dress the wound."

"She didn't even look at the wound," he said.

In "child after child," the doctors said they had seen nutritional and medical conditions "we can only describe as shocking—even to a group of physicians whose work involves daily confrontation with disease and suffering."

They said they had seen children afflicted with suppurating sores, severe anemia, ear, eye and bone diseases, heart and lung ailments that had gone undiagnosed and untreated, chronic diarrhea, "appalling" tooth decay and, "in every county we visited, obvious evidence of severe malnutrition."

The doctors' report continued:

"We do not want to quibble over words, but 'malnutrition' is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry — weak, in pain, sick; their lives are being shortened . . . They are suffering from hunger and disease and directly or indirectly they are dying from them — which is exactly what 'starvation' means."

The doctors made their disclosures in discussions with the Senate subcommittee at a lunch in the New Senate Office Building, and later at a news conference.

Dr. Brenner, who had spent one year in East Africa, said he had found health conditions in the South among the poor as bad or worse than those among primitive tribal Africans in Kenya and Aden.

"It is fantastic," he said, "that this should be so in the wealthiest nation in the world — the wealthiest nation that ever was."

The team emphasized that the families they saw in Mississippi were totally isolated, unseen and outside the "American money economy."

They described some who struggled to live on $15 a week, which they earned after working 55 hours, with children who ate biscuit for breakfast, boiled beans for lunch and bread and molasses for dinner.

They saw women, they said, "who had not had money in their hands for weeks." Therefore, they said, the Government should change the food stamp program so that the rural poor could obtain food stamps free.

The stamps now cost from a monthly minimum of $2 for each applicant to a maximum of $12 for large families. They can be used to buy quantities of food worth much more than those amounts.

The doctors also met with Assistant Secretary of Agriculture George L. Mehren and his staff, and said they had found them honest and concerned.

But the team was also "discouraged" by reports of Congressional opposition to the free distribution of stamps, even to penniless families whose fathers are declared "able-bodied," thus making them ineligible for welfare.

Senator Clark is planning to hold public hearings on the doctors' survey next month.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

DIS AN' DAT Jackson Clarion-Ledger-Daily News

6/25/67

Time For Mississippians To Defend Medical Report

By Florence Sillers Ogden

This is a lengthy column even though I left out half I wanted to say. Please read on through it, the information herein is important to every person in Mississippi.

I am indignant. Mississippians are indignant. Friends and neighbors are indignant. And I hope every doctor in the State of Mississippi is indignant.

Why? Over a report made to the Ford Foundation of New York by six out-of-state doctors on a stalking mission through the South. They reported that:

Mississippi Negroes are literally starving to death.

That hundreds of thousands of Negroes in Mississippi and the South have never seen a doctor in their lives.

That the condition of Negroes in Mississippi is the worst of any Southern state visited — worse than the most underdeveloped and poverty ridden state in Darkest Africa.

This report, founded on misinformation and misstatement, was distorted, exaggerated beyond comprehension — or else a very small area was covered and could not be typical.

This report came over NBC —Huntley Brinkley Report, 5 p. m. Friday, June 16. It is hard to refute or repeat statements made over tv or radio. They vanish into thin air. However, this report was verified in a mild way by reports of the Associated Press in two mid-South newspapers of Saturday, June 17. My indignant calls came from those who had read the newspaper reports. I told them they hadn't seen anything if they had not seen and heard the Huntley-Brinkley report on Friday.

The report I heard struck me like a bomb. I was totally unprepared for such a vicious onslaught. I heard three medicine men give the report while Brinkley smirked like the cat that had swallowed the canary.

'CONSPIRACY'

Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C., said, according to Associated Press report: "These people are isolated from any help they can get. . .I was told before I went there (Mississippi) that there was a conspiracy to eliminate the Negro. I didn't believe it before but I do now."

Has Dr. Wheeler ever read the history of the white people of the North Carolina mountains? Has he read "Miracle in the Hills" by Dr. Sloop?

Every nation, state, county, city, countryside, has its poor, but few have been accused of starving its people in order to "eliminate" them — not even North Carolina!

Dr. Joseph Brenner, medical department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was the doctor, as I recall it, who compared Mississippi unfaborably with Darkest Africa. It was he, if I remember correctly, who declared that hundreds of thousands of Negroes had never seen a doctor in their lives. His was the most vicious report.

Personally, I cannot imagine how he got such figures. Since time immemorial planters have taken care of the medical needs of their tenants. I farmed many years, some of them through the Depression of the '30's. At one time I had 45 families on my plantation. Not once did I ever refuse medical care for my people. I personally stood for all medical bills, as did every other farmer.

As for medical aid today, it is the middle class who suffer. Few are able to pay hospital charges without going into debt for the rest of their lives, while the indignent receive service free.

In the post Civil War period the white people suffered from lack of medical aid. Doctors were few, plantations remote, money scarce as hens' teeth. My own grandmother, whom I remember as a Duchess-like Grand Dame of 75 years, had eleven children and never had a doctor for the birth of a single one. Yet she enjoyed good health until the day she died.

My mother treated us, her five children, for malaria and all minor ailments. Our family physician, Dr. H. L. Sutherland, one-legged and a great doctor, was only called in for serious cases. yet we survived. I suppose D. Brenner would have considered us neglected — with no tonsils out, all appendix in — that is, if we had been Negro.

HARVARD VIEW

The third doctor I heard report was Dr. Robert Coles, University Health Service, Harvard. Well, we all know what Harvard thinks of Mississippi and what Mississippi thinks of Harvard.

One doctor said he visited a Negro home where the six children had beans for dinner, biscuits and molasses for supper — nothing else! I do not doubt this in the least — it is what they like. I also know that many children do suffer from malnutrition, both black and white, here in Mississippi, in the vicinity of Harvard, in North Carolina and close to New York University. More is the pity! Yet in many cases it is because the parents fail to provide the proper care. Did the doctors on their flying trip happen to notice how much ground there is available for vegetable gardens in Mississippi?

And how about the welfare program in our state? For the starving I am sure it could and would provide ample food. I have served for ten years and am now serving on the Bolivar Co. Welfare Board. I do not know of any needy person being refused help. We have just inaugurated the food stamp program. For $2.00 in cash one person can get $12.00 worth of groceries per month; two people can receive $24.00 for cash outlay of $4.00; one mother I know about, with 11 children, gets $98.00 in groceries for $11.00 in cash. How can you beat that? Besides, if they don't have the cash the food stamp outfit lends them the money to buy their stamps.

The doctor who said hundreds of thousands of people have never seen a doctor, and Mississippi is the worst state visited, should have taken a tour through the University Hospital in Jackson, and to local hospitals all over the state. He ought to have consulted Mississippi law.

HOSPITALIZATION

On March 26, 1936, the Miss. Legislature passed Senate Bill 223, an act creating a hospital commission to designate local hospitals for the purpose of allocating and disbursing funds for the care, treatment and hospitalization of the indigent sick. Free choice of hospitals were allowed all charity patients. Thus the sick could go to a hospital in his own locale rather than to the centralized state institutions.

This law, titled, "Hospital Commissions" is found in the Mississippi Code, 1942, Chapt. 7, vol. 5-A. I suggest the Flying Squadron read it.

All Mississippians know the care this plan has provided the indigent over the years. I served on the first commission for the Rosedale Hospital, appointed by Gov. Mike Conner. My brother was instrumental in carrying the legislation through the House and was especially interested in providing local hospitalization. I heard the talk from daylight to dark.

The Associated Press report says: "The doctors, making a report for the Ford Foundation of New York, gave a summary of their findings after talking to officials of the Dept. of Agriculture and members of the Senate Poverty Subcommittee." After talking to officials! Maybe they should have been looking when they were talking.

If they were looking, the six stalkers did not report on the tv aerials they must have seen on every house, the car parked in every yard. And that's a pity, too!

To date I have heard no refutation of this irresponsible report by a group of supposedly responsible men. However, the report burst only five days ago and maybe between now and Sunday somebody will have come to the defense of Mississippi and its medical profession.

A friend, returned today, (June 19), from Charlotte, N. C., home town of Dr. Wheeler, says nobody believed the report up there and many were outraged. She was visiting a prominent family.

Let us hope the doctors of Mississippi will refute this report — out loud — through their medical journals and associations. Who better could do it than our physicians and surgeons?

Xerox copies of report (Hungry Children)
mailed to:

Steve Cotton
Newsweek, Atl., 6/19/67

Bob Baker - air mail, 6/19/67

Jack Nelson - hand del'd 6/20/67

Dr. Ellen Winston, 6/27/67

July 5, 1967

Mr. Reuben W. Baldwin
4807 S. Grammercy
Los Angeles, California 90062

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

Los Angeles Times reporter Jack Nelson has passed on to us your recent request for our report HUNGRY CHILDREN and also your desire to find out more about the Friends of the Children of Mississippi. A copy of the report is enclosed. For fuller information about FCM, please write Mr. Fred Mangrum, Director, Friends of the Children of Mississippi, 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

Thank you so much for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA/km

Enclosure

July 5, 1967

Mrs. Percia Hutcherson
3945 S. Norton Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90008

Dear Mrs. Hutcherson:

Los Angeles Times reporter Jack Nelson has passed on to us your recent request for our report HUNGRY CHILDREN and also your desire to find out more about the Friends of the Children of Mississippi. A copy of the report is enclosed. For fuller information about FCM, please write Mr. Fred Mangrum, Director, Friends of the Children of Mississippi, 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

Thank you so much for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA/km

Enclosure

File

A Statement made by Dr. Raymond Wheeler on July 11, 1967
before the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and
Poverty, chaired by Senator Joseph S. Clark

I am distressed and concerned that Senators Stennis and Eastland interpret my remarks this morning as libelous to the state of Mississippi.

I was born and reared and educated in the South. I love the region as much as they do. I reported what I saw because it is intolerable to me that this situation should exist in the region I love. I saw those children and their parents, and I told you what I saw and the message of despair and helplessness which they communicated to me.

For the past twenty years I have worked in the South, my birthplace and my home. During that time I have come to know in depth the white and the Negro -- their problems, their sorrows, their joys.

Throughout these years, my heart has wept for the South as I have watched the southern black man and white man walk their separate ways distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers -- doomed to a way of life tragically less than they desire -- when by working together they could achieve a society finer and more successful than any which exists in this country today.

And through all of that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figures of all has been the southern political leader who has exploited all of our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gain -- refusing to grant us the dignity and the capability of responding to noble and courageous leadership -- when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and desolation which surrounds our lives.

The time has come when this must cease for we are concerned with little children whose one chance for a healthy and productive existence into which they were born -- is at stake.

I invite Senator Eastland and Senator Stennis to come with me into the vast farm lands of the Delta and I will show you the children of whom we have spoken. I will show you their bright eyes and innocent faces, their shriveled arms and swollen bellies, their sickness and pain and the fear and misery of their parents.

Their story must be believed -- not only for their sakes -- but for the sake of all America.

5000
.24

20000
10000

1200.00

Gregory Chilkin
Sent 9/12/61

Rev. A. P. Davis Jr.
604 Via Gorrion
Pal~~ace~~os Verdes
Estate,
Californa

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

J.S. Please send 25 copies of Hungry Children

to Mr. Cy Rosenthal, Model Cities Administration
Room 801 1430 K St. N.W. Washington, D. . 20410

+ NEW SOUTH - SPRING

Done
7/13/67

515-19th Ave. So.
Nampa, Idaho-83651
July 16, 1967

Mr. Lyndon Johnson
President of U.S.
Washington D.C.

Re; Hunger in Mississippi

Copy

Mr. Paul Johnson, Governor
State of Mississippi
Jackson, Mississippi
Mr. Sargent Shriver, Director
OEO, Washington D.C.

Dear Sirs:

On July 5, 1967, I sent your offices letters regarding poverty conditions among Negro poor in 6 counties in Mississippi. I have just finished reading the report "Hungry Children," a compilation of findings of 6 medical doctors who recently toured these counties. As a mother who is interested in the welfare of all children, I hope this miserable mess is being speedily remedied. If racial discrimination has discolored the administration of the anti-poverty program in Mississippi, this should cease immediately. The U.S. people are paying to fight poverty, not aid racial discrimination. I recommend the reading of the report "Hungry Children" by all recipients of this letter, & may your consciences be your guides thereafter. I for one expect immediate & decisive action by the 3 officials to whom this letter is addressed, & thoughtful consideration of this subject of hungry children anywhere in the U.S. by all recipients of this letter, a copy of which is being sent to the following:-1-Orville Freeman, U.S. Sect'y of Agric.-2-U.S. Senator Jacob Javits-3-U.S. Senator Len Jordan-4-U.S. Senator Frank Church-5-U.S. Rep. James McClure-6-U.S Rep. Hansen of Idaho-7-Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia-30303, where all may receive a copy of "Hungry Children" for the asking.

Mrs. Irene Gwilliam

July 18, 1967

Mr. Frank Burger
19 Washburn Drive
Hudson Falls, New York 12839

Dear Mr. Burger:

In reply to your recent request, the address of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi is:

507½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi

The director is Mr. Fred Mangrum.

Interest such as yours is always appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Dear Sir:

Please send me the address for Friends of the Children of Mississippi (FMC). I have read your report Hungry Children and would like to send a donation. Thank you and may God bless all involved in this great cause.

M. Frank Burger
19 Washburn Drive
Hudson Falls, N.Y.
12839

2 of 1 FCM

Enclosure: Xerox copy of Special Report, "Hungry Children."

VIA AIR MAIL

June 19, 1967

Mr. Robert Baker
The Washington Post
1515 "L" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I'm enclosing a copy of a report we've sent to the printers and hope to mail out for release this coming Sunday, June 25. If there's any change in the release date, I'll let you know.

Also, Bob Coles said to tell you that if you are interested in some further information and elaboration on what's here, he would be glad to talk with you. He can be reached at Cambridge, Massachusetts: Office, 868-7600, ext. 3736; home, 369-6498.

The report speaks for itself. I don't think any of us had realized things were this bad. We have follow-up reports in the works, and consider this among the most serious subjects we have ever dealt with.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters
Director of Information

PW:js
Encl. - 1.

File

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. A 30303
522-87

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

FIELD ACTIVITIES NEWSLETTER

July 20, 1967

About the Hungry Children

Much has happened since this time last month, when the plight of starving people in the Black Belt was mentioned in the newsletter. SRC's "Special Report" by six doctors was issued on June 23. It received wide coverage by the news media; some papers sent reporters into Mississippi and other parts of the South to verify the report. The Department of Agriculture cut from $2.00 to $.50 the minimum cost of food stamps in Mississippi and issued a flurry of defensive news releases, giving figures to show percentage increases in the number of participants in their food distribution programs over the past ten years. Predictable denials have come from the Mississippi press--including one editorial comment about the reported diet of cornbread and molasses, some beans, and little else: "of course... that is what they like."

The testimony of the six doctors before the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty on July 11 was one of the more promising developments. Dr. Raymond Wheeler, Chairman of SRC's Executive Committee, testified that the situation was "not only a medical emergency, but a national disaster." Senators Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi were there and, picking Dr. Wheeler as spokesman for the group, tried to discredit him and the other doctors. All of this the television networks reported. But they missed, for the most part, the moving statement Dr. Wheeler made toward the end of the day, a statement he had hastily hand-written. He spoke of how he had "watched the southern black man and white man walk their separate ways distrusting each other, separated by false and ridiculous barriers--doomed to a way of life tragically less than they desire...." And he added, in part:

> And through all of that dreadful pageant of ignorance and suspicion and mutual distrust, the most distressing figure of all has been the southern political leader who has exploited all of our human weaknesses for his own personal and selfish gain--refusing to grant us the

> dignity and the capability of responding to noble and courageous leadership--when all of us had nothing to lose but the misery and desolation which surrounds our lives.

Houston Councils Sends Caravan to Belzoni

According to Jack Murray, their Executive Director, the Houston Council on Human Relations will send a caravan of fifty automobiles to Belzoni, Mississippi, on Saturday, July 22, in response to the furor about the children's condition. Each auto will be loaded with foodstuffs, clothing, and vitamins. The council is appealing to food wholesalers and drug wholesalers for supplies, and they are taking cash donations from individuals to by vitamins. Murray says that, in addition to whatever temporary relief the supplies might give, the Houston Council looks upon the caravan as a way of dramatizing the issue and keeping it before the nation. He suggests that other councils and allied organizations might want to do something similar on successive weekends.

Sick, Hungry Children in Florida, Too

It seems to me that some of those caravans might well be sent to other parts of the South. To tell the truth, we are a little afraid that people will get the idea that its "only" Mississippi. It's not. For instance Augie VandenBosche, Executive Director of the Florida Council, has testified to the Rural Development Subcommittee of the House Committee on Agriculture that the annual wage of a migrant farm worker in Florida is between $698 and $1,379, according to the Department of Agriculture. (It averages $1,055, according to the Social Security records.) VandenBosche continued:

> Farm workers continue to exhibit high rates of disease and sickness incomprehensible in modern 20th Century America. For example, in one of Florida's smallest counties 100% of all migrant children between the ages of 0 and 15 years have parasitic diseases, 43% of these also have skin diseases and 96% of them under 5 years suffer from diarrhea.

New State Council Personnel

The Alabama Council has employed William Henry Harrison of Yantley, Alabama, As Associate Director. Mr. Harrison attended the public schools of Choctaw County, Alabama, and earned his B.S. degree at Alabama State College. He has done graduate study at Alabama A. & M. College. A school teacher for thirteen years (social studies), he has a lengthy record of activity in community affairs and organizations.

July 20, 1967

The Florida Council has also employed an Associate Director, William H. Miles. Mr. Miles began his work with the FCHR on July 10. A native Floridian, he grew up in Jacksonville and West Palm Beach and attended Florida Normal Memorial College in St. Augustine. He has been a policeman in Miami, a recreation director with Miami's welfare department, and house parent in a Dade County juvenile home. He too has a long history of involvement in civil rights and human relations organizations and programs.

Random Notes from Quarterly Reports

...The Arkansas Council has two new chapters--in Wynne and Forrest City--and is hard at work on one in Camden.

...Three local affiliates of the Tennessee Council are concentrating on housing problems. The Nashville chapter is setting up a clearing house for persons wishing to buy, sell or rent on a non-discriminatory basis. The Memphis Council is just getting to work on residential housing integration. The Chattanooga chapter has a reservation for 100 units of 221d3 rent-supplement housing and is in the process of site selection.

...The East Alabama chapter of the Alabama Council has recently formed a credit union, with membership in the ACHR as the required "common bond," and has received its credit union charter. This is an interesting idea which enables some council members who are fortunate enough to have a small "nest egg" to put it to better use than just drawing any old kind of interest--and at the same time provides a much needed service to folks who otherwise might get into the clutches of loan sharks....The Huntsville chapter, for about the third year in a row, has had house-to-house visitation to get "freedom of choice" school transfers. About 60 people helped do the work, and they got 673 requests for transfers!

...The Mississippi Council has begun its summer program in the Jackson State College area. The Executive Director, Ken Dean, has been doing a survey on the Medicare program in Mississippi and has helped with another on discrimination in public parks and swimming pools. He has also been introducing poor people to a lot of reporters. A statewide meeting on poverty is planned for August 5.

...On June 18, the Chatham chapter of the Georgia Council sponsored a "Community Service of Prayer for Racial Harmony." There was a special worship service, and the Mayor proclaimed the 18th a day of prayer. The response of the community was generally positive. (For copies of the "Order of Worship," including unison prayers and litanies used, write the Georgia Council, 52 Fairlie Street, Atlanta.)

...The Louisiana Council has a new, growing, and active local affiliate at Franklin. The LCHR, a newly-staffed state council, has over 400 members now.

July 20, 1967

...The Houston Council has placed 20 VISTA volunteers throughout the city. Mr. William Ainley, a Peace Corps veteran (Uganda) and graduate student at Rice University, has been employed as VISTA supervisor....Some time ago the Houston Council purchased the motion picture film, "A Time for Burning." It continues to be widely shown and discussed throughout the state of Texas. (It was even shown once in Mississippi.)

Worried About Extremist Organizations?

Through the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials we heard about a new organization called "Institute for American Democracy." It aims to help make democracy work by keeping a watchful eye on extremists of both right and left. The IAD has published a pamphlet, How to Combat Air Pollution, which explains how to make use of FCC's Fairness Doctrine when legitimate groups or organizations are attacked by extremists. "This," quote the NAIRO newsletter, "may be of special interest to intergroup relations agencies in the South and rural areas." So, if you are getting a lot of "nut" programs over your radio, you might want to order this pamphlet. ($1.00 per copy. I.A.D., 1330 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005.)

Sort of interesting to me was the IAD's run-down on extremist groups of the left and the right in a recent newsletter. The right-wing groups are far more numerous, far larger, and far, far richer. For example, the largest left-wing group in the U.S. is the Communist Party, USA,--according to the IAD--and their membership is about 12,000 and estimated income $148,000. The largest right-wing group is the John Birch Society with a membership of about 80,000 and an estimated 1965 income of $4,089,000. The "20th Century Reformation Hour" (Carl McIntire's program) has 625 radio outlets and an income of $3,040,000, according to IAD.

"Police Rudeness"

The Atlanta Constitution's Dick Hebert ought to get some sort of award for his editorial in the July 13 editions. After the Dixie Hills riots, during which he had observed Atlanta's police at work, Hebert wrote that though he was often with police at such scenes, he had never seen proof of outright brutality. "What I have seen is more subtle, harder to fight in court," he said. He went on to suggest the term police rudeness, pointing out that "rudeness," according to the dictionary includes "the desire to wound."

He had heard policemen call a Negro "boy." He had seen a policeman refuse to step aside to let a Negro pass. He had seen Negroes shouldered aside needlessly. No court would call these "brutality," he suggested, but enough of such rudeness can have the same effect as brutality.

Atlanta knows it must meet the slum tragedy head-on if it is to silence the angry. It must provide opportunity for jobs, housing, education. More immediately it must see to it that those with authority in their hands recognize that Negroes are due their rights, including the same personal dignity all men seek, and that Negroes, too, are innocent until proven guilty.

--J. Edwin Stanfield
Director of Field Activities

CCAP CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036
Telephone 202 / 234-3645

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Robert S. Benjamin
Treasurer

Richard W. Boone
Executive Director

~~BA~~
~~GB~~ SF ✓
~~PH~~ DR
~~Ret~~

July 24, 1967

Mr. Pat Watters
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Watters:

After many weeks of collecting, digesting, and disseminating information on hunger and perhaps starvation in America, we are finally getting our files caught up to date. On May 23, you sent to us some materials which have been most helpful in our campaign to bring the issue of food before the American public. I think we were remiss at that time in thanking you for them.

May I take this opportunity to say that your report on poverty in the Mississippi Delta helped us greatly to understand the existing situation in that state. We are in your debt.

Sincerely,

Caryl Barker

(Mrs.) Caryl Barker

July 26, 1967

Mrs. Thomas Y. Gwilliam
515 19th Avenue, South
Nampa, Idaho

Dear Mrs. Gwilliam:

Thank you so much for your letter of July 18. We appreciate more than we can say your deep condern in the plight of hungry children. It is only through an aroused citizenry, surely, that such condisions as described in the report can be changed.

In answer to your questions about the Southern Regional Council, we are not a membership organization but rather are devoted primarily to research, information, and citizenship education. The enclosed brochure explains our origins and aims. I am also enclosing a recent issue of our magazine, NEW SOUTH, which goes into some of the other issues raised by the hungry children report. We will be delighted also to add you to our mailing list for future reports.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr./js
Encls.

PW
P.A.
7-20

Mrs. THOS. Y. GWILLIAM
~~ATTORNEY AT LAW~~
~~112-9TH AVENUE SOUTH~~
~~DIAL 466-7071~~
NAMPA, IDAHO 83651

515-19th Ave. So.
Nampa, Idaho-83651
July 18, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your letter of July 11, & for the 2 copies of the report "Hungry Children", the reading of which I found to be most enlightening.

I am attempting to do what I can as an individual to voice my dissatisfaction about such conditions continuing as are described in this report. Attached to this letter is a copy of 1 I sent to people named therein. I have also sent letters to the "letters to the editor" departments of some newspapers in Idaho, on this subject. To read of chronic hunger existing among groups of children in this country, while many millions of dollars are being spent on the anti-poverty program is something I can't be indifferent about. I think U.S. citizens should demand that a halt be called to such miseries wherever they exist, & that these public funds be used to relieve these conditions among children, especially, anywhere in this U.S.

Does The Southern Regional Council have a mailing list or a lay membership, or something of that sort, whereby interested people can gain information on such things as the subject I now discuss? I would appreciate being informed enough about things such as this so I am in some sort of a position to show active interest by writing to public officials about such matters, especially on anything as blatantly wrong as the situation described in "Hungry Children". If you do have a mailing list, or some plan of dispensing information to people like me who live at a distance, but who are interested in human welfare of all people, regardless of color or race, I will appreciate getting such information from time to time, as I am willing to at least attempt to try to help rectify miseries such as are described in the report "Hungry Children."

Sincerely,

Mrs. Irene Gwilliam

File

NBC ENTERPRISES
A DIVISION OF NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY, INC.
THIRTY ROCKEFELLER PLAZA, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10020, CIRCLE 7-8300

NORMAN LUNENFELD
Manager
Merchandising

July 26, 1967

Rec'd 7/27/67

Mrs. Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortt:

Thank you for your recent request for the July 11 Huntley-Brinkley broadcast film clips.

We have attempted to obtain the rights for distribution from the various persons and organizations who supplied information, material or talents in the preparation of the program.

Unfortunately, we have not been successful in securing such rights and, as a result, cannot make the program available to the public. We trust that you will understand therefore, our inability to honor your request at the present time. Should we obtain the necessary rights in the future, we will promptly so notify you.

Sincerely yours,

Norman A. Lunenfeld

Norman A. Lunenfeld

NAL/ad

July 23, 1967

NBC Television Films
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York 10020

Dear Sirs:

We are interested in obtaining the July 11 Huntley-Brinkley broadcast film clips on the Sub-Committee on Employment and Poverty.

If this request by letter is not sufficient, please inform us of the procedure we must follow.

Your cooperation is appreciated.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

File

Rec'd 8/15/67

CORRECOTE BY BASE LAKE
PINCKNEY, MICHIGAN 48169

Aug. 11, 1967

Dear Mr. Anderson:

The special report, "Hungry Children" is very interesting, and revealing of what crops out in so many observations on the situation. I appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it. I can use it in the course I am introducing in Xavier University this fall in Racial-Cultural Tensions and the Community.

You may be interested in the comments I made on the Desegregation situation in 1961. Now desegregation is off the front pages and a cultural-nationalism takes over. What next???

I am still lingering over the back issues of NEW SOUTH, and plan to use some of this material in the course, a revamping of Intercultural Understanding I led at the University (1947-60) of Maine. Box 1040

Thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

Frank C. Foster

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

FRANK C. FOSTER
2400 Grandview Ave.
Cincinnati, Ohio 45206

(Sept. 13)

Freedom riders, sit-ins and racial violence may seem a long way away from Maine, but desegregation can no longer be considered a problem limited to the south. In the following article, Dr. Foster tells why.

taught at Hampton Institute
1924-28
Dean at Tusculum College '31-3'
37
Pres. Asheville College '37-43
(merged with Warren Wilson)
by Presb. Bd. of Ntl. Miss'ns

Desegregation: Test of democracy

By Dr. Frank C. Foster

Professor emeritus of education

The present drama of desegregation was begun in the schools with the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. This interpretation of the Constitution put an end to the caste system as a part of our society—so far as the law is concerneed.

On the face of it, the 1954 interpretation seems to be no more drastic than the 14th Amendment, adopted in 1868. Yet the fact remains, segregation continued after adoption of the amendment, and was even sanctioned by the Supreme Court in the 1896 separate-but-equal interpretation of the Constitution prevalent until the 1954 ruling.

Many forces have operated to bring about the change, and it may be well to review some observations on these developments before noting the changes that have taken place since the decision of 1954.

First, one should note the splendid growth in educational services offered in the south. As the south pulled itself out of the destructive aftermath of the Civil War, the steady progress toward more education and higher standards made it difficult to keep the caste system.

Along with the educational system went the development of industry and commerce. By 1954 no longer was the south looking at itself as a "colony of the north."

This educational and economic developmen tended to unite the south with the rest of the nation. There was a freer flow of people along with their ideas and commodities.

Have Changes Come?

Now as we look back over eight years, is the situation radically different? The general observations on educational development, the concern for economic stability and national unity stand. But there are some rather striking changes.

The first impression one has is the explosive expansion in the demand for all human rights. Education has been pushed off the front pages in the pressure on bus stations, restaurants, parks and other public services.

For nearly twenty years it has been pointed out that what the Negro wants with desegregation is not marriage but money—the right to earn and spend so that the same labor can be traded for the same commodities on a fair market—justice. Freedom riders and the Committee on Racial Equality (CORE) have moved for social action where the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has been working through the courts.

The extension of the struggle over the nation as a whole is a second observation. The fact that the issue started in the south soon made people in other communities aware of the fact that what former Harvard President James A. Conant calls *de facto* segregation exists, and that there are *de facto* Negro communities in nominally desegregated cities compels us to face the realities of the handicaps such communities face. His book ***Slums and Suburbs*** should hold special attention as it relates to our broader problems of education. As it concerns our special problem of desegregation he points to what he calls "social dynamite."

The conclusions President Conant reaches about the basic problems give some clue to the kind of probing into the roots of our problem we all must do. He writes:

> Since I believe the evidence indicates that it is the socio-economic situation, not the color of the children which makes the Negro slum schools so difficult, the real issue is not racial integration but socio-economic integration.

This observation has carried the movement in two dimensions, over the nation as a whole and into the social and economic patterns of our life. Slums for Negro children produce the same kind of social hostility as do white slums.

A third and even more sensational challenge to the segregationists has been the emergence of nationalism among the colored peoples, especially in Africa.

The world not only is watching, it is acting. Television programs bring their representatives into our homes and we hear of their problems, and share in the efforts to improve their lives.

When some incident occurs, more people are concerned and more effort is made to provide decent respect for all peoples from any part of the world.

Ask No Pardon

We do not ask to be excused, even if there is occasional reference to the fact that some of our most bitter critics have forms of segregation in their own society. The publicity from press and television is remorseless. We hear the accounts of those who have been imprisoned and see pictures of mobs attacking Freedom Riders.

We are not surprised that the deep areas attack the reporters and photographers as angrily as they do the Freedom Riders.

Quite as significant as any area of progress is the actual desegregation in higher levels of achievement. We have had our Roland Hayeses and Jackie Robinsons. But now every day, we have examples of recognition given to Negro artists—appointment of Marian Anderson and the ovation to Leontine Price in the Metropolitan Opera, Broadway plays written and acted by Negroes, participation of Negroes in governmental leadership. Along with this achievement has been a marked dissatisfaction with the slowness of labor unions and other employing agencies in accepting Negroes.

The movement may be too slow for some. But there are many signs of progress.

Dr. Foster is professor emeritus of education at the University of Maine. His teaching area was social studies and during the University's summer sessions he conducted a workshop in intercultural relations until his retirement in 1960. In 1955 he toured the south while on sabbatical leave. The Alumnus *published two reports on his trip, in the February 1956 and the January 1957 issues.*

File - Hungry Children

RECEIVED

AUG 18 1967

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

August 16 1967

Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge & Rice
Attorneys and Counselors at Law
24th Floor Wachovia Building
Post Office Drawer 84
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27102

Dear Mr. Carlyle:

We have received a number of communications with reference to food assistance programs in Mississippi and other states as a result of the recent publicity given these programs, including the NEW YORK TIMES article of June 4, "It Isn't True That Nobody Starves in America."

Because of the variety of questions and comments from those, like yourself, who have communicated with us on the subject, we feel the most comprehensive response is the statement made by Secretary Orville L. Freeman before the Sub-committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

This statement sets forth what this Department is doing to improve nutrition among low-income families, and the great effort that is being made to extend food assistance throughout the country.

We share your interest and concern as to welfare of needy people.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas R. Hughes
Executive Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

Mrs. J. Shortt
Thank you for the info on FCM.
This is a sample letter we use
for this area. Another group collecting
food, clothing & funds is "CONCERNED ST LOUIS
CITIZENS"
CHAIRMAN
AUSTIN WRIGHT
4469 DELMAR
St LOUIS, Mo.
Same collection
points
AET Jr

ARE There any groups
in Chicago I can contact - I'll
be going up there next month?
AET Jr

Recd 8/21/67

Berea Young Adults Group
Berea Presbyterian Church
3010 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

We would like to enlist your aid and assistance in an urgent and worthwhile project. We are trying to get as many families and organizations as possible to collect food, clothing, and money in what we call "The Operation for the Needy in Mississipi."

As you no doubt know, from reading the papers, two-thirds of the Negro families in Mississippi are trying to survive on a diet which is below minimum daily standards. You may obtain further information on this from: Mrs. Janet Shortts, Administrative Secretary, Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, NW., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

At present food and clothing are being collected at Berea Presbyterian Church, the Ardell Beauty Salons, the Argus Newspaper Office and at the 35 Minute Cleaners at 4835 Delmar Blvd. Funds are being collected in check and money order form made payable to: The Operation for the Needy in Mississippi at the Page Park YMCA, 5555 Page Blvd.

Please enlist all your friends and friendly organizations in this cause, because we personally feel that this is our "Little Israel", and that we should not allow economic warfare to be successfully carried out against an entire people, in a state, becuase some of them attempt to vote. We are hoping that many families and organizations will adopt a family in Mississippi for the purpose of family-to-family giving and correspondence.

I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Very truly yours,

A. Eugene Trotter, Jr., Moderator
Berea Young Adults Group

AET:vb

August 8, 1967

30 21 Lawton Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Mrs. Janet C. Shortts
Administrative Secretary
Research Department
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortts:

Thank you for the "Special Report" entitled: Hungry Children, which I found to be very informative, and I would like to request another twelve (12) copies. We would also like to thank the entire Southern Regional Council for its activities in bringing to the public view the problem of the needy Mississipians.

There are several St. Louis church and civic groups interested in contacting Friends of the Children of Mississippi and other organizations in the Mississippi Delta who will aid us in the distribution of food, clothing, and funds which we have already collected and stored here in St. Louis. We would appreciate it very much if you could help us contact these groups. We specifically have several families and Sunday School groups who are interested in family-to-family giving and correspondence.

Sincerely,

A. Eugene Trotter, Jr.

A. Eugene Trotter, Jr., Moderator
Berea Young Adults Group

AET:vb

cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

July 25, 1967

Mr. A. Eugene Trotter
3021 Lawton Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Mr. Trotter:

Thank you for your letter of July 19.

Dr. Wheeler has asked us to forward to you the enclosed copy of the report, "Hungry Children." Your interest is appreciated; if we can be of further service to you, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs
Encl. - 1.

3021 Lawton Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63103
July 19, 1967

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

I read with interest excerpts from your report in an article titled "Starvation in Mississippi" in the July 1 issue of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, which told of the deprivations of the Negro in Mississippi. I would like, if possible, to have a copy of your full report.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A. Eugene Trotter

A. Eugene Trotter

/AET

BA: Original and three copies typed as requested. The original and one copy sent to Dr. Wheeler.

js

September 6, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

I have not taken great liberties with your manuscript, but there are a few minor changes and additions made, mostly by way of emphasis. Let me know what you think.

I'm enclosing another clip which I think is almost unbelievable coming from the source that it does.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encls. - 2.

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

August 10, 1967

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

Mr. Robert Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

J.S.

Done 8/14/67

Dear Bob:

Would you please ask someone to send a copy of the report of ~~100~~ Hungry Children to William Perry, M. D., 75-41 Spring Lake Drive, Bethesda, Maryland 20034.

Either you or Paul sent me a copy of an article in the Atlanta paper about the recent action of the Commissioner of Public Welfare to identify and aid hungry children in Georgia. I thought I had filed in safely away, but cannot put my hands on it. Could you send me one or two copies?

I am trying to get down to work on the article, but it is hard. Thanks again for your help.

Sincerely,

RMWheeler

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/jb

VIA AIR MAIL

August 1, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

I would think the article might lead in with one of the interviews, capturing a bit of the atmosphere of the home and picking up a quote such as is on page 14 of the "Hungry Children" report. You might then back up to fill the reader in with the general background on poverty in Mississippi. The merest amount of statistics should be sufficient, no more than we had in the introduction to the report. Page 68 of the spring NEW SOUTH might be helpful here.

Obviously the strength of your report is the fact that you are a physician -- an expert in your field. The article should have this focus. In other words, this is what you -- a medical man -- saw and this is what it means from a medical viewpoint. Take it item by item. After telling what you saw, explain what it means in human terms, i.e.,kchildren without sufficient quantities of proper vitamins are damaged for life, quite beyond environmental change.

In other words, a summary of your medical findings and an interpretation of them.

This could be followed by a general discussion of how an adequate diet should be provided and why it hasn't been in the past. This would mean some description of the welfare situation and the food stamp and commodities program which -- with a bit of re-working and setting into the perspective of the article -- you basically already have in your report. You might also draw from some of the testimony at the CRC hearings as reported in NEW SOUTH.

As for the Senate Sub-committee hearings and the charges and denials of a conspiracy, it might be that you need to do no more than you did in the report -- refer to the "frequently heard charges by Negro Mississippians," mention the lowered AFDC payments, the layoffs on the farms, and suggest that the attitude of Mississippi officialdom in other matters relating to Negro rights leaves them vulnerable. However, space permitting, it may be that this is theetime to nail down the public utterances of white Mississippians which have given substance to the charge.

Here's a quote from Judge Tom Brady's Black Monday (the 1954 treatise, generally credited with inspiring the creation of the Citizens' Council): "a last resort . . . is declaring a cold war and an economic boycott . . . A great many Negro employees will be discharged, and though it will work a grave hardship on many white employers, still it is better 'if our right eye offend us to pluck it out.' The irony of the African proverb, 'Full belly boy says to empty belly boy, be of good cheer,' should be explained to the southern Negro."

You have the quotes already from the 1964 legislative debate, and at least one of them ("When we start cutting, they'll move to Chicago") might be usable.

The most tragic point about the "plot" however to me is not what segregationist extremists have said, but rather that many Negroes while fully believing there is a plan afoot to starve them aren't nearly so horrified by the idea as a northern liberal (or a southern white liberal, for that matter) might be. To the people I talked to, anyway, it seemed no more than they expected from a Mississippi white. Maybe some sense of this tragedy could be worked into the conclusion relating it to the medical observation starting at the top of page 8 in the report. In other words, slow physical starvation is part of the Mississippi way of life for Negroes and it has anesthesized the children to physical pain. Cruelty is an equal part of that way of life so that even a plan to starve Negroes (whether it exists in fact or in fantasy) is simply thought of as routine, only part of what they have been living with for a hundred years. I think there could be no greater indictment of Mississippi than this.

Briefly and sketchily, then, the outline as I see it might take this form:

I. An introductory quote.

II. Brief economic background.

III. Medical observations.

IV. Welfare and food stamp discussion.

V. Charges of starvation plot.

I hope that all of this will be helpful to you and genuinely would be delighted to have a look at your manuscript before it goes to the magazine, if you would like me to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

P. S. Enclosed is an article which will interest you from the Atlanta Journal, "State Opens Hunger War."

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

26 July 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your note and willingness to help me.

I would be delighted with as little as a brief outline of the way you think the article should be, and will be very grateful for any help you have time to give.

They did not mention a deadline date and I wrote them asking that question. Will let you know.

Sincerely,

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/ac

July 25, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Clinic
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

It was good to hear from you.

I do not in the least mind helping out with the article; in fact, I would be delighted to do so.

Suppose I put together a first draft, basically using your report as it is and also filling it in with more of the economic and possibly political background on Mississippi, to which we have easy access here. The way I see it, three-fourths of the work is already done in your report. It'll just be a matter of, maybe, shifting a paragraph here and there for greater emphasis, and adding the statistical data. Is this satisfactory with you? By the way, did they mention a deadline date to you?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

File

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. MCCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. MCKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. MCMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

20 July 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

I have received a letter from the REGISTER-LEADER of the Unitarian Universalist Association in Boston, asking me to do an article on our trip into the Delta and the later Congressional hearings. This is a denominational magazine with a circulation of about twenty-thousand religious liberals.

Since I am not a professional writer and since they want a relatively short article of less than three thousand words, I thought you might have some suggestions as to what should be properly included and how it should be presented for maximum reader interest.

This is not a plea for you to "ghost-write". If you are busy, don't worry about it. I suppose the primary reason I am writing is that the desired brevity of the article and the immense amount of information are incompatible without some professional direction.

Would you ask someone to send the writer of the enclosed letter a copy of our report.

Best regards and thanks.

Sincerely,

Raymond

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/ac
Enclosure

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

7/15/67

Dear Bob,

Thank you for your note. Wish you could have been in Washington with us. I think we *may* have gotten something worthwhile started - Time will tell -

Am returning a slightly corrected copy of the statement. Also some clippings I wanted you and Paul to see - Please pass them on -

Hope you will be up soon -

Raymond

File
Hungry Children

July 14, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

At a staff meeting this morning, Paul read to all of us your eloquent and beautiful and honest closing statement at the hearings.

I think that in those few words you said it all, summed up everything that could conceivably be written now or in the future. It is in the best sense of the word classic.

In order that others might have the opportunity to read it, we would like to reprint it all in NEW SOUTH. A copy of what Paul brought back is enclosed. Would you let me know if we have not transposed it correctly?

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

P. S. I am also enclosing a copy of your testimony.

July 7, 1967

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28211

Dear Raymond:

First of all I talked with Dr. Brittain in Jackson and he tells me that there are no longer any racial barriers to membership in the State Medical Association. He is a member. The change occurred two years ago. Many county associations now also admit Negroes. He did not know exactly how many. However he also said that Negroes still have their own separate societies and these have some white members.

The figures on life expectancy are as follows:

AVERAGE REMAINING LIFE-TIME IN YEARS
STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
(SOURCE: State Life Tables 1959-61
National Center for Health Statistics
Public Health Service, Department of HEW)

At Birth

Total - 67.70

White		Non-White	
Male	Female	Male	Female
67.3	74.81	61.35	65.96

Age 65

13.43	16.33	12.97	14.96

I am enclosing our reports on violence. The Mississippi deaths are checked. In addition to the ones recorded in the report (a total of 13) there are two more, both in Natchez (1) Ben Chester who was killed in June 1966. Three alleged Klansmen were charged with the murder, however we don't have any record that they have been brought to trial. (2) Wharlest Jackson, treasurer of the Natchez NAACP who was killed February 27, 1967 when an explosion shattered his truck.

I don't think a "conspiracy" as such can be documented -- not in the public record in any event. There are some quotes enclosed which indicate that some legislators regarded the bill as a means to drive Negroes from the state. But the bill failed in the state senate after being passed in the House. I think you could safely say, though, that these quotes indicate a state of mind among Mississippi officialdom totally out of sympathy with the plight of those on welfare or in poverty and that some officials are downright vindicative about it so much so, indeed, that two years ago a majority of the Mississippi House voted to sterilize welfare mothers. This is about as strong -- it seems to me -- as it could be stated with full substantiation. There is, of course, the fact, that ADC payments have decreased since 1964.

Also enclosed is some material on the Crippled Children's program in Mississippi plus a copy of a chart showing income and education in the six counties which Les asked us to compile.

Sincerely,

R. E. Anderson
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA/km

Enclosures

File

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

15 June 1967

Rec'd 6/19/67

Mr. Robert E. Anderson
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

I received your edited version of my report too late to have a chance to read it before I left for Washington. Am taking it with me.

Title 19 refers to a section of the Medicare law which is similar to the old Kerr-Mills legislation in that the program has to be set up by the states with some money invested in order to receive tremendous amount of federal funding for the payment of medical and hospital bills of any indigent person who is ill. This can be a child, a young person, or anyone under sixty-five and has been termed the big "sleeper" in the Medicare legislation. It is designed to eliminate completely charity medicine. Although I am uncertain about the details, I think the biggest barrier to the effectiveness of Title 19 is the question of how rapidly and effectively the states will move.

Am looking forward to tomorrow. Will give you and Paul a report as soon as possible.

Thank you for the report.

Sincerely,

Raymond /a.c

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/ac

Dictated but not read
due to absence

September 11, 1967

Ms. Sarah Cunningham
Editor
Concern
475 Riverside Drive
Room 401
New York, New York 10027

Dear Ms. Cunningham:

Enclosed, with our compliments, is a copy of our report, "Hungry Children." We appreciate your interest and hope you will find the publication informative and enlightening.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

CONCERN

Official Magazine, United Presbyterian Women
Room 401, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 · 870-2661

Sarah Cunningham, *Editor*
Carlos R. Lantis, *Associate & Art Editor*
Nathalie Riley, *Editorial & Administrative Assistant*
Mildred Morgan, *Subscriptions Manager*

Rec'd 9/11/67

September 8, 1967

Mr. Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor, NEW SOUTH
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I notice that at the end of the article, "Sorrow Song in Black and White," one of the bibliographical references is the report on Hungry Children of the Southern Regional Council, June 25, 1967. I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me a copy of this report. We will be happy to pay whatever cost is entailed.

Cordially,

Sarah Cunningham

Sarah Cunningham
Editor, CONCERN

SC:R

September 14, 1967

Mr. A. Eugene Trotter, Jr.
Moderator
Berea Young Adults Group
Berea Presbyterian Church
3010 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Mr. Trotter:

The correct address of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi is:

507½ North Farish Street
Jackson, Mississippi.

All correspondence we have directed to this address was received by the organization. Perhaps because the "½" was omitted, your letter failed to reach its destination. Try again and let me know if you have any success.

As I mentioned in my earlier letter, the director of FCM is Mr. Fred Mangrum, and correspondence should be addressed to him.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

Rec'd 8/14/67

Berea Young Adults Group
Berea Presbyterian Church
3010 Olive Street
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Mrs. Janet Shortts
Administrative Secretary
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mrs. Shortts:

Sometime ago I addressed a letter to the Friends of the Children of Mississippi, 507 No Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi, requesting information on who to contact for help in distributing the clothing and food we had collected here in St. Louis through various organizations for needy Mississippians, as well as help in establishing family-to-family giving and correspondence. To date we have not received an answer from the FCM and we are wondering whether or not we have the correct address, could you please verify.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

A. Eugene Trotter

A. Eugene Trotter, Jr.,
Moderator

AET:vb

August 8, 1967

Mr. A. Eugene Trotter, Jr.
3021 Lawton Place
St. Louis, Missouri 63103

Dear Mr. Trotter:

I am mailing to you under separate cover the additional copies of "Hungry Children" you requested.

The address of the Friends of the Children of Mississippi is: 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi. The director is Mr. Fred Mangrum. If you direct your inquiries to him, I am sure he will be glad to give you all the information you need, and will welcome your offer of assistance to the needy there.

If possible, we would like to be kept informed of your efforts and the progress made. And, again, thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Janet C. Shortt
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

jcs

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

September 20, 1967

Ms. Diane Smith
Northeastern Illinois
State College
Department of Sociology
5500 No. St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Dear Ms. Smith:

Enclosed are 18 photographs promised as a representative sampling of the children and their living conditions as described in our report, "Hungry Children." I hope they will be helpful for your audio-visual lecture on Poverty in America.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encls. - 18.

List of Pictures Sent to Miss Diane Smith 9/20/67:

1. Child (Negro) sitting on step, displaying hernia; hand of adult holding child's hands.
2. Side of shack with hose running out of window through damaged screen; two wash tubs on ground.
3. View of shack with elderly Negro man in overalls standing nearby.
4. Elderly Negro woman in print dress standing in door with child with a Batman shirt on.
5. View of a row of shacks with two children playing in yard; adult on porch; tv antennas visible.
6. Negro child in dirty room with broken table and clothes scattered on floor; adult's leg visible in lower left hand corner.
7. Negro child crying on porch, displaying hernia; large elderly lady standing in background.
8. Filthy young Negro boy holding baby in yard.
9. Negro child looking out of shack window, one pane broken.
10. Negro woman holding baby with hernia; three other children looking on.
11. Negro girl and boy sitting on steps of shack, frowning. Both have visible scars on legs.
12. Elderly Negro woman in glasses sitting on log with little girl in cowboy boots and holding boy in ragged pants and tennis'.
13. Shack with six Negro children standing in door.
14. View of rubbish against fence.
15. Negro children standing in door of shack and sitting on steps (7 in all); yard littered.
16. Negro children (6) standing in littered yard with garbage can and discarded automobile tire.
17. Negro woman standing in yard outside shack with 5 children; bicycle, hog, and car in foreground and background, respectively.
18. Rear of shack with littered yard.

List of Pictures Sent to MissDDiane Smith 9/20/67:

1. Child (Negro) sitting on step, displaying hernia; hand of adult holding child's hands.

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7.

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16. Negro children (6) standing in littered yard with garbage can and discarded automobile tire.

17. Negro woman standing in yard outside shack with 5 children; bicycle, hog, and car in foreground and background, respectively.

18. Rear of shack with littered yard.

ILLINOIS TEACHERS COLLEGE CHICAGO-NORTH
5500 NO. ST. LOUIS AVE. • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60625 • JUniper 3-4050

September 1, 1967

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of the report on Hungry Children.

The pictures we would be interested in would be those showing the children and/or the conditions in which they are living. We would greatly appreciate receiving a representative sampling as mentioned in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Diane Smith

Diane Smith
for Prof. R. Brandzel, Chairman
Department of Sociology
Northeastern Illinois State College
(formerly Illinois Teachers College
Chicago - North)

DS/sds

Send air mail spec.

List pictures

August 25, 1967

Ms. Diane Smith
Department of Sociology
Northeastern Illinois State College
5500 No. St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Ms. Smith:

Dr. Smith has passed on to me your recent letter. A copy of the doctors' report is enclosed.

We do have a set of black and white glossy photographs which were taken by a professional photographer and would be glad to make available a selection of these to you at $4.50 per print -- the cost to us. If such an arrangement is agreeable, I can send you a representative sampling from which you could select those that you would like to have us reprint.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA, Jr/js
Encl. - 1.

ILLINOIS TEACHERS COLLEGE CHICAGO-NORTH
5500 NO. ST. LOUIS AVE. • CHICAGO 25, ILLINOIS • JUniper 3-4050

August 2, 1967

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Chairman, Executive Committee
Southern Regional Council
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

We are most interested in obtaining a copy of your report on the health and medical condition of Negro children in a six-county area of the State of Mississippi.

Would you have available copies of this report? If not, can you give us an address where we might obtain a copy?

We would also be very appreciative of any pictures of the children and their homes which you might allow us to use. These materials are needed for an audio-visual lecture presentation on Poverty in America for sociology courses at our College.

Thank you very much for your help and consideration.

Cordially yours,

Diane Smith

Diane Smith
Department of Sociology
Northeastern Illinois State College
(formerly Illinois Teachers College
Chicago - North)

sds

Mr. George Loft
The Field Foundation

etc

Prints mailed 9/29/47

October 2, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

Thank you for sending me Les's comments and also the letter from the REGISTER. I am so delighted that both of them think so well of the piece. You are, however, more than modest. You *are* a darn fine writer -- and I might add -- gentleman and scholar, to boot.

I look forward to seeing you at the annual meeting. We just didn't have time enough to talk when you were here for the executive committee meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

To: President Lyndon Johnson, Agric.
Sect. Orville Freeman, Sargent Shriver, Senators Joseph Clark, Edward Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Jacob Javits, George Murphy, Frank Church, Stennis, Len Jordan, Representatives Joseph Resnick, James McClure, George Hansen, Mississippi Governor Paul Johnson, & Robert Anderson Jr., of Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

515-19th Ave. So.
Nampa, Idaho--83651
August 21, 1967

RE: STARVATION & HUNGER IN U.S.A.

Dear Sirs:

I have been reading the booklet POVERTY: HUNGER & FEDERAL FOOD PROGRAMS, sent to me by Senator Clark, chairman of Senate subcommittee on Employment, Manpower & Poverty. The following remarks pertain to statements from the article found therein on pgs. 97-102, entitled "IT ISN'T TRUE THAT NOBODY STARVES IN AMERICA," by Robert Sherrill. I open this letter with the statement true Christianity must be practiced to overcome the Hellish conditions cited in this booklet. The human heart needs to reform in too many instances. In 2 places in Mr. Sherrill's article I note that hungry people were charged up to 50% interest on loans. One of the hottest spots in Hell should be reserved for these evil characters guilty of this atrocity. My husband has been a lawyer in this state for 33 years, & knows of no place in the U.S. where legal interest rates exceed 12%. Why aren't these criminals brought to justice for usury? On pg. 100 of this booklet, it states that 17 monthsago, Rep. Joseph Resnick toured Mississippi, & thereafter wrote to ALL THE APPROPRIATE ADMINISTRATIVE LEADERS ABOUT THE DESPERATION POINT OF STARVING NEGROES. Nothing happened, according to Mr. Sherrill. On pg. 101 of booklet, it states that as of June 4, 1967, when said article was written, reform of Federal Food Program by Mr. Orville Freeman had not been started. Why not? Also on pg. 101 it states that for 30 years the Sect'y of Agric. has had authority to distribute food in this country where emergencies exist. Mr. Freeman, why wasn't this done? I await your answer to this question. On August 19, 1967, I received from you a letter & a copy of your July 11 testimony before the above named Senate subcommittee on Poverty, & tho I haven't had time to really study this report, in some places I note that you advise teaching some of these starving people how to cook. It seems to me that you have been pretty unconcerned about exerting your powers as U.S. Sect'y of Agric. in seeing to it these starving people had SOMETHING TO COOK. If I were starving, I would be interested in getting something to eat, BEFORE I got cooking lessons. I fail to understand your 17 months delay in taking some action in this dismal emergency of STARVING PEOPLE in this country, when this matter was brought to your attention over 17 months ago. Where is your Christianity, & that of others who knew of this human misery, & failed to act promptly in relieving it? I await your answer. I repeat, the human heart needs to reform in too many instances. I pray the recipients of this letter will consider it's contents when dealing with race riots, etc., in this country. Too long Christian principles hav [redacted] lumbered in this land. A lit [redacted] lean racial riot like in Detroit is kid [redacted] uff compared to some of the [redacted] perpetrated on hungry people in thi [redacted] ntry, as described in this [redacted] et. I am not so sure this country that [redacted] red the evil of Negro Slav [redacted] ithin it's bounds hasn't got a few race [redacted] I see no need f [redacted] man hunger existing anywhere in the U.S [redacted] like some [redacted] hose in power in this country need to "Ge [redacted] ly d [redacted] ith this mess of hunger with the proper weap [redacted]

Sinc [redacted]

Mrs. Iren [redacted] Guilliam

[redacted] OPY

Dear Mr. Anderson 12/22/67

Can you ~~send~~ send me 4 copies of the report "Hungry Children"? I want them for work with some U.S. Congressmen who are proving difficult on the subject of relief of chronic hunger in the U.S. I gladly pay you for these, if you'll send them as soon as possible. Thanks. Gwilym [illegible]

Mr. 5195 - 19th Ave. So. [illegible]

sent 10 pk 10

copies sent

Mrs Irene Gwilliam
316-19th Ave So.
Nampa, Idaho
83651

air mail

OCT 25
AM
1967

UNITED STATES WASHINGTON 5c

4c U.S. POSTAGE

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRES

Mr. Robert Anderson Jr.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
30303

October 25, 1967

Mr. George E. Mims
1511 Nuuanu Avenue
Box 143
Honolulu, HAWAII 96817

Dear Mr. Mims:

Mr. Wheeler has passed on your recent query regarding pictures of his Mississippi visit. I am sorry that none can be made available at this time since we are in the process of trying to put them together in book form.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

October 19, 1967

Mr. George E. Mims
1511 Nuuanu Avenue
Box 143
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

Dear Mr. Mims:

Thank you for your letter of October 16 and your comments. I am sure you will not be surprised at my statement that the conditions we described in Mississippi are not peculiar to that state, but exist in your South Carolina and my North Carolina as well, although perhaps to a lesser degree.

I am forwarding your letter to The Southern Regional Council in Atlanta who was responsible for the photographs and are in the process of preparing them for publication. If it is possible, I am certain they will be happy to help you with your project.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/jb

1511 Nuuanu Ave Box 143
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817
October 16, 1967

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

I have recently read your testimony on conditions in Mississippi as presented before the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty. As an American Negro and Treasurer of the Honolulu Chapter of the NAACP, I wish to extend my personal appreciation and thanks to you for performing such an outstanding service in the cause of humanity.

Since I was born and reared in South Carolina, the conditions which you revealed to the American public contained few surprises for me. I have relatives in the rural south today who fit very neatly into the ranks of those suffering from malnutrition and diseases related thereto. Obviously, the time for such conditions in a prosperous American society is long passé.

Currently, I am attempting to launch a massive Mississippi Relief project here in Hawaii and I could use some of the photographs of squalid conditions which you found in Mississippi in an effort to bolster my supporting evidence of the total situation. If you can assist me in this request, please expedite the photos or negatives and I shall defray whatever costs are involved in the service.

Thank you,

Geo E Mims

George E. Mims
Treasurer
Honolulu Chapter, NAACP

November 13, 1967

Mr. John A. Griffin
Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear John:

Thank you so much for your good comments on the presentation. It was very thoughtful of you to write me, and I appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,jr/js

File

SFE
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
811 CYPRESS STREET, N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / 875-0279

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

November 8, 1967

Mr. Robert Anderson
Managing Editor
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

I was certainly impressed with the report which you and the others gave about your journey to Mississippi. I thought your remarks were very well put together. And the whole program was most interesting.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Griffin

JAG:jj
cc: Paul Anthony

November 13, 1967

Ms. Rose Brandzel
Director
Community Studies
Northeastern Illinois State College
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60625

Dear Ms. Brandzel:

Thank you for your report on how you used the pictures and the "Hungry Children" report. Since you made the slides yourself and returned all of the pictures to us, I see no necessity for charging you anything at all.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS STATE COLLEGE
Bryn Mawr at St. Louis Ave. Chicago, Illinois 60625 Phone JU-3-4050

Nov.8,1967

Mr. Robert Anderson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anderson:

I wish to thank you for your excellent co-operation in sending us the report about Hungry Children and photographs. We made slides of 4 of the photographs, and used them in an extremely effective Audio Visual Presentation on Poverty in America, with an emphasis on the Mississippi situation.

We also mimeographed the report and distributed it to 300 students,including an AP dispatch, which quoted the Governor as doubting starvation,since all Negroes he saw were,"big,black,fat and shiny."

Please send us a bill as we agreed,for the use of your prints.

With appreciation,

Rose Brandzel
Director
Community Studies

RB:ip

CDGM

November 21, 1967

AIR MAIL
SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mrs. Edith Tarcov
37 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10023

Dear Edith:

Thank you for the opportunity to look over the attached.

I marked alongside one paragraph in Galley 73 where a small amount of editing would clear up something that had to be left dangling at the writing. The editing would make the sentence read: The election was considered a test of whether movement leaders (including Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville) with their CDGM and FDP orientation could master a strong local Negro vote against the usual obstacles-- everything from economic and physical intimidation to apathy. This they were unable to do.

I look forward to seeing the book.

Yours truly,

Pat Watters, Director
Information

PW/km

Enclosure

File

November 14, 1967

Dear Friend,

Enclosed are your proofs for the book on poverty to which you were good enough to contribute.

To make the publisher's schedule, we MUST have these proofs back from you by November 24. If we do not receive them from you by then, we shall simply have to go ahead with the book; we will, of course, ourselves read the proofs to double-check for typographical errors.

I must strongly emphasize that corrections must be confined to typographical errors and to the absolute barest minimum of factual corrections. Rewriting, editing, etc. is too expensive and can't be done at this point. We do, however, rely on you to proofread against your original copy, especially for figures.

Please return your corrected galleys to Edith Tarcov,
37 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10023.

With many thanks,

Irving Howe

Irving Howe

encl.

File -

Notes Regarding Visit to Mississippi, Under the Auspices of The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, December 11-12, 1967.

On the evening of my arrival I was taken to the home of Dr. Aaron Shirley, the first Board eligible Negro Pediatrician in Mississippi, who has just finished his residency at the University of Mississippi Medical Center and opened his practice three weeks ago. Dr. Shirley is from Mississippi, was in general practice in Vicksburg before he took his residency, and now is serving part-time as Assistant Medical Director of the MAP Centers. Also at this meeting were Dr. Anderson, a Negro general practitioner who is Medical Director of MAP, and Mr. Fred Mangrum, the Director of FCM. Mr. Mangrum was apparently with SNCC and then with CDGM prior to the breakup of CDGM. Also present was Charles Baumbach of Citizens Crusade and Tom Seaver, a social worker who has been working for four years in Mississippi under the Schwerner Memorial Fund, trying to organize the poor.

Most of the initial discussion was with Dr. Anderson and Dr. Shirley, who are in charge of the medical program of MAP. MAP is located in 25 counties, has 114 Centers with approximately 6,600 children, of which about one-third are urban. In contrast, Friends of the Children (FCM) is in six counties with about 1,600 children in quite a wide number of Centers. CDGM covers 14 counties which are divided into 11 areas, with 75 Centers and about 6,000 children. It was pointed out to me immediately that a lot of the poor children are not being reached. In addition there are some county Head Start programs which are outside of these three programs.

With regard to the MAP Centers, Dr. Anderson apparently has a busy general practice and is mainly involved in administrative work in the MAP program, and apparently spends relatively little time actually examining children. He is said to devote approximately 2-1/2 to 3 hours a day to the MAP, but admits that he sits in an office and mainly shuffles papers. He does not seem very energetic, and I doubt that he does very much actual medical work. Dr. Shirley, who finished his residency about a months ago and is trying to open a practice and also work in the delta Center of Tufts, I believe, is able to devote a fair amount of time to the MAP Centers. Neither one of these men could really give me much worthwhile data about illness, nutrition, or poverty, except they said there was a lot of illness, a lot of malnutrition, and a lot of poverty. They cited a few figures, saying that in Perry County over 90 per cent of the children had hemoglobins of less than 10. I was not able to see any exact data on this. They are trying to examine every child in the MAP Centers and also will pay private doctors $5.00 for each examination and in addition pay $2.00 for hemoglobin and urinalysis. In addition they have had stool examinations on 2,500 children. They commented that, although the State

Health Department Laboratories will do free stool examinations for parasites on stools from all patients of any private practitioner, the State Health Department felt that it could not offer services for such a great number of children as MAP had planned, and therefore MAP is now paying the State Health Department Laboratories $3.00 for each stool examination for parasites. Of 2,500 stool examinations, between 30 and 40 per cent revealed parasites, ascaris and pin worms. Only 10-15 cases of hookworm have been found, and these occurred in small clusters. The State Health Department had agreed to supply the medicine, Piperazine, to treat worms, but in several counties at the County Health Department level the medicine was not supplied to the children with worms. Apparently the State Health Department did not send out information and directives. There was little coordination in this program, and MAP has actually had to make separate agreements with each health department.

Regarding immunizations, the Centers had to arrange to take all the children into the health department for immunizations, and rarely would nurses come out into the Centers, even though 30 or 40 children might be lined up for immunization at the time. So far as medical examinations are concerned, Dr. Anderson admitted that the adequacy of physical examination varied from county to county and Center to Center. As for nutrition, MAP at one time had six area nutritionists and had tried to get groups of parents togtether at night, but this had not been too successful, and there had also been no follow-up on these night meetings.

When children in MAP Centers were ill, they were generally taken by one of the health aides or Center people to the University of Mississippi Medical Center and were admitted as if they were private patients. MAP was then billed by the University of Mississippi Medical Center for the health care and hospitalization of these children at rather high rates, and the money went right into the Medical Center. It was agreed by all people at this meeting that most of the discrimination at the Medical Center was at a clerical level. Often it was difficult to get patients admitted because these clerical workers were the ones who would make it difficult for the patients and humiliate them. It was pointed out that all patients, whether welfare or otherwise, who are outside Medicare, are expected to pay for hospital care, and furthermore, patients were often forced to sign promissory notes for $50 - $100 prior to being admitted to the University Medical Center.

When a child is found with a medical illness in a MAP Center, the Center could provide services such as transportation to Jackson to the hospital, or could transport the child to the Health Department or to a clinic at Jackson, but on the other hand there was never any attempt made by the physician who was supposed to be responsible for medical care in the MAP Center to investigate the child's family and find out whether there were other affected children or adults who needed medical care. There seemed to be little involvement of parents in the MAP Centers, and the parents accordingly have adopted the attitude of "let's get them to do everything", and they do such things as sending a child to the MAP Center in the morning with a note saying "This child has fever, is ill, and would you take him to the doctor". Dr. Shirley was quite angry about this and felt that all these programs were fostering the dependency needs of the poor people and he said, "Let's not feed this monster". He was quite angry about this, saying that he had made it on~~e~~ his own and he felt that these people should make it on their own. He certainly had no understanding of the idea of involving the poor people, as apparently done in the FCM and CDGM programs. There were limited funds available for Center aides or social worker aides to move patients, that is, provide transportation, and generally, Mr. Seaver said, the aides were reimbursed for only 70 miles per week of travel. In Hinds County apparently there was no problem with this, but Mr. Seaver said that some of his social workers were putting in as much as 1,000 miles per week on their cars and could not be reimbursed for this. As pointed out above, there was no mechanism for involving any children in medical care programs who were not directly entered in the MAP program, and therefore only five year old children attending the MAP PRogram were involved. There were many complaints from the MAP people that they had no data, and they were not helpful to me in finding cold facts. We did discuss some health problems such as malnutrition, and they said that this was a common problem. Dr. Shirley said that during his two years of residency at the University of Mississippi Medical Center (and it should be pointed out that he was the first Negro Pediatric Resident there and at present holds the rank of Clinical Instructor in the Department of Pediatrics) there were many children who were admitted to the hospital who were malnourished, that is, underweight and underheight, and anemic. He felt that it would be easy, by going through the hospital records of the children admitted to the Pediatric Service at the University Medical Center, to determine the incidence of malnutrition. However, he also pointed out that, since all the publicity had been given to Mississippi last summer, the Residents had been urged not to code out malnutrition as one of the primary diagnoses.

On December 12th I met, along with Mr. Baumbach, with Dr. Albert P. Britton, a general practitioner who is the Medical Director for CDGM. CDGM is in 14 counties and has 5,889+ children. CDGM is trying to compile data and has done some limited surveys. For instance, they have cooperated with a public health officer in Washington County, where a survey has been made. Dr. Britton pointed out that this was a good program in Washington County, in the City of Greenville, because the good local government and Hodding Carter, the newspaper editor, supported their program. He said that there was good Negro-white cooperation. Strangely enough, despite a successful program, he said there were more anemic children in Washington County than in other areas. This might well reflect better case-finding and more careful laboratory studies. Blood tests have been done on 501 children living in Washington County, half from a relatively urban environment and the other from rural locations. The Washington County figures are as follows: Of 501 children there are 406, or 81 per cent, with hematocrits below 35, and there are 101, or 20.2 per cent, with hematocrit below 30. The incidence of anemia from a series of 847 Children examined from CDGM Centers in Kemper, Madison, Rankin, and Washington Counties, revealed that 526, or 62.1 per cent, had hematocrits below 35, and 114, or 13.5 per cent, had hematocrits below 30. Thus, Washington County is worse than the combined group of four counties. There was a marked difference between children from the urban centers and those from the rural areas. From the urban centers in Washington County there were 250 children, of whom 77.6 per cent, or 194, had hematocrits below 35, but only 10, or 4%, had hematocrits below 30. On the other hand, the children from the rural communities in Washington County, of whom there were 251, had the following hematocrits: 212, or 84.5 per cent, had hematocrits below 35, and 91, or 36.3 per cent, over one-third, had hematocrits below 30.

Some data I got later from Miss Moman, a nurse in the CDGM office in Jackson, included follow-up data from 14 counties with about 2,000 children tested. Of these 2,000, 697 were severely anemic with hematocrits below 30, and 1052 were moderately anemic, with hematocrits between 30 and 35. Other data obtained from Miss Moman showed that there were 473 out of 6,000 children with umbilical hernias, 449 with phimosis, and 732 with bad tonsils. There was no definition of what constituted umbilical hernia or the severity, nor is there information regarding what is described as phimosis, and what are bad tonsils. 2,900 children were screened for speech defects, and 368 were said to have marked speech defects, requiring correction at the clinic in the Medical Center in Jackson. Of the 2,900 children screened for hearing defects, 150 were said to have defective hearing. There was no data available on urinary tract infection, but it was reported that 95 children had albuminuria. Apparently there was no further data on this problem. Miss Moman plans to look into this problem further. At no time during my visit was I able to confirm the remark made in the doctors' testimony last summer that albuminuria was common.

Dr. Britton said that 50 per cent of the children in Rankin County CDGM centers had impetigo, but I was not able to get any exact data as to the number of sores that these children had, the severity of the impetigo or the relationship of the impetigo to malnutrition. It was pointed out by Dr. Britton and by the Doctrs from MAP that, although all children will get bitten by insects and bugs while playing outside in the dirt in the summertime, the the most important factor determining who got impetigo and who did not was the availability of water for bathing, i.e., sanitation. The people from the MAP program feel so seriously about the lack of running water and poor sanitation in the homes of the children, that they want to build showers into all the MAP Centers, so that the children can be bathed regularly. It is difficult to teach parents about the need to bathe regularly when water is not readily available in the homes.

As for the medical examinations for CDGM, doctors are paid $5.00 for an examination, $1.00 for blood test, $1.00 for urine test, and $1.00 for stool examination. Dr. Britton agreed that some of the doctors who did the examinations were quite slipshed, and apparently the quality of the examinations varies considerably. He said that he did not know how frequently these children had distended abdomens; furthermore, he said that even if he saw a child with a distended abdomen he would not know if this were a sign of malnutrition or of intestinal parasites. Dr. Britton had no exact figures regarding growth, height or weight, nor were these figures available at any of the places I visited, although this data is really essential to make any sort of case regarding true malnutrition. Mrs. Jackson, a nutritionist who has been with CDGM since the spring of this year, was able to give me some data which was compiled in May, 1967, and further data in October, 1967. The survey of family meal patterns done in May, 1967, was done to determine the kind of diet CDGM children were getting from family feeding, and to relate these findings to the physical examinations of the children. This survey of family meal patterns, with tabulation of meal patterns of 118 families in Madison, Rankin, Sharkey, and Issequena Counties, is attached. Again, there is no attempt to relate diet and meal patterns to the physical status of any particular child, nor is there any evaluation of hematocrits done in relation to the study which would be helpful in determining if these food paterns could be directly related to poor physical health and vice versa. Mrs. Jackson is the Senior Nutritionist with CDGM and has one assistant. She gets out into the field very rarely, but has held a workshop for some of the workers in the Centers and is still trying to get things organized. She spent 16 years with the Agriculture Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture and apparently knows quite a lot about what is going on in the community. She feels the greatest job that can be done is to educate people how to use commodity foods, how to use stamp foods, and how to cook a balanced diet. She pointed out, for instance, that there is some inequity in the distribution of commodity foods. So far as those surplus commodity foods which are protein-rich, one could count dry beans and peas, cheese, peanut butter, dried milk, and hash. However, she said that the people who distribute the commodity foods did discriminate and never gave hash to the black poor. Furthermore, the children in the families did not like the taste of the powdered milk and refused to drink it, preferring Kool-Aid or something of that sort. Apparently the parents do not understand the importance of giving their children milk, and therefore the milk is usually thrown away. This is shown in the study of these families. Indeed, 47 per cent of them did not receive any milk at all. So far as meat was concerned, the family would buy salt meat which might be entirely pork fat, hardly to be considered a source of protein.

In a study of 63 families residing in Kemper and having at least one child enrolled in one of the Head Start centers of CDGM, some information was obtained about feeding patterns for children. Incidentally, Mr. Michael O'Sullivan, of CDGM, has related some of these feeding patterns, age of weaning, methods of food storage, gardens, refrigerator available, etc., to anemia, whether mild, moderate, or severe, and he is submitting this data to a statistician. Perhaps this data will be available. Mr. O'Sullivan is with CDGM.

After the visit with Dr. Britton and subsequently with Mrs. Cox, the Nutritionist, and Miss Moman, the nurse with CDGM, Mr. Mangrum, Mr. Baumbach, and I drove to Yazoo City to pick up Dr. Walwyn. Dr. Cyril Walwyn was among the group of doctors who made the original report last summer and testified in the Senate hearings. Dr. Walwyn is the Director of a hospital for Negroes in Yazoo Citiy. He has three Registered Nurses, Several Aides, and some L.P.N.'s working in his hospital, which has a bed capacity of about 35. Dr. Walwyn has an active private practice and also apparently serves as the Medical Director for the FCM Centers.

Dr. Walwyn has just finished remodeling his hospital and hopes that the hospital will then be eligible for Medicare. It should be pointed out at this point that Mississippi still at this time has no provision or plans for Title XIX. Dr. Walwyn had no data beyond that which he reported in the Senate hearings. Of 59 children examined in Yazoo County, 64 per cent had hemoglobins below 10 gm.%, and in Sequena 76 per cent of 89 children examined had hemoglobins below 10 gm.%. There is almost no medical data available, so far as I could learn, on the FCM children, and I don't know if it will be available. FCM's medical program appeared to be weak.

Dr. Walwyn, Mr. Mangrum, and Mr. Baumbach and I then drove north to Leflore County, where FCM is operating, and I visited two homes in the town of Belzoni. The first home that I visited was that of Mr. and Mrs. Edwards, who previously lived in the country and had now moved to Belzoni. They rent a five room house. The room that one enters is the living room, and it contains a television set, a single chair and two boxes. There were three bedrooms, a kitchen, and an indoor bathroom. In the three bedrooms there are a total of six beds. In the kitchen there is a hot water heater, a refrigerator which is owned by Mr. Coleman, the Edwards's son-in-law, who is married to Rebecca, their 19 year old daughter. In addition there is a freezer which is fully paid for and a gas stove. The kitchen was dirty, In the bedrooms there were closets with clothes hanging in them and also dirty clothes piled two feet deep on the closet floors. In two of the bed rooms the beds were made, and looked fairly neat, whereas in the third bedroom there was complete chaos. The bathroom contained a flush toilet and a sink. The screens were broken, as well as windows. The toilet could not be flushed, and apparently had not been working for several days, although their landlord was supposed to repair it "tomorrow". The family pays $30/month rent for this house, which is fairly decently painted on the outside only. The family consists of the following: Mr. Edwards, a 67 year old man who was a farmer, who has back and kidney trouble for which he has been seen at the University of Mississippi Medical Center; it is also obvious that he has swollen knees which appear arthritic to me. He chops cotton, but works only about a month a year because of his aches and pains. He draws $50.00/month disability. His wife, Mrs. Edwards, is a 51 year old woman who looks about 75. She works occasionally, chopping cotton. Her health is not good either. Rebecca Edwards Coleman, 19 year old daughter, and her husband, live in the house. They have no children, and Mrs. Coleman is a senior in high school. Canary Edwards, 16 year old daughter, is obese and also has a chronic sore throat and swollen glands in the neck, and a painful spot in the center of her neck which occasionally discharges pus. This was examined and isobviously an infected thyroglossal duct cyst. She has seen an 80 year old doctor, who wanted to lance this on two occasions, but she has refused, and Dr. Walwyn told me that this 80 year old doctor is totally inadequate. A third Edwards child, Mrs. Brooks, died about a year ago at age 33. She was very obese and apparently died quite suddenly after having a sore throat, having seen a doctor, then died in bed overnight. She was thought to have a blood clot, but no autopsy was done, and there is really no information about this. One presumes she may have had intracerebral hemorrhage and was hypertensive. She left six children, ages 16, 12, 11, 9, 3, and 1-3/4, all of whom live in the Edwards's house. The 3 year old child is a little boy who is apparently deaf. He appears quite alert, but does not respond to soft noises. He appeared small, but not particularly malnourished. He has not been seen by a doctor. The 1-3/4 year old girl whom I saw did not appear malnourished. This family gets meat one or two times a week, and this is salt meat. The total income consists of the $50.00/month disability pay of Mr. Edwards, plus $48.00/week, which Mr. Coleman makes at a nearby factory. However, Mr. Coleman was in some sort of accident and because of this part of his salary is currently withheld. The family does get commodity foods, but does not know much about planning meals.

We then were taken by one of the teachers of the local FCM Center to another home, that of Mrs. Brown. She and her 24 year old daughter, who does not live in the home, were cleaning the house, using a mop, and had a pail full of water and suds. Their house consists of two small rooms, plus kitchen. In one room, which is a bedroom, were two beds and a television set. In the other room, which is the room one enters, there were a television set, one bed, and one chair. There were cracks in the floor, through which one could see dirt below, the wallpaper was peeling from the wals, and in places was off, and the roof had many water stains in it, suggesting that the roof leaks. These two rooms appeared fairly neat, but the kitchen had a tremendous freezer and a stove, which was filthy and covered with dirty dishes. There were two pans of garbage or slop on the floor, and the kitchen was extremely nauseating. There is an outside toilet, or outhouse, and there is a water faucet, or spigot, about five yards away from the house. This family consists of Mrs. Brown, who is 42, and Mr. Brown, whose health status I do not know, but who does work for the City in a cemetery and makes $52/week. Other people who live in this home, which contains three beds, include a 20 year old son who is home occasionally, and occasionally gets money to help run the family; a 14 year old, a 13 year old, an 8 year old, a 6 year old, a 5 year old, a 2 year old and a one year old child. Thus, there are seven children living in the house at all times, along with the parents, sleeping in three beds. This family uses commodity foods, and there were stacks of bags of beans in the kitchen. There is a 24 year old married daughter, who was helping to clean the house and who has a one year old child. She does not live in this home. The Brown's pay $3.75/week rent for this house, which they moved into only a week prior to my visit. They also have a $10/month electricity bill. They have a huge freezer, which appears unreasonably large, and which they have been paying for since January, 1966, at the rate of $18/month for three years, or a total of $648. They have missed several payments. The family raises hogs out in the country and currently has three hogs and a few chickens. They freeze pork, chickens, fish, and occasionally rabbits. There were broken windows and torn screens in this house, and there were flies all over the kitchen. Although they were cleaning up the living room and the bed room was fairly neat, the kitchen was absolutely neauseating.

I also had a chance to talk with Mr. Hazlewood, who is a 35 year old Negro farmer who is one of the leaders in the FCM program in Leflore County. Mr. Hazlewood was apparently the first person who took in Civil Rights workers in his home in 1964-65, and has been a source of strength in the community. He told me about his big financial problem. He was a farmer and had a piece of machinery worth, he thinks, about $1500. He traded this in and bought a combine, which cost approximately $10,000. He was supposed to make yearly payments of $2900, which he felt was quite within the realm of possibility, in view of the number of farms where he could use the combine. The combine had a four year guarantee. After he had had it less than a year, it was broken, and the company from which he had bought it refused to repair it and took the combine back. Because he was not able to use the combine to work, Mr. Hazlewood was not able to make his payment of $2900, and therefore has lost the combine. He said that the company was supposed to repair the combine and return it to him, which they are not going to do, or repair it and sell it, and he would have to pay the company the difference between what he owed them and the sale price at auction. Since he still owes the company approximately $9000, the company has obtained a court judgment against him so that if he should make any money to buy property, or a car, or anything such as that, in the next seven years, all of this will belong to the company from which he bought the combine. Mr. Mangrum said that the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is trying to look into this problem.

Dr. Walwyn, Mr. Mangrum, Mr. Baumbach and I then drove north to the delta to the town of Greenville, the biggest town in Washington County. There Mr. Baumbach had made arrangements for me to talk with Dr. Kurowski at the Greenville Health Center. Dr. Kurowski is a two year Public Health Service man, serving his military obligation; he is the health officer for this county. He told me there were three other PHS officers who were in several adjoining counties, but outside of them he thought there were no more than six full time health officers in the state, and most of these people never went to their counties more than one day a week. Dr. Kurowski has a staff of nurses and aides, most of whom are quite energetic and willing to work, except for the senior supervisory nurse, who is quite rigid and cannot see the need to make any changes. Dr. Kurowski showed me the limited amount of data he had on deaths in the first year of life in Washington County, and separated those which were fetal and those between birth and one month of age, and those between one month and 12 months of age. He felt that one of the major health problems was midwife delivery. Furthermore, he stated that he had great difficulty getting children into the county hospital, and these children, even if they were from indigent families who were on welfare, would have to pay for hospital care. He saw children whom he described as having "malnutrition-diarrhea-pneumonia complex", and he thought that this was a significant illness. He did not like to use the term "malnutrition" because of the strong feelings of Dr. Gray, head of the State Health Department, regarding this term, since the doctors' report. As an example of the problems of obtaining medical care, Dr. Kurowski told me the story of a 25 year old moderately retarded female with five children who was receiving $68/monthly in welfare payments. She spends$32 of this on food stamps. She came into the Health Department weighing 230 lb., with blood pressure 230/120, with albumin and sugar in her urine. Dr. Kurowski arranged for her brother-in-law to take her to Jackson to the Medical Center, but when he took her he had to sign a $100 bond before she could be admitted. The brother-in-law has in his home his own wife, another child of the 25 year old retarded woman, a child of another sister, plus the husband of the 25 year old retarded woman. The husband has recently been released from the state mental hospital and is diagnosed as having psychosis and mild mental retardation. The brother-in-law receives total welfare payments of something like $64/month. Dr. Kurowski told about the difficulty of getting patients into the hospital. He said that he wished the State would stop spending so much on welfare and social workers to keep people out of hospitals, and spend more money on getting people into hospitals. However, he does not feel that providing more medical care itself is the answer, but that comprehensive health planning is needed. He feels that the problems are (1) midwife deliveries, (2) poverty, (3) lack of health education, (4) poor sanitation. Dr. Kurowski is a rather idealistic young man who does have some good ideas and who apparently is going into Public Health; he plans to begin work on his M.P.H. at Johns Hopkins following his two year tour of duty. He is from Nebraska and has just had an internship. I would think it likely that Dr. Kurowski has some good data, although I had only a very brief period of time with him and would hope that we could get him to give us some data. He might be reluctant because of what this might mean to Dr. Gray. Dr. Kurowski described the community medical services as being totally inadequate, antiquated, and stated that he had spent much of his time trying to get cooperation between the local physicians and the health center, and thought he had gotten someplace with this program. He was also interested in the Tufts program and hoped to be able to get in touch with them. Dr. Kurowski's address is: Dr. James L. Kurowski, Jr., Washington County Health Center, P.O. Box 1219, Greenville, Mississippi 38701.

The findings are much as those reported by the doctors in the Senate hearings in July. There is still, unfortunately, very little hard, cold data available. Certainly, on a basis of data available, one cannot prove that there is malnutrition. I think that CDGM and perhaps the MAP people do have enough Heights and Weights on the children that they could show how these are arranged statistically. Obviously, no one has done serum proteins on these patients, and no one had any information regarding actual clinical cases of pellagra or scurvy, or other vitamin deficiency diseases, although everyone had the impression that people do have rashes, sores, that were related to vitamin deficiencies. This has in no way been documented, however. A constant problem that was harped on by everyone was the lack of cooperation from the State Health Department and, more particularly, the lack of organization in the Health Department and the arbitrary behavior of people in the local health departments in the counties. These people apparently are bound by tradition and are not willing to sacrifice any of their autonomy, nor are they able to provide services in any new way to deal with these new organizations such as Head Start programs. Furthermore, there is no state or public health service financed family planning program, although the University of Mississippi Medical Center does have a maternal and child health program, which I would presume is financed by the Federal Children's Bureau, but even there, there is insufficient money to pay for the entire hospitalization of the women who deliver at the Medical Center. Various people in the Medical Center are aware of these problems, as was mentioned to me by Dr. Paul Darian, a member of the Department of Orthopedics in the medical School. I talked with Dr. Darian over the phone for about twenty minutes, and he stated that many people are cognizant of the problems, but he wonders how they can go about getting some action. He suggested that Dr. Margaret Batson, in the Department of Pediatrics, is interested in child development and is on the Board of CDGM, and might want to undertake some program. I asked if anyone in Preventive Medicine was willing to extend out into the community as a part of a teaching program. He mentioned that when Dr. Senn was in Mississippi recently, Dr. Darian had suggested that two members of the Department of Preventive Medicine might meet with Dr. Senn, but they both said they were busy.

Subsequently one of them went to a meeting in New Haven, and again it was suggested that he contact Dr. Senn, but he did not do so. Dr. Darian is quite cynical; he feels that any program that should be initiated to take care of these problems of malnutrition, disease, and poverty in the state of Mississippi, should be done through the Medical Center and the School of Medicine. Dr. Darian is quite critical of the Tufts project in the delta, and feels that this was an intrusion into the state, but he feels that some action should be taken. He was very aggressive in attacking the limited data I had obtained, since I did not define the hematocrits in relation to diseases that the children had. One got the feeling that he almost did not want data. He objected to the fact that I said some of the children were not anemic, commenting that he had been quoted as saying previously that at no time had he performed elective orthopedic surgery on any Negro child at the University of Mississippi Medical Center, without having to give preliminary blood transfusion of at least one whole unit of blood.

By and large, I was not impressed with the medical care that was being given, for I think that the lack of data is some reflection of the type of care being rendered. The doctors connected with the various Head Start Programs are trying to treat disease, which is necessary, but there is insufficient attention being given to the concepts of preventive medicine. This may be due to the fact that basically these are physicians in practice who have never been taught preventive medicine adequately, but also, there is an insufficient number of aides or paramedical people, including health educators, skilled public health personnel and various paramedical people who could develop a preventive medicine approach. I was impressed by the energy and devotion of the people who are directly in charge of the Head Start programs and who are working with the children and their families. I think it is amazing that they carry on with the spirit they do, in spite of the apparent lack of cooperation of the recognized health agencies, the state and local health departments, and lack of any commitment from the state medical school, in a milieu of marked racial discrimination. The poverty is severe, the health problems immense, and the basic resources within the state seem to be extremely limited. There is no centrally organized comprehensive program reaching down from State Health Department to all county levels, which could reach the children and their families, especially in the rural areas of Mississippi.

James F. Schwartz, M.D.

Schwartz is with the
Emory University
School of Medicine
Dept. of Pediatrics
Jim Wood

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI
203 W. Capitol Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

NUTRITION SERVICES DIVISION
AND
HEALTH SERVICES DIVISION

STUDIES OF ECONOMIC AND NUTRITIONAL FACTORS

October 5, 1967

The purpose of this survey is to determine the nutritional, economic and medical factors of the families interviewed. These factors are studied relatedly in order to discover the correlation, if any, between the three.

This survey was made of sixty-three families residing in Kemper County and having at least one child enrolled in a Head Start Center of the Child Development Group of Mississippi.

STUDIES OF ECONOMIC & NUTRITIONAL FACTORS
OF
CHILDREN ENROLLED IN C D G M

METHOD AND SOURCE OF CHILD'S DELIVERY

	No. of Children	Percentage
Children delivered by Physician	36	57%
Children delivered by Midwife	27	43%
TOTAL	63	100%

METHOD OF WHICH BABY WAS FIRST FED

	No. of Children	Percentage
Breast and bottle formula	28	44%
Breast alone	21	33%
Bottle alone	1	2%
Cow's milk	1	2%
Other	12	19%
TOTAL	63	100%

AGE CHILD BEGAN EATING SOLID FOOD

	No. of Children	Percentage
Less than 1 year	16	25%
1 year old	37	59%
2 years old	5	8%
Over 2 years old	2	3%
Did not know	3	5%
TOTAL	63	100%

METHOD OF FOOD STORAGE

Method	Number	Percentage
Ice Box or Refrigerator	32	23%
Deep Freezer	31	22%
Buy Store Cans	30	21%
Jars	48	34%
TOTAL	141	100%

SOURCE OF FOOD

Source	Winter		Summer	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Garden	32	36%	44	39%
Small Store	38	43%	47	42%
From Neighbor	8	9%	10	9%
Town super market	11	12%	12	10%
TOTAL	89	100%	113	100%

NUMBER OF FAMILIES RECEIVING SUPPLEMENTARY FOODS

Type	Number	Percentage
Surplus or Commodity Food	33	53%
Food Stamps	2	2%
Other	2	2%
None	26	43%
TOTAL	63	100%

NUMBER & PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES RECEIVING A SUFFICIENT AMOUNT AND SUFFICIENT VARIETY OF FOODS

Response	Number	Percentage
Yes	7	11
No	47	75
No Answer	9	14
TOTAL	63	100%

A. Major problems encountered in providing foods

	Number
Not enough money	51
Child doesn't like certain foods	3
Not enough time to prepare good meals	2
Would like to know how to prepare different foods	5
Not enough kinds of food available	0

B. Foods ranked according to those that would be purchased if $10 more was available in budget

Meat	49
Juice	29
Milk	24
Vegetables	18
Fruit	14
Other	6

NUMBER OF CHILDREN RECEIVING MEDICAL SERVICES OTHER THAN THROUGH CDGM

Doctor		41
Hospital		8
Clinic		4
Health Department		38
	TOTAL	91

Causes:		
Immunization		38
Accidents		4
Illness		23
	TOTAL	65

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN SIXTY-THREE FAMILIES IN WHICH SURVEYS WERE MADE 327

MEMO TO: JOHN MUDD, DIRECTOR, CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI
MRS. THELMA BARNES, CHAIRMAN, C.D.G.M. MEDICAL COMMITTEE

FROM: ALBERT B. BRITTON, M.D., MEDICAL DIRECTOR, 7/6/67

RE: HIGH INCIDENCE OF ANEMIA AMONG C.D.G.M. CHILDREN

Analysis of the reports of the June medical examinations of CDGM children has begun, and the early tabulations reveal that a strikingly high percentage of the children suffer from anemia. As you will see in the attached graph, 62.1% of the children whose hematocrit percentages we have compiled would be considered anemic, many of them seriously so. This is overriding evidence of malnutrition, and bears a close relationship to other health problems. Anemic children are much more susceptible to infectious diseases, both upper respiratory and intestinal. This is reflected in the morbidity and mortality rates from these infections, which are much higher among children from low-income families, whose diets are frequently lacking in essential nutrients. The emerging picture presents a health problem of major proportions, which can only grow worse as we add the figures from some of the poorer counties.

The blood tests examined thus far involve children enrolled in CDGM centers in Kemper, Madison, Rankin and Washington Counties. A child with a hematocrit reading below 35% is considered moderately anemic, with severity increasing sharply as the percentage drops. The results are as follows:

Total number of children	847
Number with hematocrit % below 35	526
Percentage with hematocrit % below 35	62.1%
Number with hematocrit % below 30	114
Percentage with hematocrit % below 30	13.5%

Five hundred and one of these children live in Washington County, half coming from a relatively urban environment, the others from rural locations. The Washington County figures reveal an even more severe problem:

Total number of children	501
Number with hematocrit % below 35	406
Percentage with hematocrit % below 35	81%
Number with hematocrit % below 30	101
Percentage with hematocrit % below 30	20.2%

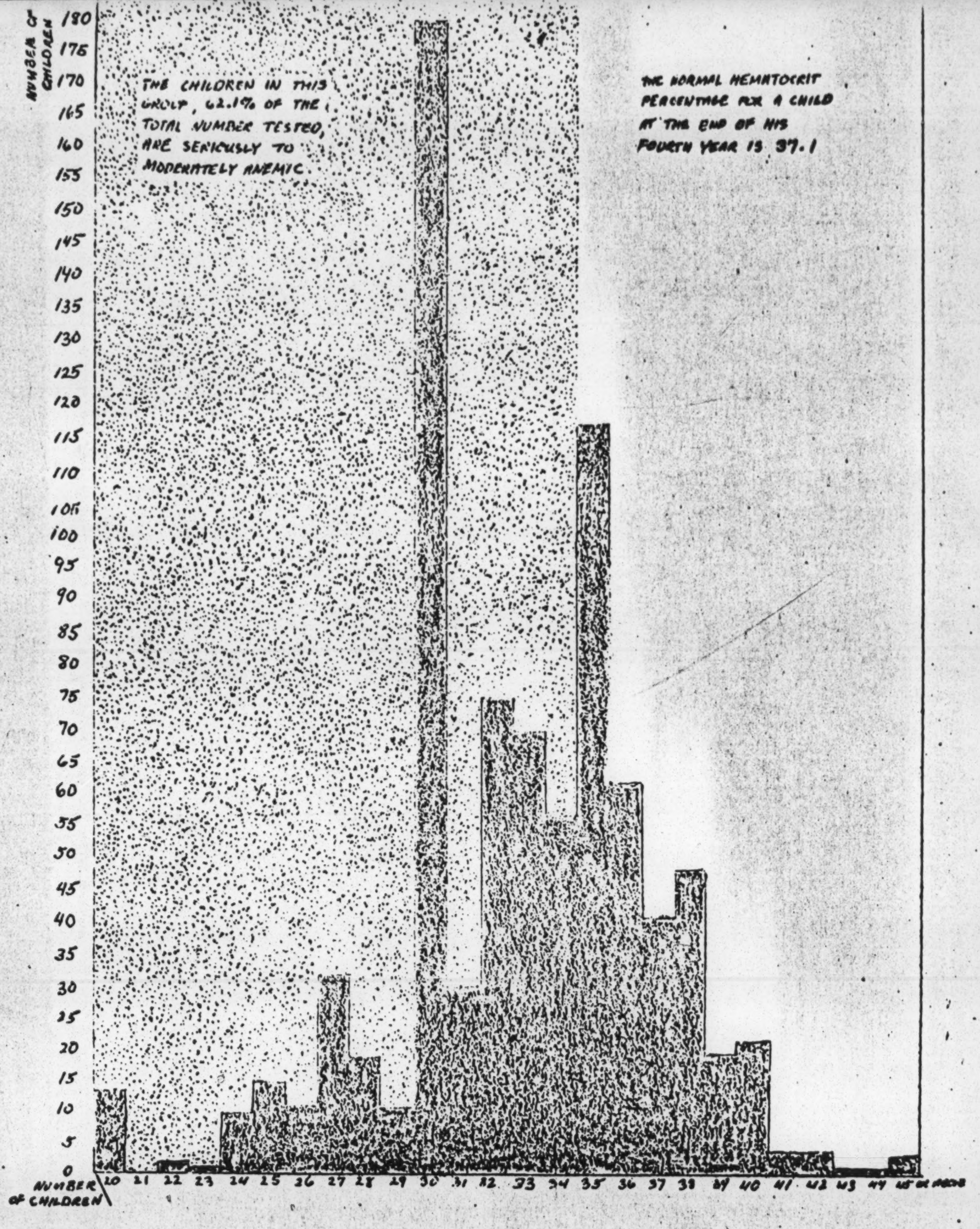
There is a marked difference between childfen from urban centers and those from rural areas. Among the children from urban centers in Washington County, the incidence of anemia is as follows:

Total number of children, urban	250
Number with hematocrit % below 35	194
Percentage with hematocrit % below 35	77.6%
Number with hematocrit % below 30	10
Percentage with hematocrit % below 30	4%

Alarming though these figures are, the problem presented by the rural communities is even more acute:

Total number of children, rural	251
Number with hematocrit % below 35	212
Percentage with hematocrit % below 35	84.5%
Number with hematocrit % below 30	91
Percentage with hematocrit % below 30	36.3%

There is no easy remedy for the situation which these test results reveal, but a remedy must be found if these children are to survive and grow into healthy adults. I merely alert you to the magnitude of the problem with which we are faced.

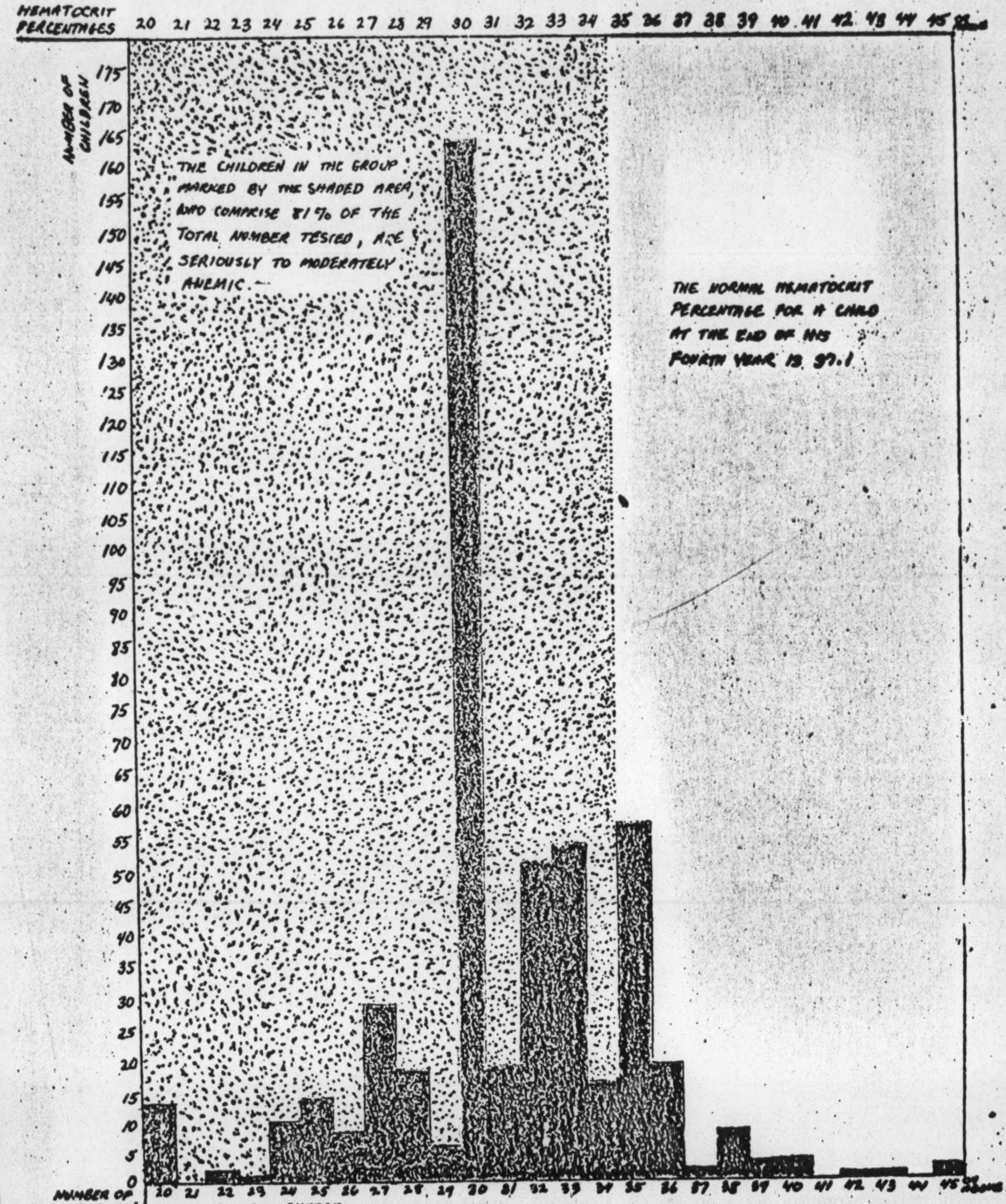


THE CHILDREN IN THIS GROUP, 62.1% OF THE TOTAL NUMBER TESTED, ARE SERIOUSLY TO MODERATELY ANEMIC.

THE NORMAL HEMATOCRIT PERCENTAGE FOR A CHILD AT THE END OF HIS FOURTH YEAR IS 37.1

WASHINGTON COUNTY - HEMATOCRIT PERCENTAGES of [illegible] CHILDREN, AGES 3-5, [illegible]

TAKEN FROM RECORDS OF LABORATORY TESTS CONDUCTED ON BLOOD SAMPLES FROM CHILDREN ENROLLED AT 5 URBAN AND 4 RURAL C.D.G.M. CENTERS.



THE CHILDREN IN THE GROUP MARKED BY THE SHADED AREA, WHO COMPRISE 81% OF THE TOTAL NUMBER TESTED, ARE SERIOUSLY TO MODERATELY ANEMIC —

THE NORMAL HEMATOCRIT PERCENTAGE FOR A CHILD AT THE END OF HIS FOURTH YEAR IS 37.1

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI
203 W. Capitol Street
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

NUTRITION SERVICES DIVISION

SURVEY OF FAMILY MEAL PATTERNS

May 17, 1967

SURVEY OF FAMILY MEAL PATTERNS

May 17, 1967

The purpose of this survey of family meal patterns is to determine the kind of diets Child Development Group of Mississippi Children are getting from family feeding, and to relate these findings to the physical examinations of the same children.

The comparison of this report will be made upon the completion of medical examinations.

This partial report is a tabulation of the meal patterns of one hundred and eighteen (118) families in Madison, Rankin, Sharkey, and Issaquena Counties.

SUMMARY OF FAMILY MEAL PATTERNS
(118 Families)

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES USING COMMODITIES

Using all Commodities	10%
Commodity and Other Food	60%
No Commodity	30%

OTHER FOODS

Sea Food	12%
Fruit or Fruit Juices	18%

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEAT MEALS

3 Meat Meals per day	1%
2 Meat Meals per day	8%
1 Meat Meal per day	31%
Once per week	12%
Twice per week	24%
Three Times per week	18%
No Meat	6%

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WHICH VEGETABLES ARE SERVED

LEAFY		STARCHY	
*Large Amount	1%	*Large Amount	38%
*Average Amount	15%	*Average Amount	19%
*Small Amount	61%	*Small Amount	23%
No Vegetables Indicated	23%	No Vegetables Indicated	20%

* Frequency of serving

PERCENTAGE OF MEALS WITH MEAT SUBSTITUTES

Eggs	47%
Dry Beans	67%
Peas	32%
Cheese	6%
Peanut Butter	4%

PERCENTAGE OF MEALS IN WHICH MILK IS SERVED

Once Per Day	15%
Twice Per Day	5%
Three Times Per Day	0%
Once Per Week	13%
Twice Per Week	13%
Three Times Per Week	7%
No Milk	47%

PERCENTAGE OF MEALS SERVED BY FAMILIES

One Meal Per Day	
Two Meals Per Day	78%
Three Meals Per Day	14%
Same Meal for One Week	3%

A COMPARISION OF TWO NUTRIENTS SERVED BY FAMILIES

PROTEINS		CARBOHYDRATES	
Large Amount	4%	Large Amount	47%
Average Amount	38%	Average Amount	45%
Small Amount	58%	Small Amount	8%

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH PROBLEMS IN MEAL PLANNING

Lack of Money - 37%
Lack of Time - 3%
Lack of Knowledge - 21%
No Reply - 31%
No Problems - 8%

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES BY AGE

Under 1 Year - 30%
1 to 6 Years - 85%
6 to 12 Years - 68%
12 to 20 Years - 44%
Over 20 - 3%

CAUSES OF POOR CONSUMPTION OF FOOD SERVICE OF FAMILIES

Some Food Served too Often - 4%
Dislike Food Served - 35%
No Reply - 7%
No Problems - 54%

TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN FAMILIES
IN WHICH SURVEYS WERE MADE - 644

December 19, 1967

Mrs. Dell Fystrom
2531 Pine
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Dear Mrs. Fystrom:

Thank you so much for your kind note about Friends of the Children of Mississippi. The needs of the organization I would say encompass just about all the needs of any pre-school program which works with the very poor. The children often come to the centers without breakfast and receive their only meal of the day from FCM. Thus money to buy food is the organization's most critical problem. Classroom aids such as blackboards, construction paper, tables, chairs, and other furnishings are also greatly needed.

The counties in which FCM now operates were originally part of a federal Head Start Program called Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), which from its inception, was opposed by much of the white leadership of the state because it involved the Negro poor in policy-making decisions. Last year OEO divided up the state, so to speak, into two Head Start Programs -- some 19 counties were to remain under CDGM and the remainder were to come under a newly created organization called Mississippi Action for Progress (MAP), which many knowledgeable observers think is considerably less oriented toward involvement of poor people than CDGM. CDGM centers in Clarke, Wayne, Neshoba, Humphreys, Lefore and Green were given to MAP. Negroes in those counties formerly associated with CDGM resented the OEO action and formed their own program -- Friends of the Children of Mississippi. The upshot has been that FCM has the children while MAP has the money. There is much talk that OEO was influenced in its decision by Mississippi whites seeking to destroy any really effective Head Start Program in the state.

You may write the organization direct at the following address: Mr. Fred Mangrum, Director, FCM, 507½ North Farish Street, Jackson, Mississippi.

Yours truly,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Managing Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js
Encl. - "Hungry Children."

File

2531 Pine
Boulder, Colorado
80302

December 15, 1967

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

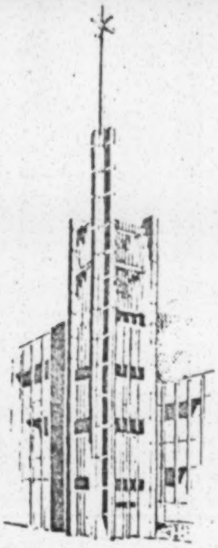
Our Pastor at Trinity Lutheran has asked me to seek information from you regarding the "Friends of the Children of Mississippi." We use our Sunday School offerings for benevolence work, and perhaps we could be of some service to this organization.

Would you please describe the need to me, giving some of the history of the situation. In particular, I would appreciate knowing how it happens that the federal government is not of help to these people.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Dell Fystrom

[Mrs. Dell Fystrom
2531 Pine
Boulder, Colorado 80302]

FYI



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YOUTH PUBLICATIONS

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Darrell Faires

File

May 9, 1969

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the special report "Hungry Children," in answer to may request made on April 29. I am certain that it will be of help to us in preparing study material on on the hunger problem, hoping to stimulate concern.

I notice that it is not copyrighted. If you have any qualifications concerning quoting from the report, please let us know. If I do not hear anything in this regard, I will assume that it is permissible to quote if we give proper credit to the source and situation.

There was no bill with the report. However, I notice that in the enclosed publication list, this report has a single copy price of thirty cents. Rather than make a big bookkeeping project out of this for us or for you and rather than send money through the mail, I decided to send the enclosed stamps. If this does not take care of the matter, please let me know.

5-12-69

We do appreciate your cooperation and wish you success in what you are trying to do. Perhaps through education, we can do a little to change a society that permits such hunger to exist.

Sincerely yours,

Natalie Hodgson

Natalie Hodgson
Assistant Editor
Youth Publications

December 17, 1969

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Clinic
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Raymond:

Many thanks for the good words on the school report. It seems to have been particularly timely just now. Maybe it will do some good.

We will take care of your mailing request.

All best wishes for the season to you and Julie.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encl. - 1.

December 17, 1969

Dr. Kenneth Chambers
New Hope Professional Building
Gastonia, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Chambers:

Dr. Raymond Wheeler has requested that we send you the enclosed material.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Anderson, Jr.
Editor
SRC Publications

REA,Jr/js

Encls. - 2.
Hungry Children
SRC brochure

cc: Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M. D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M. D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M. D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M. D.
WILLIAM C. SUGG, JR., M. D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M. D.

12 December 1969

Rec'd 12-17-69

Mr. Robert Anderson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bob:

Would you please send a single copy of the HUNGRY CHILDREN report and a brochure-type piece of literature about the nature of the Southern Regional Council to: Kenneth Chambers, M. D., New Hope Professional Building, Gastonia, North Carolina.

I only have one copy or I would have saved you this trouble.

The school report was a fine piece of research and your introduction was extremely well done.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

RMWheeler

Raymond M. Wheeler, M.D.

RMW/ac

P.S. Hope you saw the N.Y.T. Coverage - It gave your introduction considerable attention

RMW

HC

September 7, 1971

CROSS REFERENCE:

from Natalie Greenberg (Atlantic Monthly Press)
For correspondence/concerning copyright on "Hungry Children" see:

COPYRIGHTS - 1971

July 25, 1960

Mr. John McKenzie
Higgins-McArthur Company
302 Hayden, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear John:

Please print an additional 3,000 (three thousand) copies of Green and Gauerke, If the Schools Are Closed, at the price of $650 quoted to me by telephone.

On page 11 (eleven) of the pamphlet in the paragraph designated "i" will you please change the word "competitive" to "competent."

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWD:a

July 12, 1963

Mr. James W. Alverson
John Burroughs School
75 S. Price Road
St. Louis 24, Missouri

Dear Mr. Alverson:

I am enclosing the three publications the Council has produced on "racial inferiority" (L-29, L-32, and A Virginia View of Race and Reason). Also included are some reprints of materials received in our office from time to time, advertising the type of argument you are studying. In addition, I understand that Dr. W.C. George's The Biology of the Race Problem as well as Race and Reason; A Yankee View are available from the National Putnam Letters Committee, P.O. Box 3518, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N.Y. I mentioned The Southern Case for School Segregation by James Jackson Kilpatrick (Crowell-Collier, 1962) on the telephone; someone here has also suggested John Bartlow Martin's The Deep South Says Never (c. 1957). There is also an interesting article in the Journal of the History of Ideas, VOL. XX, No. 3, June-Sept. 1959, "The Ideology of White Supremacy," by James W. Vander Zanden. For first hand exposure you might wish to write The Citizen, official journal of the Citizens' Councils of America, 315-25 Plaza Building, Jackson 1, Mississippi, and/or Dixie Publishers, Box 483, Jackson, Mississippi, publishers of "Why We Refuse to Mix," and The White Sentinel, P.O. Box 9013, Ft. Lauderdale, Florida.

I hope the above will yield what you are looking for and that you will let us know if we can help further.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Research

BP/s
Enc. (6)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

January 3, 1964

Mr. J. R. Feagin
Department of Social Relations
Emerson Hall
Harvard University
Cambridge 38, Mass.

Dear Mr. Feagin:

Your letter, dated December 11, 1963, to the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, was forwarded to us for reply.

As you undoubtedly know, in the past year a considerable number of southern cities have peacefully desegregated their schools and public accommodations. I am however, enclosing some newspaper reports and other information about several cities whose achievements in these fields have been particularly noteworthy.

I hope this material will be helpful to you, but please let us know if you would like further information.

I am also enclosing a percentage breakdown of population in Atlanta prepared last year by the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations. The number of public schools in the Atlanta area for the 1962-63 school year was 92; however, several new schools are currently being constructed. During the 1962-63 school year there were 145 Negroes enrolled with white students in grades 9-12 in 12 desegregated high schools. The estimated total white enrollment is 58,041, total estimated Negro enrollment is 55,764. There are 12 universities and colleges in the greater Atlanta area.

There are 352 white churches and 270 Negro churches in Atlanta. I trust this information will be useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Staige D. Blackford
Research Director

SDB:nm
Enclosures

1. Percentage list prepared by Greater Atlanta Council
2. Clips - The National Observer -- July 22, 1963
3. Action for Democracy
4, New South, April 1963 issue
5. News clip - NYT -- 9/1/63 (Brunswick Ga. Fighting to Integrate
6. " " " Baton Rouge article(Schools Integrate Tuesday
7. L-44
8. L-36
9. L-43
10. ICMA Report
11. SRC Special Report - School Desegregation for 1960-61.
12. The Louisville Story - Reprint - NYT.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS LIBRARY · LITTAUER CENTER
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

GENTLEMEN:

Our attention has been called to your publication:

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South - Houston. By Art Gallaher, Jr.

This item would be a valuable addition to our research collection, and we should be very grateful for a copy of it, for the use of our faculty, research staff, and students. If there is a charge, please notify before sending.

(Mrs) Claire L. Brown
Assistant Librarian

Date July 27, 1962

8/1/62

Please mail free copy of 12-9-60 report by the Fowler Commission on Race Relations to:

Miss Mary Adams, 2532 Columbus Drive, Fort Myers, Fl

July 27, 1962

AFL-CIO
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I read in the July issue of the "American Federationist" that you have a pamphlet available called, "Chattanooga - The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South".

I would greatly appreciate if you would forward a copy of this pamphlet to the address listed below.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

M. Radocha

M. Radocha
3330 W. Fillmore
Chicago, Illinois

8/1/62

M. Radocha
3330 W. Fillmore
Chicago, Illinois

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P.B. METER
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AFL-CIO
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Edward Brooks
308 W. Kinney ST
Apt 5C
Newark N.J

Dear Sir:

Please send me your Free Book entitled. "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South."

8/3/62

CLASS NO.	AUTHOR Faulkner, W., et.al.		L. C. CARD NUMBER no cards-have
ACC. NO.	TITLE The segregation decision: 3 views		
LIST PRICE	PLACE	PUBLISHER So. Reg. Council	YEAR 1956
DEALER Dir.	VOLS.	SERIES	EDITION
NO. OF COPIES 1	RECOMMENDED BY Mitau-PS	DATE RECEIVED 8/6/62	COST
ORDER NO. L7401	FUND CHARGED 20-2705	DATE ORDERED 8-1-62	

Macalester College, Weyerhaeuser Library, St. Paul 1, Minn.

15 S. Fredrick Dr.
Joliet, Illinois
August 3, 1962

Dear Sir:

Please send me material on minority groups.

I wish to gain information for my discussion - action group.

Sincerely,

Betty Fiero

pub list 8/6/62

SEA FOAM BOND

August 6, 1962

Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Green:

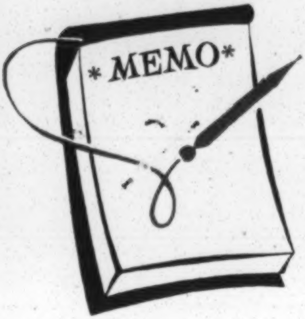
Under separate cover we are mailing you today at your above address 300 copies of THIS I BELIEVE and 300 NEW SOUTH, March and June issues. I am enclosing an invoice for these, the prices being at cost or below. If you have the resources for this we would be grateful to have payment or any part thereof. In any event, we trust the materials will be useful foryyour seminar.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.)bBarbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

SEA FOAM BOND



from

Nettie Alice Green

407 North Hite
Louisville
KY

August 1st

My dear Mrs. Patterson:

Please forgive me for being a nuisance! There has been a change in arrangement.

Would you please send the materials to me here in Louisville at the address above. If possible, we should like to have them by October 8th. Thanks so much.

Cordially yours,

Nettie Alice Green

Mrs. Thomas P. Green

407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6 Kentucky
July 31, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for your letter of July 25th with information relative to literature for our human relations seminar.

We shall be happy to receive the copies of "New South" which you can provide, as well as the pamphlet, "This I Believe". Please send them to: Mrs. William Owsley, 309 Wilson Avenue, Morehead, Kentucky.

We further appreciate the catalog of listings and shall save it for future reference. Again, our gracious thanks.

Cordially yours,

[illegible] Green
Mrs. Thomas P. Green

July 25, 1962

Mrs. Thomas P. Green
407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Green:

It would be impossible for the Council to supply your human relations seminar with 300 copies of any issue of New South, I regret. We would like to be as helpful as possible, however, and under separate cover I am sending you 3 sample issues which we could supply in amounts of 50 each, without charge. Also included is a copy of This I Believe, and that is about the only one of our publications of which we could provide 300 without cost. If you will notice, too, on the enclosed publication list which are red-starred, are available in amounts of 100, without cost.

Please do not hesitate to know what we can do to be helpful in this regard.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson

407 North Hite Avenue
Louisville 6 Kentucky
July 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Region 25 of the MethodistChurch (Kentucky) will hold a Human Relations Seminar October 23rd in Lexington. Approximately 300 delegates are expected to attend.

Is it possible that you could furnish back issues of "The New South" or other materials for the delegates' kits? We would be most grateful for any assistance you can give us. Please send available materials to:

Mrs. Wm B. Owsley
309 Wilson Avenue
Morehead, Kentucky

of any
NS - 50 @ .10
300 S 9 Edit c

Thank you so much.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Thomas P. Green

20	Fortune	.10	2.00
20	Church in Areas	.03	.60
20	Fed Exec	—	—
"	Cris & Press	.05	1.00
"	1st 6 yrs	.10	2.00
	Maps	.10	2.00
	Bus Wk	—	
	S & Ntn —	.04	.80
	Va View —	.02	.40
	Albany —	.10	2.00
	Agony o Sollin —	.02	.40
	Fleming - So View	.02	.40
	RV & L Eng —	.13	2.60
20	Sx Sep —	.25	5.00
20	Houston —	.07	1.40
	Negro & Ball —		
10	Qu'g —	.04	.40
	) Sup Ct. Sd	—	—
NS 20	Nov 61	.05	— 1.00
20	Mch 62	.05	1.00
20	Apr 62	.05	1.00
20	June 62 . .	.05	
			25.00

August 6, 1962

Mr. Bradford C. Brown
Seacoast Shores
East Falmouth, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Brown:

Under separate cover we are mailing you today several copies of each of the publications you request in your letter of August 2, with the exception of Your Community Looks at Itself, which is no longer available. I have, however, included Greenville's Big Idea, which is suggestive of the main outlines of such a survey.

Enclosed is a current publication list. We will be only too glad to supply your groups with what materials you feel would be useful.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enc.

Seacoast Shores
East Falmouth, Mass.
August 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate receiving the following literature:

? "Your Community Looks at Itself: A Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey"
"Racial Difference in Academic Achievement
"Desegregation and Academic Achievement"
"The Student Protest Movement"

I would also like a list of your available publications.

These publications will be made available to my fellow members of the Cape Cod N.A.A.C.P. and of the First Congregational Church of Falmouth who are interested in helping solve racial problems.

Thank you.

Sincerely
Bradford E. Brown

225 W. 135th St.
New York 30, N.Y.
August 2, 1962

Miss Margaret Long, Editor
The New South
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Long:

I want the reports that were made on the accomplishments in Civil Rights, for 1961 and 1962. I am enclosing a money order for $1.00. If this is not enough, please let me know at once.

I am enclosing a 4¢ stamp for which you will please give me the name and address of the magazine published in Nashville, Tennessee. I think it is The Southern Educational Survey. Anyway, it carried a full report the first of this on how well de-segregation is being accomplished.

Very truly yours,

L F Cole

L. F. Coles

M.O. $2.00
8-8-62
LK

August 6, 1962

Mr. L. F. Coles
225 W. 135th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Coles:

In the absence of Margaret Long, who is on vacation, I will answer your query of August 2.

I believe the Nashville publication to which you make reference must be Southern School News, which is published by

Southern Education Reporting Service
P.O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12.

Your money order for THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS and EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS is quite sufficient. Thank you. These are being mailed today under separate cover.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

August 6, 1962

Mrs. Olive Anderson
Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Thank you for your check of August 1. The additional materials you request are being mailed under separate cover today, with the exception of ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, which is being reprinted. If you desire more copies of this im the future, we should have them available in two weeks. There is no bill necessary on these additional materials, but I will call your attention to the invoice of July 16 in the amount of $3.00.

We do not intend to reprint the Harper's article you have mentioned, but I have made a copy of it for you if that will prove useful.

Please let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

ck $3.25
8-8-62
LK

Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida
July-31-62

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me the following:

The City and the Negro: .20¢ ea $1.00

A Virginia View of "Race and Reason" .3¢ each 45

The South and the Nation SC .10¢ 20

This is What we Found .25¢ ea 1.00

Three Views of the Segregation Decisions by
Wm. Faulkner, Dr. B. Mays, Cecil Sims . SCF 2 doz(24)QCWC. . . .

L-22 Fowler Reports: 1 doz (12 copies) . . . .

L-23A Desegregation in Higher Education. . .2 Or 3 cOpies . . . . . .

The Easy or the Hard Way - Several copies . . . .

L-28 Organizations Supporting the Student
Protest Movement . . . . . . Several copies . . . .

The Annealing of the South .10¢ ea . . . . .20¢

The Church in Areas of Racial Tension .5¢ ea 10

Action Patterns in School Desegregation ~~SCF~~ QCWC . . . .

South Carolinians Speak SCF

L-20-Problem Solving Through Race Relations- Five (5) copies . . . . .
May we have the 4 items mentioned under "For Further Reading"

L-27-The Easy or the Hard Way- Several Copies, please

L-30- A Positive Plan to help Solve our Racial Dilemma 2 or 3 copies

L-31- Slipping Segregation- A number of copies, please . . . . .

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South .15¢ ea. 30

L-17- Desegregation and Academic Achievement-Five (5) Copies. . . . .

$3.25

Please send bill for whatever items you need to charge a fee, in excess of the encl. cheque.

As a spokesman for a bi-racial discussion group, as yet unorganized, I am expressing the hope that you will re-print: "A First Class Citizens' Council, by John Fisher, in the July issue of Harper's Magazine.

Olive Anderson
Olive Anderson

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX 5 Forsyth St. NW
[illegible]

Mrs. Olive Anderson
Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida

letr 7/14
7/16/62

L-Reports 22,29,32 in quantity (dozen or more), other materials in lesser quantity	$3.00

Thank You.

Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida
Sat-14-62

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

[redacted]

Gentlemen:

A report has just been phoned in that a large quantity of books called "RACE AND REASON" is being distributed in this community.

The copy (L-32) Refutation of "Race and Reason" which you sent me is in circulation, but I shall need a quantity of these, to put in the hands of those who are being given this book.

S.W.Florida is such an intellectual wilderness, and it is so hard to get people to read, I hardly know how many of (L-32) 36 to order- let us make it 3 dozen copies, and if more are needed, we can send again.

In addition we should have some copies of the L-22 Report by the Fowler Commission on Race Relations. Please send bill for the copies of L-22 and L-32

Am enclosing .30¢ for ten copies of "A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON" by Benjamin Muse, and look forward to receiving the other two items, together with the bill.

Thanking you for your attention to our needs, I am

Sincerely yours

Olive Anderson

(Mrs.) Olive Anderson

30¢.
Coms
7/16/62
RHA

P.S. Are you going to do a reprint of The Editor's Easy Chair editorial in the current Harper's Magazine? It is entitled: "What the Negro Needs Most: A First Class Citizens' Council".

In this county (Lee Cty, Fla.) our Negroes comprise 25% of the population, but they have been kept leaderless from the beginning by the simple method of failure to re-hire any Negro who showed signs of leadership, and the resultant apathy and irresponsibility amongst our local Negroes is very sad.

This year the old technique was used: Leaders and potential leaders lost their jobs, but they are staying on and making a fight. These leaders are from out-of-town, and find the condition of our local Negroes very trying and hard to cope with. They read John Fischer's article with great appreciation. In our ~~in~~ interracial discussion group we discussed this article - hoped for reprints to pass around.

Sincerely

Olive Anderson

Olive Anderson

Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida
July-14-62

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Following my request of this a.m. for copies of (L-22) and (L-32) I am now requesting copies of:

L-8

L-29: a goodly number please

L-25

L-23

L-22: A number of people are asking for this

L-17

L-16

L-1

The Southern Regional Council reports the Changing South

The Louisville Story

A Southerner's Words supply Rebuttal

I would like to leave with you the decision as to how many to send- I asked for 3 doz of L-32, and that is fine, but the participants in this discussion find it to be inadequate for the occasion, which is refuting the claims made in the book "Race and Reason" which is being broadcast in this area at this time, or rather, given away wholesale, would be a better statement.

We very definitely want to cash in on this wave of interest, and please send the above items in proportion to how relative they are to this situation.

Also please advise us of any other material from which we could profit at this time, and also, please send a number of your list of publications, so that other group members can order for themselves.

Looking forward to receiving the above requests, and the bill, at the earliest possible convenience, I am

Sincerely yours

Olive Anderson

(Mrs.) Olive Anderson

MRS. ST. JULIEN R. CHILDS
82 PITT STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dear Miss Long,

please send me 5 copies of the June number of New South.

Sincerely yours 8/6/62 BP

Margaretta Childs

ck $1.00
8.9.62
JK

AUBURN UNIVERSITY

AUBURN ALABAMA

TELEPHONE TUXEDO 7-6511

145 Cedar Crest
Auburn, Alabama
August 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of the March issue 1962 of the little magazine the New South as I have misplaced the Auburn University's copy in the library and must therefore replace it.

R Ha 8/8/62 8/8/62

I am enclosing twenty cents (20¢) in coins to pay for this periodical. I particularly enjoyed Lillian Smith's article in this issue.

Sincerely,

Frances McLeod

(Mrs.) Frances McLeod
Assistant Professor of English
Auburn University
Auburn, Alabama

FM/lb

Some characteristic complimen

Masters of
BRITISH
LITERATURE
VOLUME TWO

Houghton Mifflin texts in literature are under the general editorship of Gordon N. Ray.

CONTENTS of NEW MATERIAL:

LORD BYRON

Edited by Jerome H. Buckley

. J. T. Becher, on His
More with Society

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m Sestos to Abydos

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IV

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

Edited by Je

Mutability
To Wordsworth
Hymn to Intellectual Beauty
Ozymandias
From Lines Written Among the Euganean Hills
Stanzas Written in Dejection, Near Naples
Prometheus Unbound
The Mask of Anarchy
England in 1819

Mifflin Company

Editorial Offices

reet, Boston 7, Massachusetts

Regional Sales Offices

ue South, New York 16, New York
t Road N.E., Atlanta 5, Georgia
atavia Avenue, Geneva, Illinois
der Street, Dallas 1, Texas
a Avenue, Palo Alto, California

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
2401 VIRGINIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON 7, D.C.

August 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Gentlemen:

We wish to thank you for sending three copies of each of the following:

L-10 Education and Income

L-11 Little Rock Report...What Has Happened Since the School Crisis?

L-17 Desegregation and Academic Achievement

L-23A Desegregation in Higher Education

These will be distributed where and when urgently needed. The enclosed publications list will be most useful.

We appreciate your courtesy and kind cooperation.

Sincerely,

Alice Fulmer Dunham
Alice Fulmer Dunham
Staff Associate
Elementary and Secondary Education

AFD:jl

August 2, 1962

Mrs. Alice Fulmer Dunham
American Association of
University Women
2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W.
Washington 7, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Dunham:

Under separate cover we are mailing you today three copies each of the L-Reports (10, 11, 17, and 23) which you request. If more are needed, please let us know.

I have also included a listing of SRC publications. If any of these would prove useful in the situations you are considering, we would be happy to provide them.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Administrative Secretary

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN
2401 VIRGINIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON 7, D.C.

July 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is to request two or more copies of your reports as follows:

L-10	September 15, 1959
L-11	October 12, 1959
L-17	March 14, 1960
L-23	January 24, 1961

to be made available in situations that presently are comparable to Atlanta when these reports were prepared and published.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Alice Fulmer Dunham

Alice Fulmer Dunham
Staff Associate
Elementary and Secondary Education

AFD:jl

8/2/62

L 58859

McKELDIN LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, COLLEGE PARK, MD.

ABOVE NO. MUST APPEAR
IN ALL INVOICES, ETC.

[redacted]

L. C. CARD NO.

McMillan, George
Racial violence and law enforcement. Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1960

CLEARED

4 copies

ONLY ONE COPY DESIRED UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED

DATE OF BILL	EST. PRICE 1.00	DATE ORDERED 8-3-62	SOURCE Southern Reg.Coun.'

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INSTRUCTIONS

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"Original invoice, certified, just and correct
and payment not received."

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5. If item is a REPRINT, part of a SERIES, or a SOCIETY PUBLICATION, report before sending.
6. Please return "SHIPPING COPY" with shipment, or use a report.

VIGGO E. STEENSTRUP
~~10 LINCOLN AVENUE~~
~~PORT CHESTER, N.Y.~~
230 West 76th St.
New York 23, N.Y.

August 8th, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

8/9/62

Gentlemen:

During a recent visit to the Southern Education Reporting Service I saw a map showing "Percentages of Nonwhite Population in Counties of Southern States", published by the S.R.C.

I would appreciate if you could kindly send me one or two copies of the map, which I will need to put a series of articles I am presently writing for some Scandinavian magazines into the right perspective.

Thank you in advance.

Yours truly,

Viggo E. Steenstrup
f. DANMARKS RADIO

WHITE PLAINS PUBLIC LIBRARY
WHITE PLAINS, NEW YORK
WH 6-8700

August 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find twenty cents in postage stamps to cover the cost of the publication listed below.

Very truly yours,
Elizabeth Mathews

Elizabeth Mathews
Reference Department

20 ¢ Stamps
8/13/62 RHA

Freedom rides - their impact on one rider, the Deep South, national unity, and world opinion.

8/13/62

413 East Mary Street
Dublin, Georgia
August 9, 1962

A Research Project of the Southern Regional
Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of the following pamphlet on a recent status study done by your association.

A Status Study of Negro Employment and Training Opportunities in Four Southern Cities, Huston, Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Miami.

If there are no complimentary copies of this article available, please bill me by return mail.

Thanks.

8/13/62

Yours truly,
Dollena M. Joiner
(Mrs.) Dollena M. Joiner
Counselor
B.D. Perry High School

ORDER NO.

PRICE Apply

NO. OF COPIES 1

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FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA
PAMPHLET SECTION
LOGAN SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA 3, PA.

8/13/62

IMPORTANT
Please Use Our Order No.
On All Mail

AUTHOR Morland, Kenneth

TITLE, DATE Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas. 1960

PUBLISHER Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.

ADDRESS Atlanta, Ga.

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LISTED IN J OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS A/60 p.77

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TITLE, DATE The Freedom Ride. 5/61

PUBLISHER Author, 5 Forsyth St., N.W.

ADDRESS Atlanta, Ga.

LISTED IN J OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS 8/61 p.287

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AUTHOR Southern Regional Council

TITLE, DATE The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. 1961

PLEASE SUPPLY IF FREE
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PUBLISHER Southern Regional Council

ADDRESS Atlanta

LISTED IN J OF POLITICS 2/62 p.225

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(REV. 11/61)

PAMPHLET ORDER

2. SUPPLIER'S COPY

Anthony Charles Schmidt

4603 N. Hurley Street
Philadelphia 20, Pa.
August 10, 1962

Dear Sir,

Please send booklet entitled "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South."

Thank you.

Cordially,

A. C. Schmidt

8/13/62

August 13, 1962

Mrs. Olive Anderson
Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Please forgive my reminder on the $3.00 bill. You were, of course, correct - the $4.00 remittance was taken care of while I was away on vacation.

My apologies.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 6, 1962

Mrs. Olive Anderson
Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida

Dear Mrs. Anderson:

Thank you for your check of August 1. The additional materials you request are being mailed under separate cover today, with the exception of ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, which is being reprinted. If you desire more copies of this in the future, we should have them available in two weeks. There is no bill necessary on these additional materials, but I will call your attention to the invoice of July 16 in the amount of $3.00.

We do not intend to reprint the Harper's article you have mentioned, but I have made a copy of it for you if that will prove useful.

Please let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Dear Mrs. Patterson: Am enclosing copy of a note I sent you with a cheque for $4.00, which has probably been noted on your books ere this, as I have the cancelled cheque. If there is a bookkeeping problem I'll be glad to send a photostatic copy of the cheque. I will indeed be happy to receive the copy of the article in Harper's magazine. (The 4 copies of "THIS IS "WHAT WE FOUND" ~~WERE~~ were sent - thanks, much!

Olive Anderson

Page Mobile Village
Fort Myers, Florida
July-20-62

SRC, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

COPY COPY

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is cheque for $4.00 ($1.00 more than the enclosed bill) and I will be grateful if you will send me 4 copies of "THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND" by Ralph and Carl Creger, for this extra dollar.

Am hoping we will be able to stir up enough interest to use up all this material I received from you yesterday. Our bi-racial pot is boiling real hard, and people should become interested!

Thanking you very much for your kind attention, I am

Sincerely

(Mrs.) Olive Anderson

August 13, 1962

Mr. A. Knighton Stanley,
  Director
United Southern Christian
  Fellowship Foundation
North Carolina A. & T. College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Stanley:

We will be glad to add the name of your Foundation to the Council's mailing list. In the meantime, a listing of publications available is enclosed should you wish to have some of our past materials on hand. We will be happy to send single copies without cost wherever you indicate.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

North Carolina A. &. T. College
Greensboro, North Carolina
August 7, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am presently engaged in an experimental program on the campus of the North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, North Carolina. I will be serving there as Director of the United Southern Christian Fellowship Foundation. This is a new program in the campus ministry on Negro state supported University campuses.

Please add us to your mailing list and issue to us immediately any publications and information which you may have on hand.

Sincerely,

A. Knighton Stanley

A. Knighton Stanley,
Director

AKS/jj

August 14, 1962

Mr. Lee Wachtel
Municipal Reference Library
City Hall
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Dear Mr. Wachtel:

We shall be happy to place the Municipal ReferenceeLibrary on our complimentary mailing list to receive New South, as you request. You should receive the July-August issue in a week or so. In the meantime, enclosed is a copy of the June issue and a listing of other Council publications.

Please do not hesitate to call on us if weccan be of further helpfulness.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enc.

MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARY
CITY HALL
CLEVELAND 14 OHIO

A DIVISION OF THE
CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY

LEE WACHTEL
MUNICIPAL REFERENCE LIBRARIAN

ack

August 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Done

Would it be possible for you to place this library on your complimentary mailing list to receive regularly your publication entitled: New South? I am sure many of our officials will be interested in reading it.

May I hear from you on this matter?

Thank you,
Sincerely yours,

Lee Wachtel

Lee Wachtel,
Librarian

Southern regional council.
Executive support of civil rights. Atlanta, 1962.
52p.

8/13/62

8/17/62

We would appreciate receiving for our library your publication listed above. If there is a charge, will you please notify us in advance?

LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE BUREAU
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
HONOLULU 14, HAWAII

Kenneth K. Lau
Director

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

Department of Political Science

August 11, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would greatly appreciate receiving a copy of your publication The Negro Voter in the South (1957).

Thank you.

8/20/62

Alvin Dozeman
9232 Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

August 20, 1962

Mr. Melvin A. Moore
114 W. 136th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Moore:

Thank you for your kind words about the Council in your letter of August 12. We have not, however, published anything which would be specifically classified regional economics, but perhaps some of our recent publications would be of interest to you - a listing is enclosed. As for a summary of our activities, as you ask, I'm afraid we're too active to be writing summaries, but we're also glad to answer when we can.

We appreciate your interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

8-12-62

Dear Sir,

Our Economy ~~is~~ is in a state of great change and all sections and segments of our country should be alert to this fact.

It has been my pleasure to have contacted you before and I'm acquainted with the good work you do in REGIONAL ECONOMICS. Please send me a summary of your present activities and a list of your current books and reports. Thank you for your Cooperation.

Sincerely, Melvin A Moore
114 W. 136th ST.
NEW YORK 30, N.Y.

August 20, 1962

Mr. Barry Kast
5331 N. Sequoia
Fresno 5, California

Dear Mr. Kast,

Regrettably you must have the Southern Regional Council confused with some other organization. Our concerns are primarily with race relations. Your questions on trade and tariffs in this area of the U.S. might interestingly be posed to the American Cotton Manufacturers' Institute, Inc., however. Their address is 1501 Johnston Building
Charlotte, North Carolina.

Sincerely,

BP:s

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Barry Kast
5331 No. Sequoia
Fresno 5, California
July 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Realizing the importance of foreign trade the committee has decided to prepare a report to the public on matters of trade poligy with the hope og drawing increased action in solving old problems. Your organization may be of great help in preparing this report. Therefore, please send me all the material you have available along with your views on the following topics.

1. U. S. policy on trade and tariffs.
2. U. S. import-export statistics by produst and country.
3. The impact of reciprocal free trade on the economy.
4. The economic impawt of foreign competition and increased imports.
5. The formation of a Western Hemisphere common market.

In addition, please include any additonal source addresses that may be of value and a list of further references of yours.

Thank you for your time and effort.

Sincerely yours,

Barry Kast

Barry Kast
Research Director

August 20, 1962

Mr. Robert Wesley Brown
371 Nova Lane
Menlo Park, California

Dear Mr. Brown:

We are sending you today under separate cover all of the items checked on the list you enclosed in your letter of August 6 with the exception of some few which are out of print. The list you sent is an old one and I thought perhaps you might be interested in the enclosed which describes many more recent publications.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Aug.6,1962
371 Nova Lane,
Menlo Park, Cal.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Kindly send me the item underscored and numbered 1 to 12. Also kindly inform me of membership qualifications and dues.

Yours truly,

Robert Wesley Brown
Robert Wesley Brown

12 Items

Put on mailing list

Kinly send the 12 numbered and underscored items to
Robert Wesley Brown, 371 Nova Lnae, Menlo Park, Cal.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

pub list

CURRENT MATERIALS AVAILABLE

✓ THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 50¢ single copy; 35¢ each in quantities of 50 or more. .35 1.20

✓ RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan, 32 pages Southern Regional Council. A study of racial violence and law enforcement in Chattanooga, Little Rock, and Montgomery. 25¢ single copy. .25

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS, 35 pages, Southern Regional Council. This short pamphlet sets forth, in question and answer form, the facts confronting the South and the meaning for its citizens. 30¢ single copy; 25¢ each in quantities of 50 or more.

✓ RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer, an analysis of the treatment of racial news by the press. 30¢ single copy; 25¢ for quantity copies. .25

✓ THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida, "a picture of the material advance of the South in recent years, of unusual educational efforts and successes, of a growing but wise use of government, and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 15¢ single copy. .10

✓ THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSIONS, by the Reverend Cornelius Tarplee, Associate Secretary for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an address given before the National Convocation of the Church in Town and Country in Louisville, Kentucky. 10¢ single copy. 10

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED...A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green, 40 pages, 1959, The Southern Regional Council. 25¢ single copy.

✓ TOWARD A SOLUTION TO THE SIT-IN CONTROVERSY, by Margaret Price, a round-up of events in the sit-in controversy including an analysis of methods used to solve the problem in some cities. (mimeographed) 10¢ single copy. out of print

LUNCH-COUNTER DESEGREGATION IN CORPUS CHRISTI, GALVESTON, AND SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, by Kenneth Morland. (mimeographed) 10¢ single copy.

✓ THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, a Special Report prepared by the research department of the Southern Regional Council. 10¢ single copy. .15

Recap-

Achievement & Intelligence Negroes
Examples
Community
Importance
Opinions

______ THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT and THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH, both by Margaret Price; and RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE 1940; three treatments of registration and voting by Negroes, published by the Southern Regional Council. 40¢ for three-pamphlet packet; 35¢ for quantity copies.

______ WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar, 12 pages, reprinted from Southern School News. A critical analysis of the Supreme Court school decisions. 10¢ single copy; 8¢ for quantity copies.

LEADERSHIP (L) REPORTS (periodic reports, listed below, concerning race relations and related subjects; single copy free; quantity rates on request).

E) Examples ______ L-5 -- PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, General Manager, Special Control Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Virginia, June 12, 1959. ①

E ______ L-6 -- THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1959. ②

Importance ______ L-7 -- GOVERNOR ~~ALMOND (VIRGINIA)~~ ON THE IMPORTANCE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ~~July 24, 1959.~~ ③

Intelligence ______ L-8 -- RACE AND INTELLIGENCE, August 10, 1959. — replaced ④

E ______ L-11 -- LITTLE ROCK REPORT. . .WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE SCHOOL CRISIS?, October 12, 1959. ⑤

Intelligence ______ L-13 -- "DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?", a question and answer session with the late Dr. Omer Carmichael, then Superintendent of Louisville Public Schools, December 15, 1959. ⑥

______ L-15 -- TYPES OF DESEGREGATION PLANS, February 1, 1960.

Achievement ~~Intelligence~~ ______ L-16 -- ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, by Frank H. Stallings, Associate Professor of Education, University of Louisville, January 26, 1960. ⑦

Achievement ______ L-17 -- DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, March 14, 1960. ⑧

______ L-20 -- PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES, October 25, 1960.

Community ______ L-21 -- PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., president of Conway Publications, Inc., publishers of industrial magazines and business guides, November 30, 1960. ⑨

_____ L-22 -- A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial commission appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply leadership on issues of race relations, December 9, 1960.

_____ L-23 -- DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION, January 24, 1961.

_____ L-24 -- EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF ATLANTA, CONCERNING RACIAL PROBLEMS AND ECONOMICS, February 16, 1961.

_____ ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey, 276 pages, 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James, 173 pages, 1957, Simon and Schuster, detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

_____ SOUTHERNERS AND SCHOOLS, by Helen Fuller, reprinted from The New Republic, 1959. A series of seven articles concerning the South and desegregation. Single copy free; quantity requests considered.

_____ THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS, by Erwin Knoll, 22 pages, 1958, reprinted from The Washington Post and Times Herald. Single copy free; quantity requests considered.

_____ THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore, 6 page leaflet, reprinted from Harper's Magazine, June 1958. Concerning the story behind the Little Rock headlines. Single copy free, quantity requests considered.

~~√√~~ CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, 120 pages, Southern Regional Council. A collection of more than 40 articles from NEW SOUTH magazine, 1946-55, tracing the far-reaching trends in Southern race relations. It contains the story of new practices in voting, law enforcement, government, the press, libraries, travel, the armed forces, education and the public schools and other topics. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage.

Opinions
X _____ THREE VIEWS OF THE DESEGREGATION DECISIONS, 29 pages, 1956, Southern Regional Council. The pamphlet includes three papers presented before the 21st annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. The papers were presented by William Faulkner, Nobel prize winner for literature; Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College; and Cecil Sims, lawyer of Nashville, Tenn. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage. (10)

Examples
X √√ DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, 32 pages, The Maryland Commission on Interracial problems and Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage. (11)

Opinion,
X √√ SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, 89 pages, compiled by the Reverend John B. Morris and others. A collection of short essays concerning race relations by South Carolina "moderates." Single copy free, quantity copies for payment of postage. (12)

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am seeking information for a government research paper on segregation. Would it be possible to send me any literature concerning this subject?

If there are pamphlets (or references) please send a copy to the following address:

Miss Carol Baranowski
742 Stoker Dr.
Saginaw Mich.

Thank you.

8/2/62

Sincerely,
Carol Baranowski
Senior, Saginaw High
Mich.

Dear Sirs:

I am very interested in learning of the work of your organization and would appreciate being put on your mailing list. Please send me any information on the subject of improving race relations. In case the information is necessary (statistics, etc) I am white, female, housewife.

Thank you,

Mrs. H E Nelson
521 E. Kenedy
Kingsville,
Texas

8/22/

Enclosed is 55 cents in stamps for which please send the publications listed on the accompanying cards, using the enclosed label.

Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, California

8/27/62

Form 143A 4-55

Request for Publications
(stamps enclosed)

Author Southern regional council, Inc.
Order Date AUG 22 1962
Title The city and the Negro
Quan. 1
Ed. Vols. Dealer
Price 20¢ Date
Pub. author, 5 Forsyth St. NW Source
Atlanta 3, Ga. pub list

Please return this card when order is filled or cancelled; report if order is held.

Address: Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Please use enclosed label on package.

Form 2A 4-55

Order Card (for dealer)

Author Southern regional council, Inc.
Order Date AUG 22 1962
Title The Freedom Ride, May 1961
Quan. 1
Ed. Vols. Dealer
Price 25¢ Date
Pub. author, 5 Forsyth St. NW Source
Atlanta 3, Ga. pub list

Please return this card when order is filled or cancelled; report if order is held.

Address: Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Please use enclosed label on package.

Form 2A 4-55

Order Card (for dealer)

Author Southern regional council, Inc.
Order Date AUG 22 1962
Title The student protest movement; a recapitulation
Quan. 1
Ed. Vols. Dealer
Price 15¢ Date
Pub. author, 5 Forsyth St. NW Source
Atlanta 3, Ga. pub list

Please return this card when order is filled or cancelled; report if order is held.

Address: Serials Division
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Please use enclosed label on package.

Form 2A 4-55

Order Card (for dealer)

8-20-62

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:- Will you kindly send us the following pamphlet: "Racial Crisis and the Press"? This pamphlet is listed in the 1961 Cumulative Vertical File Index.

Thank you.

Very truly yours, acl

(Mrs.) Mable M. Murphy, Librarian
Homewood Public Library
Homewood, Illinois

8/27/62

MARKET 7-3576

FRIENDS' BOOK STORE

302 ARCH STREET

Philadelphia 6, Pa.

8/22/62

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please post to: Our Customer

Bill us at trade discount: payment herewith
Under our order number: #1370

1 Racial Crisis and the Press 25¢

25¢ enclosed

Our customer: Dr. Frank Loescher,
U.S. South Africa Program,
101 South 39th Street,
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Our label enclosed.

8/27/62

Thanks, ***Friends' Book Store*** ***by*** JHC

August 27, 1962

Mr. Charles F. Smith,
Amademics Training Officer
Peace Corps
Camp Lawrence Radley
Arecibo, Puerto Rico

Dear Mr. Smith:

The Council will be glad to send you any of the publications listed on the enclosed folder. The other two materials are description of our stance and activities.

As for films, we have only produced one, "The Face of the South," which is distributed by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Other organizations, however, do have film libraries and can furnish you with bibliographies from which to choose. These are:

Race Relations Dept.
American Missionary
Society
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human
Relations
165 E. 56th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Educational Film Sales
University Extension
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

Natl. Conf. of Christians
and Jews
43 W. 57th Street

Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

The Council on Human
Relations
281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Please let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

BP:enc.([illegible])

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

PEACE CORPS

[redacted]

Camp Lawrence Radley
Arecibo, Puerto Rico

August 21, 1962

Southern Regional Council
65 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

In the capacity of Academics Training Officer I represent the Peace Corps at this Puerto Rican training camp. Once each month we have a group coming through numbering on the average around 100 people.

Your name has been recommended as a source from which we might obtain information concerning racial segregation and discrimination. Would you be good enough to send us any catalogues, reading lists and other publications you may have available as well as placing my name on your mailing list. Any further suggestions as to where we might obtain additional information, particularly regarding pre-discussion films on this subject, will be appreciated.

Thank you for your help and cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Charles F Smith

Charles F. Smith
Academics Training Officer

CFS:sk

Race Relations Dept
Amer. Missionary Assn.
Fisk Univ.
Nashville, Tenn.

Intergroup Educ. Biblio., compiled by Edw. G. Olsen,
Assoc. Dir. Natl. Conf. of Christians & Jews.
203 N Wabash Ave, Chi 1, Ill.

~~ADL 515 Madison Ave NY 22~~

Dept. of Human Relations
AJC ~~386 Fourth Ave NY NY~~ 165 E 56th St
NY 22

~~Natl Conf of Christians & Jews 43 W 57th St~~ NY 19

n Council on Human Relations, 281 The Arcade
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Educational Film Sales
Univ. Ext.
U. of Cal.
Berkeley 4

August 27, 1962

Miss Sheila B. Kessler
403 W. 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Kessler:

I am enclosing a current Council publication list along with a brief statement of "Origin and "Aims" and a current issue of New South. Yes, the population map is ours and the Houston study, as well as subsequent studies on Chattanooga and Atlanta. Since you say you will not be back in New York until late September, I will defer mailing the 10 copies of the Houston study which you request until you drop us a card then. Perhaps at that time, too, you might want additional materials from the publication list.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc. ((3))

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Sheila Kessler
403 W. 21st Street
New York 11, New York

ack

Department of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

At a recent CORE Action Institute, in Houston, I came upon a booklet of yours, part of your series, 'The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South.' It is an excellent little book. I would like ten copies, for my own use, and for my friends . (It was the Houston monograph, reasonably enough, I say.)

If you charge for them, I'd like it either sent collect or send me a bill. I should be back in New York in late September.

I'd like copies, too, of the rest of the series, as they are are published.

I believe you publish the"New South." I have your map of population distribution torn out and mounted on the wall. To file under "ego", it decorates a lot of apartments and offices I know of.

Please, then, send me some information on your organization; its purposes, raison, et al.. I want to know, too, of any other series and booklets you publish.

Yours truly
Sheila B. Kessler
Sheila B. Kessler

107 South William Street
Joliet, Illinois
August 20, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send me the following articles for our discussion club?

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming.

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell.

✓ L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES.

✓ L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION,

✓ L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

✓ L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr.

Thank You.

8/27/62

Sincerely yours,

John E. Roach

John E. Roach

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 27, 1962

Miss Sheila B. Kessler
403 W. 23rd Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Kessler:

I am enclosing a current Council publication list along with a brief statement of "Origin and Aims" and a current issue of New South. Yes, the population map is ours and the Houston study, as well as subsequent studies on Chattanooga and Atlanta. Since you say you will not be back in New York until late September, I will defer mailing the 10 copies of the Houston study which you request until you drop us a card then. Perhaps at that time, too, you might want additional materials from the publication list.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

BP:s
enc. ((3))

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

New South

Will D. Campbell

ON RELIGIOUS RACISM

Chief Herbert T. Jenkins

ON POLICING PROGRESS

JUNE 1962

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

Everybody in our office loves Nobbie Morgan, Mrs. Tilly's secretary, for her good looks, her ebullient good nature, her hardworking competence and her tolerant kindness. I enjoy all this, too, but I think what I enjoy more is Nobbie's gorgeous sense of ridicule. I can look into her bright dark eyes and her repressed, dimpling smile and then relish any bore or madman or solemn fool who comes into our office when I know Nobbie has recognized him and is out there hearing our ridiculous dialogue. I also love Nobbie's free, strong spirit and pride, and as "sweet" as we all keep saying she is, I think we'd better not mess around with Nobbie when the chips are down. I've never been sure what the down chips mean, but it sounds crucial, and when things are crucial, with right and wrong and meanness and kindness clashing, I don't want to be aggravating Nobbie.

Nobbie is a handsome, dark brown, busty young Negro with a lovely pug face and a lively and humorous awareness of her womanhood. I, on the other hand, am an aging, pallid, gray-haired white lady with a resigned and humorous awareness of my decline. Nobbie thinks of herself as a Yankee and expresses adamant indignation over restrictions of the Deep South compared to the freedom of movies, good restaurants, plays, parks and unhumiliated movement she enjoyed in Dayton for many years after she left her native Georgia. I think of myself as a Southerner and express perhaps undue optimism over our increasing freedom and released brotherhood in the South, as forced as it is, and speak with foolish pride of cheesy dime stores and four nice restaurants and some movies where we can go together. Nobbie came back South because

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The Nature of the Problem

by Will D. Campbell

THE TERM "SEGREGATIONIST" means many things. It means the Ku Klux Klan and a large part of the White Citizens' Councils who support the strict separation of racial groups without reference to any other values.

It means the session member who says he would not object to having his children attend Sunday school with members of another race or living in an integrated neighborhood, but will not allow it because he fears it will lead to intermarriage.

It means the rapidly increasing Black Muslim movement among urban Negroes. This movement, whose membership lists are estimated to contain between 100,000 and 250,000 persons, advocates violence similar to that of the Klan. Unlike the "Uncle Toms" among Negroes who favored segregation because they derived some personal benefit from it, the Muslims oppose integration on the grounds that the white man is inferior and unfit for full citizenship in the coming black society. Not integration, but separation and the founding of a black nation on American soil, is their cry. Theirs is the voice of the disillusioned Negro masses.

The term "segregationist" means the Montgomery woman who held her small child in her arms during a mob attack on bus riders, and clung to the hair of a Negro girl in an effort to pull her close enough for the lad to strike her in the face with his little fists.

It means the Governor of Alabama whose repeated vitriolic outbursts inflamed the passions of the mob and by innuendo invited violence. It means state legislators who use every conceivable device to evade the law of the land. It means the gentle dowager, or, as reported by the Attorney General of California, "little old ladies in tennis shoes" who dearly love their maids, their cooks, and their cocker spaniels, but believe that the term "civil rights" is a communist slogan.

"Segregationist" means restricted neighborhoods in Westchester County, New York, or hooded night riders in Mississippi. It is the Tennessee Society for the Maintenance of Segregation or the New England congregation that generously builds a mission for the colored people because "they will be happier with their own people."

The truth is that "segregationist" means most of us in one form or to one degree. It does not mean only the rabid and lunatic fringe that expends all of its energy in race hatred. For the Christian, it must also mean anyone who regards people "from a human point of view," and who classifies and categorizes members within the body of Christ.

Anyone who believes that discrimination and prejudice are peculiar to the southern region of America has only to look at the list of hate groups that have been active over the past

Rev. Mr. Campbell is associate executive director of the National Council of Churches. This article is part of the second chapter of his book, RACE AND THE RENEWAL OF THE CHURCH, to be published in October by the Westminster Press, used here with the permission of Mr. Campbell and the publishers.

decade. Although most of the new organizations that have sprung up since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision are located in the South, older and more established groups with headquarters in other regions have published the major portion of hate literature in this country.

Such organizations as the Christian Nationalist Crusade, headed by Gerald L. K. Smith, of Los Angeles, the American Nationalists of Inglewood, California, and the group that publishes *Common Sense* in Union, New Jersey, have blanketed areas of unrest. They have served as catalysts of violence in community after community, North and South.

Notwithstanding the fact that anti-Semitism has been the chief stock in trade of these organizations, they have more recently adopted the racial crisis as the chief vehicle by which to peddle their wares of suspicion and rancor. This has served more to stir anti-Negro feeling in the North than it has to arouse anti-Semitism in the South. Generally speaking, a dormant form of racial prejudice is more prevalent in the North than is religious bigotry (especially anti-Semitism) in the South.

While the southern resistance groups have far more respectability than their Northern counterparts, both couch their purposes in lofty, culturally approved and generalized terms. For example, the White Citizens' Council of Mississippi has as its slogan: "Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order, and domestic tranquillity in our communities and in our state and to the preservation of our state's rights."

Such high-sounding phrases create an aura of respectability about the movement and permit the central organization to be free of responsibility for the often drastic pronouncements and actions of local units. However, the organizations themselves make no attempt to conceal their belief in white supremacy, biologically, socially, ethically, and politically. They are categorically opposed to desegregation in schools, churches, and public accommodations, and frequently object to Negroes' registering and voting. The political strength of these groups is impressive. At the beginning, most of them disclaimed any political ambitions. This is no longer the case. Such groups now have virtually absolute power in one state in the South and are a significant political factor in several others. It is evident that they are not concerned only with race. In 1955, W. J. Simmons, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens' Council, had this to say:

"I think . . . [the White Citizens' Council] is much more than a white supremacist group, and I think it is much more than a protectionist group. I think it is fundamentally the first real stirrings of a conservative revolt in this country, judging by the responses we've gotten from other states . . . . Some of the people who are attracted to this movement may not be concerned about the Negro."

Developments since Simmons' statement was voiced have proved his observation to be an accurate appraisal of the situation. Many politically conservative and reactionary organizations, among them the John Birch Society, have become working allies with the White Citizens' Councils. While the councils are most concerned with the preservation of segregation, they will gladly cooperate with other groups whose diverse aims may be, for example, to abolish the income tax or prevent the fluoridation of water. Put them all together, and in some sections of the country and on some issues you have a powerful political movement.

What does all this have to do with the renewal of the church? A great deal. First of all because these groups have succeeded in creating the image of a holy crusade. Some of them deliberately and with astute calculation see the churches as a convenient "front" for their activities. For example, Robert B. Patterson, secretary of the Citizens' Councils of America, told a group in New Orleans that they should infiltrate the churches and there take the offensive against "the mixing of the races."

"By organizing within churches," said Patterson, "foes of integration could bring pressure on ministers to support segregation and change the position of state and national church organizations which have endorsed mixing of races." He added with solemnity: "We love our churches just like we love our schools, and we want to preserve them."

But while the ultimate allegiance of spokesmen such as Patterson is to racial hate and while their manipulation of the churches is coldly calculated, by far the greatest number of these people are convinced that God is on their side. In seeking to maintain segregation they are doing nothing less than his will. Indeed, one of the greatest dangers we face is that the racial doctrine of white supremacy which has always been an element of secular culture in America will become a part of the church's body of dogma, an unwritten article of faith.

Perhaps the following story will illustrate how this gloomy prospect can actually be realized. One of my earliest recollections is of sitting one evening in a rural church in a Deep South county and watching the Ku Klux Klan file solemnly into the little frame building. In the ceremony that followed, a large pulpit Bible was presented by the Klansmen to the congregation and was accepted by the revival preacher. On the back cover of the book was stamped in brazen letters: K.K.K.

Several years ago I was preaching in that same pulpit and as I held the back cover of the Bible while reading the Scripture, my forefingers moved across those large, embossed letters. Later in the afternoon, talking with several members of the congregation, I asked them what they thought about having a pulpit Bible in their church that had been given by the Klan and bore its symbol. Although these were people who had lived their entire lives in that community and who had been present at that original Klan ceremony, each one stated that he had quite forgotten the incident and had never known that the letters K.K.K. were raised on the back cover of the Bible on their pulpit.

The greatest test and danger facing the Christian church in America is not racism as such, but that racism may become, consciously or unconsciously, a part of the faith. The Klan no longer exists in that rural community, but it has left its stamp not only on the cover of the Bible but on the minds and hearts of the present generation and those yet unborn. The groups which now have the prestige and power that formerly was the Klan's—the White Citizens' Council and the John Birch Society—will also pass away. But the seedlings they are planting today will grow and thrive for a long, long time. And these seedlings are essentially religious in character. Most of what is written and distributed by groups seeking to subvert the law of church and nation has a basically religious theme. Religious meaning is increasingly being written into the race literature of the hate groups and no subject arouses more religious support in America today than the subject of race. The segregationists in pew and pulpit who appeal to such authority are not simply resorting to rationalization. The stamp of racism has become a part of their religious heritage, and for them the integrationists are those who are apostate. In the eyes of the segregationist, the man who believes in racial justice denies the faith. The true defender of Christianity is he who would keep the races forever separate in the church and in the society.

As indicated earlier, the task of the churches would be less difficult if the segregationist would say: "I like segregation in my church and neighborhood and school, and I am going to keep it that way no matter what Christ or the Bible or the church say to the contrary." If that were the situation we faced, the churches could simply put their numerous mission boards and departments of evangelism to work converting the heathen. But instead, the segregationist defends white supremacy in God's name. With Bible in his hand, and chapter and verse on his lips, he presents and documents his arguments. In the name of God he denies the love, mercy, justice, and judgment of God, and it is virtually impossible to break through and reach him.

The attempt must be made, however, and sometimes it is effectively accomplished on the level of Scripture. One of the Biblical passages most often quoted by the racists is the Genesis story of creation. (Indeed, a critic once remarked, somewhat unjustly, of a Nashville segregationist minister: "His trouble is that he never got any farther in the Bible than Genesis.") Let us now examine that well known but much misused account of Creation.

"The blue birds and the red birds don't fly together," say the segregationists. It's true. They don't. And the Genesis account tells why:

"And God said, 'Let the earth put forth vegetation, plants yielding seed, and fruit trees bearing fruit . . . *each according to its kind*' . . . And it was so. The earth brought forth vegetation, plants yielding seed *according to their own kinds,* and trees bearing fruit in which is their seed, *each according to its kind* . . . God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves . . . *according to their kinds,* and every winged bird *according to its kind*. . . .

"And God said, 'Let the earth bring forth living creatures *according to their kinds:* cattle and creeping things and beasts of the earth *according to their kinds.'* And it was so. And God made the beasts of the earth *according to their kinds* and the cattle *according to their kinds,* and everything that creeps upon the ground *according to its kind."* (Gen. 1:11-12, 21, 24-25.)

". . . Each according to its kind." This is probably the most important passage of Scripture in any treatment of race. The phrase, or a slight variation of it, appears no fewer than ten times in this account. But suddenly a dramatic change takes place: "Then God said, *'Let us make man in our image after our likeness.'* " (Gen. 1:26).

All the other creatures had been made "each according to its kind," but man was made in the image and likeness of God! Thus man became the highest of God's creatures—not some men, but *man!* But there is still another significant note in this story. God made man in his own image. Certainly that alone makes man of considerable importance. But he also made him out of dirt! Man is at once made after the image of God and created out of that lowly commodity—dirt!

Various doctrines have sprung from these two facets of the Creation story. Some have emphasized the idea of man being a little lower than the angels and in the image of God and have insisted that he is therefore the very heart and center of the universe. Others have insisted that being made from dirt, man is precisely that—dirt, with all the connotation which that humble substance brings to mind. At this point it is not important which is the correct emphasis of interpretation. What is important is that whatever is true of a man, he is God's creature and he is one and inseparable from every other human creature.

The account of Creation, of course, does not really have to do with race. It has to do with grace; with what we could not do for ourselves because we were not. It is something unearned, undeserved, something we could not even ask for, because we were without existence and without power until God performed his creative act. For the segregationist to question creation is to question God's grace, for creation *is* grace—nothing less nor more. "It is he that made us and we are his. (Ps. 100:3.) And whether we are a little lower than the angels or as lowly as dirt, God made us, and neither the color of the angels above us nor the color of the dirt beneath our feet is important.

Interestingly enough, if the color of the dirt of which we are made is important, it really adds credence to the Black Muslim argument for black supremacy. For so-called white man isn't white at all but is about the color of hill clay, and anyone who has ever been a farmer knows hill clay won't grow much of anything except crowder peas and pine trees, while dark soil is always at a premium! But whatever we men are made of, one thing is certain—we are all of the same stuff. All of us are in the same boat and the boat is captained, not by ourselves, but by God. It is the captain above who has the right to rank and place the passengers and God has given no indication that this is done on the basis of race.

The church must be concerned with the segregationist not only because he is within the institution, but especially and above all because he too is a child of God. He too is a brother. The church cannot force the racist out of its fellowship by any arbitrary or high-handed discipline. The church must understand him, but at the same time it must not permit understanding him to mean that its own policy becomes silence or inaction. There is no one in America more troubled, more distressed, than the pastor who truly understands, who looks out over his congregation and his city and understands that his people are, at least in part, victims of the bitter crop of the seeds of time and the inexplicable forces of modernity which they did not plant, whose furrows they did not cultivate, but whose harvest is imposed upon them. At the same time such a pastor will know that he has no choice but to preach the uncompromising and scandalizing imperatives of the gospel. Jesus understood the real condition of the people of Jerusalem, but the knowledge that certain social and political factors played a role in the popular customs and ethos of the city did not keep him from entering Jerusalem and turning it upside down.

The racist is the greatest challenge

the church faces today in both the North and the South. One might say that he is the true adolescent of adult Christianity; the most unlovely and the most in need of love. Certainly the church must not tolerate what he stands for, but it must not abandon him in its atttempt to force him to maturity. Those of us who consider ourselves the children of light with respect to our attitudes and practices in race relations must ask ourselves what happened in our lives to make us so different from the racist. What combination of genes, what freak of historical circumstance and personal association, gave us vision to see the truth? Even if God laid his hands on us, even if some are chosen, to what credit can we claim, what reason have we to boast and what right to condemn? Somehow we cannot hate the racist, for most of us do not know how or when we left his ranks, if we have left them at all.

I have seen and known the resentment of the racist, his hostility, his frustration, his need for someone upon whom to lay blame and to punish. I know he is mistaken, misguided, and willfully disobedient, but somehow I am not able to distinguish between him and myself. My sins may not be his, but they are no less real and no less heinous. Perhaps I have been too close to this man. Perhaps if I had not heard his anguished cry when the rains didn't come in time to save his cotton, if I had not felt the severity of his economic deprivation, if I had not looked upon his agony on Christmas Eve while his six-year-old child, feigning sleep, waited for a Santa who would never come; if I had not been one of him through these gales of tragedy, I would be able to condemn him without hesitation. If I had not shared his plight; if I had not lived with him in an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, ignorance, misinformation, and nefarious political leadership, surely my heart would break less when I see him fomenting mob violence in front of *his* schoolhouse. Perhaps I would not pity him as much if I were not from his loins. But pity him I do.

But the church must not pity the racist. It must love and redeem him. It must somehow set him free. With the same love that it is commanded to shower upon the innocent victim of his frustration and hostility, the church must love the racist. Moreover, the church is called to love those who use and exploit both the racists and their victims for personal wealth and political gain. The church must stand in love and judgment upon the victim, the victimized, and those, both black and white, who exploit both, for they are all the children of God.

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her husband wanted to live at home. I came back from a border state because I wanted to live in Georgia.

But for all her devotion to Dayton and for all my overestimation of Georgia progress, Nobbie and I go giggling together over "inter-group relationships," and find ourselves dropping companionably into the southern "ain't," the casual "he don't," the country "Lord have mercy" and Nobbie's "he ain't nothin' but a houn' dog" (this of course is from Elvis Presley, but he *is* Tennessee, awful and our own.) And I must say for all Nobbie's glad sojourn in Freedom Land, she sho ain't learned how to roll an R or pick up a vowel. Ours, of course, is the easy idiom of Southerners who know better, from Dayton to Hattiesburg, Miss., some of whom can read Vergil in Latin for fun, win Supreme court cases, get Pulitzer and Nobel prizes for literature and fathom mysteries of biochemistry. (Nobbie and I couldn't, but we could probably recite "The Song of the Chattahoochee" and a lot of "Hiawatha.")

Nobbie and I glanced at each other in sour rapport and amusement over a disagreeable office to-do (common to all offices, which are like families in their intimacies, intensities and half-understood conflicts) and we decided to lunch together, not anywhere as in Dayton, but at nearby Rich's, one of four places where it's nice. "Nobbie," I loudly proposed, fancying myself amusing, "Let's go out and form an office clique!" When Nobbie laughed the alarmed double-takes of the others quivered off into uneasy trills before her good sense. "Two dedicated women," I cried heedlessly, "can tear an office apart!" Nobbie whooped, and then everybody else laughed, knowing that Nobbie is too good for the guile and I'm too old for the energy for a real office clique. So we went and had a nice lunch replete with relaxed Southern "I ain't about tos" and "shut your mouths." And Nobbie, with a satiric eye, regaled me with outlandish stories about white women in four-inch heels with 50-pound legs and varicose veins standing up for three miles on the bus before they'd sit by a Negro.

Marge, Jan, Nobbie and I went to Newberry's Red Room, a dime store drop-level cafeteria whose salmon croquet is 15 cents more than it should be and had a good time except for grumbling about the check. We bore the wondering glances of other customers, more curious than disapproving, at the still strange spectacle of whites and Negroes socializing over food. Nobbie had flung 20 cents on a crusty apple pan pie, which I dipped my fork into for a taste. As nearby diners watched, in furtive astonishment, Nobbie nudged me and laughed, "They're saying, look at her, eating after a nigger." As indeed they were, in simple wonder.

Sometimes Nobbie and I take our office clique to walk in the lunchtime sunshine to buy stockings or gossip. And some of the passers-by watch us as if they can't stop drinking it in. And maybe they are thirsty for this black-white friendship, this release from unnatural separation of quite compatible people.

Nobbie, I feel, isn't nearly the Dayton Yankee she thinks she is. And I think her husband was smart to bring her back home to us, and especially to me, since we talk the same relaxed talk, laugh at the same things and become angry at the same kind of meanness. I, and others in Georgia, need Nobbie, because she is really ours, the best kind of Southerner.

All this, I guess, is mental health, the toughness and kindness and humor to pull us through our big change.

A Poetical Reminiscence on a Singular Occurrence During "Harry Belafonte's Performance for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta.

While sitting — row on row of black and white —
And listening to calypso
A loud explosion jarred the night.
All reporters dashed toward the do'.

In our seats we thought, "The Klan
We knew it, it was too calm!
Not one picket, not one hooded man,
Not a single integrationist come to ha'm."

Then they returned, one by one.
Near me, a reporter sank into his seat.
"Was it a bomb — was it a gun?"
"Neither — a chair fell over someone's feet."

—Anon.

Police, Progress and Desegregation in Atlanta

by Herbert T. Jenkins
Atlanta Chief of Police

IN 1933 I WAS A ROOKIE policeman, detailed as an aide to the late Mayor James L. Key. One afternoon a distinguished group of Negro citizens called on the mayor and requested him to employ Negro policemen.

The mayor gave them a very understanding reception and advised them that their request was not unreasonable, but that the time was not right. First, he said, the white citizens, as well as the Negro citizens, would have to be educated to that point, and he advised them to go back and start an educational program for the Negro citizens, and he would help them in educating the white citizens; and when the time was right, he said, the City of Atlanta would employ Negro police. Admittedly this came as somewhat of a shock to me, for I had never heard it suggested before.

It was also my first contact with the distinguished Negro leadership that has always existed in Atlanta, and which I later came to know and respect so well.

After the committee had departed, the mayor said to me that he was an old man, and would never live to see Negro police in Atlanta, but I would some day have to work with Negro police, and that I should be prepared to furnish some of the leadership when it came. I recommended Negro police for Atlanta in 1948. Their employment has been most successful. They have the respect of both white and Negro, and are doing a good job.

Prior to 1945 most southern states and cities held what they called a "white democratic primary election," in which all office holders were elected and the Negroes could not vote. The successful candidates had to run in the general election, but they seldom had opposition. That election was where the Negro was allowed to vote—where it did not count.

The United States Supreme Court held these laws to be invalid and, in effect, said that the Negro must be allowed to vote in making the original selection.

This was the first time he had been given a voice in his government, and, in my opinion, this is the only instrument necessary for the Negroes to obtain full citizenship and acceptance in the rural South.

The Freedom Riders, the sit-ins, the pickets and the demonstrators create publicity and some sympathy, but generally they create more ill will than good will, and an almost impossible situation for law enforcement officers to maintain peace and good order in the community.

In 1954 the U. S. Supreme Court handed down its unanimous and much debated school integration decision. This came as quite a shock to most white people in the South.

Leaders at the state capitol immediately denounced the court and proclaimed to the world that the decision would never be accepted. The Governor and the State Legislature joined with other southern states in massive resistance, adopting state laws to protect segregation and to cut off public funds from any integrated school.

This went on continuously for seven years, while, in the meantime, the city of Atlanta was adopting a policy of progress and moderation towards its Negro citizens.

The Governor once publicly criticized the mayor for his policy of moderation. The mayor replied that the city of Atlanta had adopted its policy from the seal of the State of Georgia, which has etched in it three words—*Wisdom, Justice and Moderation.*

The city's golf courses were the first to yield to the judgment of the United States Federal Court to desegregate. The Governor declared that the golf courses should be plowed up and planted in peas, rather than yield to integration.

Next to desegregate were the buses, the library, and the airport—some without a Federal Court order, and some with it. While all of this was accepted without serious incidents, we all knew that the big question was the schools, and that was where the final showdown would come. We knew through our informers from White Citizens' Council and the Klan organizations over the South that they considered Atlanta the most important place to keep segregated, for whatever Atlanta did, other southern cities would most likely follow, that if Atlanta fell to integration, the South was lost.

In the meantime the Atlanta Police Department was confronted almost daily with serious racial problems, with feeling and tension running very high on both sides. At one time we had Negro students and the Ku Klux Klan picketing the same establishments, at the same time. But, we survived these demonstrations without injury or arrest of a single person because the police were trained and disciplined to enforce the law and maintain the peace, regardless of race, creed or color.

There were grave decisions every day because the federal, state, and local laws were in conflict with each other. We were reminded that Gladstone had defined the law as a signal rule for human action, commending what was right, and forbidding what was wrong. The great weakness of this definition today is that men of good will cannot agree on what is right and what is wrong. For instance, in the last twenty years the United States Supreme Court has handed down decisions in thirty cases that originated from police action, usually cases of searches and seizures, and not a single one of these cases received unanimous action of the court. Most of them were decided by a four to five decision.

Serious racial problems were being reported from Little Rock, Montgomery, New Orleans, and Jacksonville. The Atlanta Police Department sent investigators there to observe and to determine what we must do to prevent disturbances and riots in Atlanta. We reached the conclusion that many of these problems could have been prevented with better coordination between federal, state and local police.

We pointed out in our Roll Call Training that where our opinion of procedure might differ from that of federal or state officers, we must yield to the judgment of the higher authority. We also required every member of our department to read and study reports and books on this subject and to make a book report on them so that we could be sure that they had read them.

We included in this list of required

reading: *Justice for All,* by the Anti-Defamation League and International Association of Chiefs of Police; *Racial Violence and Law Enforcement,* by George McMillan; *How to Recognize and Handle Abnormal People,* by Dr. Robert A. Mathews; and *Justice, the 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report No. 5.*

Ernest Vandiver succeeded Marvin Griffin as the Governor, and appointed a committee to hold public hearings in every congressional district of the state to inform the public of the school issues, and to determine what course the state should follow.

The committee was chaired by John Sibley, and the committee became known as the Sibley Committee. He and the press did a magnificent job of informing the public. They made abundantly clear that the alternatives were to accept the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court to desegregate the public schools or to abandon public schools.

On instructions from the Federal Courts, the Atlanta Board of Education had submitted a plan to desegregate Atlanta public schools, one grade each year, starting at the top. The court accepted the plan and instructed the Board to begin it at the fall term of 1961.

In January, 1961, the Federal Court issued an order placing two Negro students in the University of Georgia at Athens. Hamilton Holmes and Charlene Hunter were enrolled and a riot broke out.

The State Police took the two students into protective custody and rushed them to Atlanta, leaving the small, undermanned Athens Police Department to handle the riot, but they did a masterful job in rounding up the trouble makers and putting them in jail. Within a week, the Georgia Legislature, under the leadership of Governor Vandiver, met and abandoned the massive resistance program and repealed all the state laws that prohibited school desegregation.

This turning point removed the conflict between the state and federal laws, and made it possible for federal, state and local law enforcement officials to work together.

The two Negro students were returned to the University of Georgia, and they have been students there ever since, without trouble—the first Negroes ever to attend an all white school in the state of Georgia.

This set the stage for Atlanta, Georgia, to lead the new South into desegregation of its public schools on August 30, 1961, without disorder.

Mayor Wm. B. Hartsfield, chief designer of Atlanta's moderate and progressive policy for almost a quarter of a century, announced that he would not seek reelection in the September primary, but would retire from public office on January 1.

Ivan Allen, Jr., a distinguished business and civic leader, who never sought public office before; Muggsy Smith, an original advocate of open schools, a veteran state legislator, and a successful candidate in every political race that he had entered; Charlie Brown, a state senator and former county commissioner and twice an unsuccessful candidate for mayor; and Jim Aldredge, a veteran county commissioner, successful in all previous political campaigns, offered for the office.

The four were competent and prosperous business leaders who were expected to conduct a hard-fought political campaign that would appeal to both white and Negro voters.

The fifth candidate was Lester Maddox, operator of the Pickrick Restaurant, an unsuccessful candidate against Mayor Hartsfield four years before in the general election. He was best known for his affiliation with GUTS, a small fanatical group who called themselves "Georgians Unwilling to Surrender." He was a staunch segregationist, and no one expected him to even ask for a Negro vote. In fact, he refused to attend any of the political meetings of the Negro Voters League.

For almost a year a group of Negro students, with full support from the Negro community, had conducted demonstrations and boycotts against the variety stores, dime stores, the drug stores and the department stores downtown because the owners refused to desegregate their lunch counters.

The representatives of these two groups reached an agreement whereby the demonstrations and boycotts would be stopped immediately and the lunch counters would be desegregated following the orderly desegregation of schools. This was most helpful in creating an atmosphere of peace and quiet in the spring and summer of the political campaign and prior to the opening of the public schools.

The school department was accepting applications from the Negro students to transfer to all white schools.

They approved the transfer of ten students to four all-white high schools located in all sections of the city, so that no community could claim preference or discrimination.

The police department immediately placed these students, the schools, and, I might add, all known trouble-makers, under surveillance. The school department, in cooperation with the police department, designed the ground rules for opening day and the weeks to follow. It was decided that all school property and the streets adjacent must be off-limits to all persons except teachers and students. Some of the television people raised a howl, but in the end they recognized the necessity for it.

The police department prepared maps of the schools and the streets, showing the off-limits boundaries. Each school was assigned a Superintendent of Police, a lieutenant, six patrolmen and one policewoman, with instructions to be as inconspicuous as possible; to devote their attention to traffic control at the intersections, but to be on the alert for trouble spots and trouble makers. Detectives were assigned to various places in the city for the same reason.

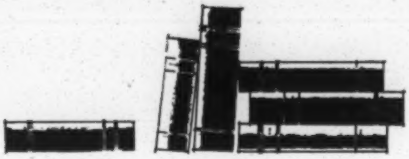
There was a large number of police and equipment held in reserve in case of an emergency. We were delighted that they were never called out.

In August I issued a statement to police and public that the Board of Education would desegregate public schools on August 30, and that any objections to this must be made at the school board offices and not at the schools. I called attention to local and state laws providing protection for public worship and public schools, that "the Atlanta police department has full responsibility and authority to maintain the peace and good order over the entire city, and especially at and around the schools."

Mayor Hartsfield converted the Aldermanic Board chambers into a gigantic press room, with all wire services and teletype machines, a hundred desks, typewriters and telephones. He invited the entire press to come there for all the news. Private telephone lines connected the police department and all four schools with the press room. The phones to these lines were equipped with amplifiers and loud-

(Continued on back cover)

Books



Fifty-eight Lonely Men

Non-fiction by J. W. Peltason, 260 pp. Harcourt, Brace and World, New York: $4.95.

Fifty-eight Lonely Men by Professor Peltason of the University of Illinois is a valuable chronicle of school desegregation in the South from 1954 to 1961. Peltason comments with authority and accuracy on Little Rock, New Orleans, and other crises in the South since 1954 in one of the most helpful overviews of these tumultuous years yet available.

The author emphasizes that the federal judiciary has generally been constructive in implementation of the 1954 and 1955 Supreme Court edicts, that the judges are usually more representative of the urban and suburban South and less of the "red-suspender-populists" than most elected southern officials. He further notes that the federal bench itself exerts a moderating influence on the southern born judge. "His position gives him some protection from local demands; at the same time it exposes him to the claims of a national constituency."

Professor Peltason traces the gradual retreat of die-hard segregationism and the growth of moderate sentiment among community leadership. The battle between moderates and segregationists, he says, tends to follow economic and educational lines and to be a battle of the urban vs. the rural areas. Segregationists find their primary strength in the rural areas. "If Little Rock had not been in Arkansas, Atlanta not in Georgia, Miami not in Florida, New Orleans not in Louisiana, schools could and would have been desegregated within a year or two after the Supreme Court decision."

Peltason blames much of the confusion and tokenism of the last eight years on the ambiguity of the United States Supreme Court and on the broad leeway allowed district and circuit judges. He charges the Court itself with retreat in affirming pupil placement laws. The Court has sanctioned token integration, a far cry from "the full" compliance at the earliest practicable date" and complete desegregation "with all deliberate speed" promised by the Supreme Court's 1955 decision. He concludes, "Judges will do what they are told by the United States Supreme Court . . . but none of them, even those who favor desegregation, are particularly anxious to attack strongly entrenched local institutions. As a result, the ambiguity of the Supreme Court's instructions has been resolved to conform to the dominant political forces in the South."

Dr. Peltason believes with most civil rights leaders that too much responsibility for change has been left to the courts and too little assumed by the executive and legislative branches. Unless judges have backing from other branches of the federal government and support at the state and local level "they will not, perhaps cannot, desegregate the schools."

The author concludes that a significant beginning has nonetheless been made, and that the nation owes a debt of gratitude to the 58 lonely men of the federal judiciary in the South.

One cannot help being apprehensive, however, to remember that most of these 58 men were appointed to the bench prior to the heat and controversy generated by the 1954 decision. Future appointments to the southern bench must pass the muster of senatorial courtesy. It may be that as vacancies occur and are filled, the federal judiciary in the South will become increasingly responsive to Southern political leadership. The judicial appointments President Kennedy has made in the South during the last year are not reassuring to those who hope for a speedier school desegregation.

PAUL RILLING

Diary of a Sit-In

Non-fiction by Merrill Proudfoot, 204 pp. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. $5.00.

Merrill Proudfoot has written a day by day account of one and one half summer months in Knoxville, Tenn., where, in 1960, a group of white and Negro students, teachers and other adults demonstrated, sat-in and economically withdrew from downtown areas so that in about six weeks 16 lunch counters were desegregated with little violence. Dr. Proudfoot describes in straightforward, almost humble prose, his feelings and strategy, those of a white Presbyterian minister helping to lead the movement. He also recounts the reactions and ideas of the other leaders and those of ministers, waitresses, newspaper editors, observers and others involved in this struggle against discrimination.

Comparing Knoxville and Nashville, the author states, "It is still debatable whether their clamorous approach or our quiet one will prove to have been the better, but whatever the decision one must confess that each city did as it did because of the personality of the town and no theoretical judgments would have dictated a different approach." The account shows awareness of the leaders that a delicate balance must be maintained between strategy and spontaneity. Proudfoot describes his own fear and trembling when he first sat-in at Rich's, meetings of the leaders with store managers, economic boycott, continued demonstrations and sit-ins. A sensible combination of all four "techniques" proved wisest.

"The lunch counter crusade threw the spotlight dramatically on group discrimination and demonstrated that something can be done about it by ordinary people," Dr. Proudfoot feels. Perhaps, in the long run, this is the most valuable result of the Knoxville movement, for as soon as "ordinary" people who have borne witness with closed eyes to discrimination open those eyes and see it and find some part they can play in ridding the community of it, there is hope that the barriers of prejudice will be broken.

For these appraisers of the sit-in movement and non-violent philosophy there is a clear explanation and defense of the actions of the Knoxville group. However, the diary portion contains such honest exploration of moral and practical dilemmas and the solutions that presented themselves to the leaders of the movement that I felt further defense unnecessary.

JANE H. COLES

New South

Jenkins

(Continued from page 13)

speakers, so that everyone could hear all conversations.

Police and school officials were present at all times to answer any questions that the press might ask. If any member of the press wanted to ask the principal of any of the four schools a question, Dr. Letson, the superintendent, used these private lines to talk with the principal while the press could hear both ends of the conversation.

Organizations Assisting Schools in September had prepared a handbook, furnishing the names, telephone numbers and answers to questions that the press might ask.

The local, national and international press were well represented on August 30, 1961. They were most cooperative —in fact, they were magnificent.

At the schools, the students and teachers went about their business with no interference, and the police had little to do. One youth, representing the American Nazi party, appeared at one of the schools, and four local youngsters appeared at another. They refused to move on and were taken into custody, carried to police headquarters, put in a police lineup in the presence of the press, and transferred to court, where their cases were promptly disposed of.

The political campaign was ending and had stayed remarkably clear of school and racial issues. On September 13th, election day, Mr. Allen led the ticket, with Mr. Maddox running second, eliminating the other candidates; but Mr. Allen failed to get a clear majority, and this called for a run-over election between Mr. Allen and Mr. Maddox on September 22.

In this run-over election, Mr. Maddox injected the race issue, and clearly said that there was only one issue, the racial issue, and that it was just as plain as black and white. Mr. Allen received approximately one-half of the white votes and practically all of the Negro votes, giving him two-thirds of the votes cast.

The Allen administration is keeping Atlanta going forward at a very rapid pace. The lunch counters have been desegregated without incident, and Grand Opera and downtown movie theatres desegregated in the spring.

Atlanta is proud to be an important part of this great country of ours, and of the world. We are happy to shoulder our part of the responsibility in dealing with the racial revolution that is now sweeping the entire world.

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Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year, effective with the next issue. Enclosed is my check, or money order, for $2.00.

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SRC PUBLICATIONS

a listing of current materials
relating to race relations and
allied subjects available from

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Summer, 1962

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962, 52 pp. SC 50¢.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 1961. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman. Migrations from South to North and rural to urban as reported in Fortune, March, 1962. Reprint, 9 pp. SC 20¢.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, Nov., 1961; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, Feb., 1962; and ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement"for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick, Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q2¢.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Myer. Racial news in the press. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Statistics and specific local examples. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢.

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢.

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: A RECAPITULATION, a summary of sit-in activity

from February 1960 to September 1961 and its results. (Mimeo.) SC 15¢.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the 1954 decision reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years ... and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke & Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles reprinted from the Washington Post. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961, SC 5¢.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢.

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.) 27 pp., 1961, SC 10¢.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29 pp. SCF, QCWC.

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine June, 1958. SCF, QCWC.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC.

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell. Study of Norfolk, Va., citizens at a time when schools were closed there conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Univ. of North Carolina. 159 pp., 1960. SCF, QCWC.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug., 5, 1961. SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise noted, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of

Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960.

L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES. Where and how this has been effective. 1960.

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing importance of leaving education to educators. Nov., 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. Dec., 1960.

L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 - 1961.

L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. Feb., 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July, 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of

Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov., 1961.

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov., 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May, 1962.

Index to price code

SC - single copy   SCF - single copy free
Q - price per copy in quantity
QRR - quantity rates on request
QCWC - quantities considered without cost

The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have been active since 1919. The Commission was founded in that year by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Through the ensuing years it built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset. It worked to encourage an interchange of ideas and mutual trust between the South's two peoples. The notion of cooperative action by persons of good will, both white and Negro, took firmer root and has continued to grow.

In time the Commission sought ways of expanding its activities to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. This led to the formation of the Southern Regional Council, which was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Dr. Rufus Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, of the Methodist Church; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation formally merged its program and assets with those of the Council.

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 Southerners, drawn from the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 states of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. The Council is non-profit, non-political, and non-denominational.

In 1951, the Council formally committed itself to the aim of an unsegregated society. It did so because it believed segregation to conflict with moral values, with democratic principles, and with the best interests of the country and this region. The Council has, therefore, an announced point of view. It has, furthermore, a single-minded devotion to the method of fair, open, and well-informed discussion. It believes that Southern problems cannot be satisfactorily solved unless Southerners are willing to discuss them frankly, critically, and realistically. The Council's program is planned and its publications are prepared to serve that end.

Financial support for the Council has come from many different individuals and organizations. The latter include national foundations, many church denominations, and various trade unions and business firms.

The Council's present functions may be summarized as follows: 1) it provides consultative services to private and official agencies; 2) it carries on research and publishes frequent reports of findings; 3) it publishes a monthly magazine, New South, and works with the press, radio, and television; 4) it is a clearinghouse and coordinator for other agencies concerned with Southern problems.

The Southern Regional Council seeks to be a practical organization, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. It is an educational organization. It believes that each community in the South must find its own answers to social issues within the framework of law and conscience. It offers no blueprint, no panacea for the South's human problems. It does offer a method -- that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

* * *

Present officers of the Southern Regional Council:

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Planter and Author
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

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Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

Executive Director

Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 30, 1962

Mr. Harry J. Alderman
Blaustein Library
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Alderman:

No, Highlights from Recent Literature has not been published since the bulletin to which you refer in your letter. I am certain you are already familiar with the bibliographies of other human relations agencies, and may be with SRC's, but in any event I am enclosing a current publication list. Periodically, announcement of new materials appears in our monthly magazine, New South.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Blaustein Library

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

August 21, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Four years ago we received from you two issues of a bulletin, Highlights from recent literature, a series of digests of newly published literature on desegregation and intergroup relations in the South. Has this bulletin been continued since 1958? If so, we would be most obliged to you if you would include our name on the mailing list to receive it currently.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

HJAlderman

Harry J. Alderman
Librarian

Treasury Department
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

ATTN: Mrs. Graves

letter
9/6/62

9/11/62

25 copies Church in Areas of Racial Tension

@ $ .03 $ .75

Thank You.

department of racial and cultural relations

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. riverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

john w. thomas
chairman
j. oscar lee
executive director

September 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
62 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us 25 copies of your pamphlet, "The Church in Areas of Racial Tension" by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee.

If there is any charge for this material, please bill: Treasury Department, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York, Att: Mrs. Graves.

25
.03
.75

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Doreen L. Graves

for J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

galen r. weaver, vice chairman • theressa hoover, recording secretary • will d. campbell, s. garry oniki, assoc. executive directors

a unit of the division of christian life and work

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Wilma Meyer
Alma, Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Meyer:

Inasmuch as the topic of your paper sounds a little too general for me to know exactly what to send you, I am enclosing a list of current SRC publications, a recent L-Report, and a statement about the Council. Perhaps after looking these over, you can let us know what specific materials you would be interested in and we would be happy to send them.

The national headquarters of the N.A.A.C.P. are at 20 W. 40th Street, New York 181 New York.

Please let us know if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (3)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Alma, Wisconsin
August 31, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3
Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am writing a college paper on the subject "Why Race Prejudice?" If you have any material on the subject, I would greatly appreciate your advising me how to obtain it.

Also, where can I get in touch with the N.A.A.C.P?

I thank you for your kindness.

20 W. 40th St
NY 18

Yours truly,
(Mrs.) Wilma Meyer

September 11, 1962

Mr. Richard E. Bauer, Comptroller
International Union of Electrical,
Radio and Machine Workers
1126 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bauer:

Mr. Paul Anthony has asked that I acknowledge your letter of September 5 and advise you that we have mailed a packet of Southern Regional Council materials to Mr. Bartelli in Cleveland, to be held for the IUE Convention. We will be pleased to have these on display in your Civic Affairs Department.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Philip Murray Building

INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO
AND MACHINE WORKERS
AFFILIATED WITH THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR and CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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1126 SIXTEENTH STREET N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JAMES B. CAREY
President
AL HARTNETT
Secretary-Treasurer

September 5, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We will be pleased to have available for the delegates to our Tenth Constitutional Convention in Cleveland, September 17-21, any materials or publications of the Southern Regional Council which you may be able to provide.

The material will be put on display by our Civic Affairs Department and should be shipped to:

Mr. Osmero Bartelli
IUE-AFL-CIO Convention
Sheraton Cleveland Hotel
Public Square
Cleveland 13, Ohio

Write

Please make a notation on the package to "Hold for Arrival."

Any questions you may have should be sent to Mr. Bartelli or Mr. Edmond Rovner, Civic Affairs Director, at our Washington office.

Very truly yours,

Richard E Bauer

Richard E. Bauer
Comptroller

oeiu 2 afl cio
SCT/ds

cc: Ozzie Bartelli

September 11, 1962

Mrs. Etta G. Tierney
Camp Douglas
Wisconsin

Dear Mrs. Tierney:

We would be happy to send you any of the Council materials listed on the enclosed publications folder. With regard to the N.A.A.C.P., your questions can be best answered by them directly. The address of their national headquarters is, 20 W. 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Please do not hesitate to let us know what you wishhto receive, and thhank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosure

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Camp Douglas, Wis.
Sept. 7, 1962

Dear Sirs:

I am interested in the problems of the Negro, in the aims and activities of the N.A.A.C.P. and similar organizations. Will you please send me any free material you may have or send me the prices of material available on the subject.

Yours truly,
Etta G. Tierney

September 11, 1962

Miss Carole Perkins
Christian Action Library
East Harlem Protestant Parish
2050 Second Avenue
New York 29, New York

Dear Miss Perkins:

The only document the Council has produced to date on the Albany movement was a report produced last January on events in that city in late 1961. A copy of this report, by Howard Zinn, is being sent to you under separate cover, and we are happy to let you have it without cost.

Mr. Zinn is at present working on a study of more recent events in Albany and we will make a note to see that you receive a copy as soon as this is published.

Our research department dose maintain an extensive clipping file on Albany, if you were also referring to day to day coverage. We should be happy to share these with you or your staff, should they be in Atlanta, or to make and send you copies of some pertinent few you might require.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

EAST HARLEM PROTESTANT PARISH*

2050 SECOND AVENUE
NEW YORK 29, N. Y.

September 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send us reports and other materials on Albany, Ga. Several of our church members and ministers participated in the religious protest there and the whole community is very much concerned with the situation .

We will be willing to pay whatever is necessary for the materials.

Sincerely yours,
Carole Perkins
Carole Perkins,
Christian Action Library

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF LAW
LAW LIBRARY

53 WASHINGTON STREET
NEWARK 2, NEW JERSEY

August 31 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are interested in the following publication:

L-16. Atlanta and Washington; racial differences in academic achievement by F H Stallings.

If available for distribution, free of charge, we would greatly appreciate it if same could be made available to us.

If there is a charge, will you please indicate before forwarding.

We also would very much like to obtain any other material dealing with Civil Rights which may be available for distribution, free of charge.

Thanking you, I am

Yours very truly,

Margaret Howell

(Mrs)Margaret A Howell
Acquisitions Assistant

h

9/12/62 BP

September 12, 1962

Mr. Thomas W. Ottenad
Washington Bureau
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
1028 Connecticut Avenue
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Ottenad:

We shall be happy to add your name to the Council mailing list. Under separate cover we are today mailing you The Federal Executive and Civil Rights, a recent publications list (we shall be happy to send any materials on it), a descriptive note about the Council, and a recent issue of our monthly magazine, New South.

Regarding future queries, if they are addressed to Staige D. Blackford, Research Director, we shall try to be as helpful as we can.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

L-1

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1028 CONNECTICUT AVENUE

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Sept. 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Would you be good enough to put me on your mailing list to receive copies of your reports and other material that you may issue from time to time?

I have your March 13 report on "Executive Support of Civil Rights." Could you send me your January 1961 report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights"?

In addition, I wonder if it would be possible for you to send me some information concerning the background and purpose of the council. I would appreciate also a list of your officers and staff people so that I might know to whom to direct any queries in the future.

Thank you so much for your help.

Sincerely,

Tom Ottenad

Thomas W. Ottenad

September 12, 1962

The Rev. J. Fletcher Lowe, Jr.
Church of the Ascension
Seneca, South Carolina

Dear Reverend Lowe:

We have read your letter of August 29 with considerable concern here. We have very little to offer in the way of materials on the rural-to-urban migration, but what we have produced is being mailed to you under separate cover, along with a listing of Council publications.

It has, however, been suggested that a very valuable resource person for you would be the Council's president, James McBride Dabbs, himself a life-long resident of rural South Carolina and familiar with its indigenous problems. Should you wish to get in touch with him, his address is

Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina.

I have included in the packet of materials an address by Mr. Dabbs, as it appeared last November in New South, about which you wrote so kindly.

Thank you for your interest and we regret that we cannot be more helpful.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
cc: James M. Dabbs

THE REV. J. FLETCHER LOWE, JR.
SENECA, S. C.

29 August 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

I have noted and read with interest a copy of your publication, The New South, dealing in the main with the racial situation in the South.

I am concerned with that phase of the South, but am equally concerned with another aspect of the New South, that of the transition from a rural, agricultural economy to an urban, industrial one. Do you provide any leadership or information on that subject?

I ask this as an Episcopal priest in a small community feeling all the growing pains of this transition- and also as the President of the local Jaycee chapter which is planning a Community Development project starting in September.

Please let me hear from you concerning this matter.

Faithfully,

Vicar
Church of the Ascension

Dobbs -

September 12, 1962

Miss Pearl Gunter
1711 Jo Johnston
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Miss Gunter:

We are mailing today under separate cover what materials we have dealing with your dissertation topic, "desegregation of professional staffs." As for the "Next Steps in the South" pamphlet, that has been revised in recent years to "School Desegregation: The First Six Years" and a copy of this is included.

Our resources on your subject are, I regret, a little scant. I would, however, recommend to you the following article, if you are not already familiar with it:

> "The Economic Imbalance," Vivian W. Henderson, The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. XXX, No. 1, Winter, 1961.

Please do not hesitate to call on us if we can be more useful in the future.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

1711 Jo Johnston
Nashville, Tennessee
August 30, 1962

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am a doctoral student at the University of Tennessee. I am interested in writing my dissertation dealing with the problem of "the desegregation of professional staffs".

Please send me a copy of the publication: "Next Steps in the South, Answers to Current Questions.

Enclosed is 20 cent remittance.

Any other materials dealing with my area of interest will be greatly appreciated.

revised edition
Negro Educ. Rev.
Employment Studies

Yours truly

Pearl Gunter
Pearl Gunter

Enclosure

September 12, 1962

Mr. J. R. Shannon
Tougaloo Southern Christian
 College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Shannon:

Thank you very much for your generous contribution to the Council: your check greatly exceeds the cost of Howard Zinn's first Albany report, which is being mailed to you under separate cover. We would be happy to send you any other Council materials you might like to have, and/or enter a subscription to New South, a recent issue of which is enclosed.

Mr. Zinn is doing a second report on Albany,but it is as yet unfinished. When it is published, we shall see that you receive a copy.

I am enclosing a publication list, Mr. Shannon, and trust you will let us know what materials you are interested in.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (2)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

September 6, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please mail me a copy of the Albany Report by Howard Zinn. I am told by a Reverend Mr. Young that Mr. Zinn now has a secomd report in Albany also. Please mail me a copy of that report, too.

I do not know what the price of these two reports amounts to. Perhaps I am mailing you too big a check. If I am, you can use the money, no doubt, in your good work. If you have any other reports which y u want to send me in return for the excess payment herewith, you may do so, but I do not insist on receiving any reports except the two by Zinn on Albany.

Respectfully,

J. R. Shannon
J. R. Shannon

$5.00
RHA
9/62

Albany
5
pub list
sent

Price
list
NS

MEMBER
UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND
FOUNDED 1944

MANHATTANVILLE COLLEGE OF THE SACRED HEART
PURCHASE, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 21, 1962

Dear Miss Alexander,

The enclosed check for $10 covers 1962-63 renewal of two subscriptions to New South, held in the name of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart. I shall be happy if you will accept the small remaining balance as a token gift to apply to miscellaneous expenses.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

E. M. O'Byrne

Miss Ruth H. Alexander
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ck $10.00
9-19-62
FK

MARKET 7-3576

FRIENDS' BOOK STORE

302 ARCH STREET 8/17/62
Philadelphia 6, Pa.

Southern R_egional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please post to: Our customer

403
807

Bill us at trade discount:
Under our order number:

#1370

23d

5 -

8
25
33.

2 Spear an and Myer: RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS

Our label enclosed:

Our customer: Professor N.J.J. Olivier,
P.O. Box 225,
Stellenbosch, South Africa.

ck $8.83
9-19-62
LK

Thanks, ***Friends' Book Store*** ***by*** JHC

SRC (forgot to
type copy)

to

FRIENDS Book Store
302 Arch St.
Phila. 6 Pa.

order #
1370
shipped
8/20/62

2 Racial Crisis & Press @ .25 $.50
sent to Prof Olivier
Stellenbosch, S.A.
postage .33

$.83

8

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Altanta 3, Georgia

Order No. 1185

Library Oregon State University 27 Aug 62
Corvallis, Oregon

---

1 Price - Negro and the ballot in the South	[illegible]
	.25

6S62 25¢ in stamps enclosed

RHA

9/19/62

Library BB
1185 7
3 1061
6S62
Library

STATE OF OREGON

LIBRARY PURCHASE ORDER

89-PD-78

THIS ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON ALL PACKAGES, INVOICES, AND CORRESPONDENCE.	1185
DEPARTMENT Library BB	
CLASSIFICATION NO. 3-1061-7	DATE August 24, 1962

SHIPPING ADDRESS

Library
Oregon State University
Corvallis, Oregon

Bk

TO:

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

TO VENDOR:

1. SEND 4 COPIES OF INVOICE TO THE LIBRARY TO WHICH SHIPMENT IS MADE.
2. NAME OF CONSIGNEE AND ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON ALL PACKAGES, INVOICES AND LETTERS.
3. SEND ALL EXPRESS OR FREIGHT SHIPMENTS COLLECT.
4. IF TRANSPORTATION IS BILLED AS SEPARATE ITEM, RECEIPTED FREIGHT BILL MUST ACCOMPANY INVOICE.
5. BOOKS SENT VIA EXPRESS WILL BE SENT ""BOOK RATE COLLECT" UNLESS CHEAPER RATE IS AVAILABLE.
6. BOOKS SENT VIA EXPRESS AT BOOK RATE WILL BE CLEARLY MARKED "VALUE NOT OVER $50.00."

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION LESS LIBRARY DISCOUNT	PRICE
	Please RUSH the following:	
1	Price, Margaret (Walzem) - The Negro and the ballot in the South. 1959	
	Sent 9-19-62 MG	

PURCHASING DIVISION, DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

BY Ben Thressler AUTHORIZED AGENT

WM. H. CARLSON
DIRECTOR OF LIBRARIES
OREGON STATE SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION

PEACE CORPS FIELD TRAINING CENTER
CAMP LAWRENCE RADLEY
ARECIBO, PUERTO RICO

August 30, 1962

(Mrs.) Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for your aid and assistance for the names and reference materials. I am planning to order:

Executive Support of Civil Rights	1 copy,	$.50 each
Albany by Howard Zinn	1 copy,	.35. each
This I Believe	20 copies,	.02 each
The Freedom Ride, May, 1961	1 copy,	.25 each
What the Supreme Court Said	2 copies,	.10 each
A Southern View of the South	15 copies,	.02 each
This is What We Found	1 copy,	.25 each
Three Views of the Segregation Decisions	20 copies,	No Cost
L-19 What Price Tag For 'Massive Resistance?'	20 copies,	Free
L-29 American Anthropological Association Resolution on Race	20 copies,	Free
L-34 Desegregation in Southern Parochial Schools	20 copies,	Free
A Southern View of the South, The New York Times Magazine, April 3, 1960, Section 6	20 copies,	Free

Enclosed is a check for $2.25 (two dollars and twenty-five cents).

Thank you,

Charles F. Smith Jr.
Charles F. Smith, Jr.
Academics Training Officer

material sent
9-10-62
MG

ck $2.25
9-19-62
LK

Enclosure

JFS/cc

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
COLDSPRING LANE AND HILLEN ROAD
BALTIMORE 12, MARYLAND

September 5, 1962

New South
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Will you please send me a copy of the May 1962 issue of New South; enclosed is 20¢ in stamps. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Quarles

Benjamin Quarles

RHA
9/19/62

Sent 9-11-62
MG

Enclosed is 40 cents in stamps for which please send the publications listed on the accompanying cards, using the enclosed label.

RHA
9/19/62

Order Department
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, California

Form 143 6-52

Request for Publications
(stamps enclosed)

---

hor Price, Margaret

Order Date SEP 12 '62

Title The Negro and the ballot in the South

Quan. 1

Ed.

Vols.

Dealer

Price .40

Date 1959

Pub. Southern Regional Council

Source

Please return this card when order is filled or cancelled; report if order is held.

Address:
Order Department
Los Angeles Public Library
630 West Fifth Street
Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Sent 9-18-62
MG

Please use enclosed label on package.

Form 2 4-55

Order Card (for dealer)

5479 S. Greenwood Ave
Chicago 15, Ill.
Sept. 6, 1962

Dear Sirs:

I would like to have, at your very earliest convenience, three (3) copies of your study

Albany, by Howard Zinn

I am enclosing a check for $2.00, not knowing the cost of this pamphlet. If I should owe you more please let me know -

Sincerely yours,
Paul Bosley

Sent 9-11-62
MG
ck $2.00
9-19-62
LK

September 17, 1962

The Reverend Arch M. Hewitt, Jr.
1117 Bath Avenue
Ashland, Kentucky

Dear Reverend Hewitt:

Thank you on behalf of the Council for your contribution of September 14. A formal acknowledgement is enclosed for your records.

We will be happy to add your name to our mailing list. There is no charge for this, incidentally. For the present I am enclosing a recent report, a listing of past publications, and a copy of the Council's monthly magazine, New South.

Thank you for your interest and please do not hesitate to get in touch with us if we can be helpful.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc.

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Ck $1.00
9-19-62
LK

309 Sycamore Street
Chapel Hill, N. C.
August 27, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

answered
9/21/62

Dear Miss Patterson:

I can't find the time right now to search back through my check book in order to tell you when my subscription to NEW SOUTH expires. At the time I ordered New South for myself, I also sent some gift subscriptions in. Later, on February 5th, I sent a check for $16.00 for gift subscriptions. At that time my address was 407 North Street, Chapel Hill. I have now moved to 309 Sycamore Street, and would like for you to change my address on your records.

I should be sorry if you discontinued sending the NEW SOUTH to the people to whom ~~my~~ I made gifts in case they fail to respond to you form letter of "Summer, 1962". These people may be on vacation during the summer, or may be overloaded with work, and have to sidetrack the Circulation Departments questions.

I used to be a member of the Southern Regional Council, as well as a subscriber. Somehow or other my membership accidentally lapsed, and I'm sorry. I'd certainly like to be a full member.

Right now I am leaving on a trip, and will not be able to get my usual mail again until my return about October 1st. Mail will be held here until my return, at which time I should like to know the cost of membership, so that I can be a member, as well as a sucscriber to NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely yours,

Mary P. Evarts

(Mrs. Edward M. Evarts)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

Summer, 1962

Dear New South Reader:

We have found putting our house in order a valuable service to both us and our readers at intervals in the past. For our information and your convenience will you please verify the following information for our mailing department and return it to us in the envelope provided.

My name and address as appearing on the envelope I received is correct. ☐ (If so, kindly enclose the envelope or clipped address portion.)

My name and address should read
Mrs. Mary Porter Evans
309 Sycamore St. - Chapel Hill, N.C.

To the best of my knowledge my subscription expires ______________________ (give approximate date)

To the best of my knowledge my subscription comes to me through my membership in my state Council on Human Relations and expires ______________________.

To the best of my knowledge my subscription is complimentary and is of indefinite length ☐.

If we do not hear from you we will assume we have been unable to locate you and will discontinue mailing of New South.

We very much appreciate the few minutes attention this has taken you. It will assure prompt and accurate delivery of New South to you in the future.

Cordially,

New South Circulation

JAMES McDABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764
A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 9, 1962

Mrs. Mary Porter Evarts
~~407 North Street~~ -
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

New address:
309 Sycamore ST

Dear Mrs. Evarts:

We have today received your letter and check and are happy to start gift subscriptions to New South for the eight parties on your list. Inasmuch as the subscriptions will not go into effect until the January issue I have mailed the individual subscribers packets containing the November and December, 1961, issues.

Thank you for letting us hear from you and please call upon us if we can be of further usefulness.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson

Barbara Patterson

BP:s

September 24, 1962

Mr. C. R. E. Brooke
British Embassy
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brooke:

In belated answer, for which we apologize, to your letter of September 10, No, the Council has no produced further studies on the Federal Executive in relation to civil rights since the EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS. You may, however, be interested in three employment studies made recently which do touch on federal employees and I am sending these under separate cover. Otherwise our publications since March have not dealt with the field of your interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BRITISH EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.

September 10, 1962.

Dear Sir,

I am writing to enquire whether you have yet produced another publication on the lines of your booklet "Executive Support of Civil Rights" of March 13, 1962. If you have done so, or produced any other material covering developments since March, I should be grateful if you would send them to me here as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully
Roger Brooke

(C.R.E. Brooke)

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 9.
Georgia.

Send
employment
Studies
pub list

September 24, 1962

Mr. Laird Wilcox
P.O. Box 42
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Mr. Wilcox:

In reply to your letter of inquiry about New South circulation, let me first say that we do not as a rule concern ourselves with independent subscription agencies. Since we try generally to make the magazine available at cost we do not offer a commission.

In view of your efforts for some of the magazines you deal with, however, we will experiment. We will authorize you a 40% commission on the $2.00 cost per annual subscription. For the reason stated above, we do not have any special rates for students or others.

Under separate cover I am mailing you a few sample copies. We do not have these available for any sort of bulk distribution, so use them where you feel they will be most useful.

Trusting these arrangements are satisfactory, we will welcome any new subscribers to New South. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

LAIRD M. WILCOX, AGENT
PUBLISHER & SUBSCRIPTION AGENT
P. O. BOX 42
TOPEKA, KANSAS

PA ?
we don't usually 40%
but will give authorization to him to make
no stu rates
magazine
at cost to less
[illegible]

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I am an independent subscription agent. At present, I am handling approximately seventy-five assorted periodicals in the fields of religion, current events, civil rights, foreign affairs and literature.

I would like to inquire into the possibilities of adding New South to my list of clients. While my operation is not on the scale of the large agencies, I have contributed noticeably to the circulation of many of the publications I service. Among those magazines I am now handling which are similar to yours are The Progressive and The Crisis.

At your earliest convenience please send me information pertaining to commissions, student rates and sample copies. I am sure that we can establish a relationship which will prove profitable for both of us.

I am awaiting your reply.

Yours very truly:

Laird M. Wilcox

Laird M. Wilcox

201

To: ~~Paul Anthony~~ Date

From: Wm Page Box 871, Kinston N.C.

☐ Please see me

☐ Expedite

☐ For your information

☐ Explanation, please

☐ Pull file on attached

☐ See below

(25) folder —

SRC sent 10/1/62

October 1, 1962

Miss Helen W. Hannah
School Counselor
I. M. Terrell Junior-Senior
High School
1411 East 18th Street
Fort Worth 3, Texas

Dear Miss Hannah:

I apologize for the delay in replying to your request for information about colleges and universities with desegregated admission policies. I was in hopes we would have processed a current listing by now. Since we have not and I do not want to postpone a reply any longer, I am enclosing a typed list of additions to a report published in September, 1961, and that report itself.

Trusting this will serve.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
enc.

FORT WORTH PUBLIC SCHOOLS
I. M. TERRELL JUNIOR-SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL
1411 EAST 18th STREET
FORT WORTH 3, TEXAS

H. L. KING
Principal
L. B. WILLIAMS
Vice Principal
MRS. HAZEL H. PEACE
Dean of Girls

September 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The most recent report of desegregation in higher education that I have at my disposal is a report sent to me by you in a letter dated April 26, 1961, in compliance with my request.

I would be greatly pleased if I could now have a list of colleges and universities that are known by you to have announced non-racial admission policies since that date.

Thank you for this and prior services to our school guidance office.

Very truly yours,

Helen W. Hannah

Helen W. Hannah
School Counselor

I7I5 N. Claiborne Ave.
New Orleans I6, La.
September I6, I962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Please send me the following publications at your earliest convehience:

I-	The Annealing of the South	$0.I0
I-	School Desegregation: The First Six Years	$0.25
I-	The Freedom Ride	$0.25
I-	A Southern View of the South	free
2-	Three Views of the Segregations Decisions	free *
2-	The Easy Chair	free *
2-	South Carolinians Speak	free *
I-	Action Patterns in School Desegregation	free
2-	The Southern Regional Council Reports the Changing South	free*
2-	The Southern Regional Council- L I	free *
2-	Desegregation and Academic Achievement	free*
2-	Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees	free *
2-	Organizations supporting the Student Protest Movement	free *
2-	Amer. Anthropological Association Resolution on Race	free*
2-	Refutation of Race and Reason	free*

* - I am ordering here for myself and for the Public Issues Library of the Loyola Student Democratic Association.

Total $0.60

Please put the Association and myself on your mailing list. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

check

Yours Truly,

Anthony Gagliano

Anthony Gagliano

Sent material
9-21-62
MG

put on mailing list 10-1-62

Amer Ef. $.60
10/2/62
C.K.

Alma, Wisconsin
September 17, 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sending me a list of your publications.

Would you kindly send me the following?

1. The City and the Negro - ✓ $ .20
2. The Negro and Employment ✓ Opportunities in the South - .20
3. A Virginia View of "Race ✓ and Reason" - .05
4. The Unequal Badge ✓
5. L.-20 Problem Solving ✓ Through Race Relations Committees
6. L-30 A Positive Plan to Help Solve our Racial Dilemma
7. L-31 Slipping Segregation: ✓ Negroes Win Lowering of More Barriers in South

M.O. ck $1.65
10/2/62
LK.

Sent material
9-26-62
mc

8. The Annealing of the South - ✓	$.10c
9. Racial Violence and Law ✓ Enforcement -	.25
10. The Negro Voter in the ✓ South (1957) and the Negro and ✓ the Ballot -	.40
11. What the Supreme ✓ Court Said	.10
12. The South and the ✓ Nation	.10

I enclose $1.65 to cover the cost of the publications and mailing costs.

Yours truly,
Mrs. Wilma Meyer

Tougaloo S. C. College
Tougaloo, Mississippi
September 24, 1962

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

I thank you for your kind letter of the twelfth, for mailing me the copy of Zinn's first report on Albany, for promising to mail me a copy of Zinn's later report on Albany, and offering to mail some other materials in compensation for my remittance earlier which wass too big for what I had ordered. I shall look forward to receiving the second Zinn report. At this time, I have only one other item which I should like you to send. It is L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE.

With best wishes for the success pf your projects, I am

Respectfully yours,

J. R. Shannon
J. R. Shannon

Sent
10/2/62

TENNESSEE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
2011 Grand Avenue • Nashville 12, Tennessee • CYpress 1-7544

Katherine Jones
Executive Director

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Mrs. Ben Russell, Greeneville
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Vice-Presidents
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Maclin P. Davis, Nashville
Rev. William A. Dennis, Chattanooga
Rev. Sam R. Dodson, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. Bernard Fensterwald, Nashville
Mrs. Raymond T. Ferris, Nashville
Dwight L. Freshley, Nashville
LeRoy Graf, Knoxville
Mrs. John Gregory, Chattanooga
Mrs. Robert Harwell, Franklin
W. D. Hawkins, Jr., Nashville
Mrs. W. B. Hembree, Knoxville
Ernest Hooper, Murfreesboro
Rev. Blair T. Hunt, Memphis
Miss Leah James, Chattanooga
C. A. Kirkendoll, Jackson
Herman H. Long, Nashville
Matt Lynch, Nashville
Mrs. Robert M. Metcalfe, Crossville
Mrs. John T. McCall, Nashville
Rev. John Charles Mickle, Memphis
Mrs. Hugh J. Morgan, Nashville
Mrs. John A. Osoinach, Memphis
Rev. S. A. Owen, Memphis
Robert W. Peelle, Oak Ridge
William G. Pollard, Oak Ridge
Albert Porter, Jackson
Hollis F. Price, Memphis
Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville
Horace W. Raper, Cookeville
Rev. John Rustin, Kingsport
Clifford Seeber, Knoxville
Walter Sharp, Nashville
Seamour Shavin, Chattanooga
Mrs. Ernest Silver, Oak Ridge
Lewis Sinclair, Knoxville
Rev. Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Neal B. Spahr, Knoxville
Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Murfreesboro
Mrs. James M. Todd, Nashville
Mrs. Margaret Valiant, Memphis
Mrs. H. Olin Troy, Knoxville
Mrs. Matthew Walker, Nashville
Rabbi James Wax, Memphis
Harold D. West, M.D., Nashville
Miss Louise Young, Nashville

September 28, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We are preparing for our Annual Meeting in Chattanooga, October 11 and 12. For this meeting, we would like for you to send 50 copies each of the following and bill us for same:

THIS I BELIEVE
by- Haywood N. Hill, M. D.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES
IN THE SOUTH
by- Major J. Jones, Research Coordinator

Thanks so much for an immediate reply.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy B. Webster
Dorothy B. Webster
Administrative Assistant

10/2/62

October 2, 1962

Professor E. Clinton Gardner
Candler School of Theology
Emory University
Atlanta 22, Georgia

Dear Professor Gardner:

I was uncertain from the wording of your letter of September 24 whether you wished additional copies of our Report L-35 or copies of the materials referred to in the text of the report. If you desire the report itself, we can gladly supply you with a number of copies and a telephone call would be sufficient reply for me to put them in the mail to you.

As for the background materials themselves, these are available at any time for your perusal in our research files. They are, however, too numerous and diffuse for me to make copies and send to you. They consist, for the most part, of copies of the ordinances creating the various commissions, copies of legislation enacting the ordinances, and promotional materials distributed by the commissions. We would be happy to have you call at our offices at any time to look through the files.

Please let us hear from you if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enc. (L-35)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA 22, GEORGIA

CANDLER SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

September 24, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

If you have additional copies of the information which you announced in your Report L-35 (June 20, 1962) on the STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS in the South, I would very much appreciate your sending me a copy of this material for use in my work here at Emory.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

E. Clinton Gardner

E. Clinton Gardner
Professor of Christian Ethics

ECG:ej

ck $5.00
10/4/62
LK

October 2, 1962

Mr. Will Bloch
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Bloch:

Thank you for your letter of September 27 with its generous check for "literature and good will." As I recall, the materials we mailed you last spring came too late for your debate, but I am glad they proved useful in the long run.

You ask about long-range reporting on desegregation, and bibliographies. The latter is simpler. The Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., periodically publishes an extensive mimeographed bibliography. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES, by Alexander D. Brooks, has recently been published by Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, Inc., 200 Park Avenue South, New York City, 3. And the American Jewish Committee's Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York City 22, monthly produces "Articles of Interest in Current Periodicals." SRC's listing of current materials is enclosed. We will be happy to send publications on it which you would find helpful for your project.

Two examples of long-range reporting come to mind: the enclosed reprint from the Washington Post on the Richmond story; and SRC's Albany. The latter has a sequel in process at the moment. I believe you have the January, 1962 report. If not, we can send it, too, along with the present study when it is completed. Both have been done by the same reporter. And, if your library receives the Washington Post, you may want to watch ahead or look back for other Robert Baker pieces. He frequently covers such subjects in depth and over a considerable time period.

Sincerely,

BP:s
enclosures (2)

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia.

9-27-62
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

Last spring I received some literature from you for a debate without paying for it. Enclosed is $5 for whatever I took & general goodwill.

I am trying to prepare a large & well-documented paper on desegregation methods & their immediate to long range effects. Is there a published bibliography in this area? Is anyone observing & reporting on the situation in areas which have had integration pressure at intervals of a year or so after such pressure was first applied? If you can suggest individual workers on this problem (if there are any), I would appreciate it.

Thank you for your trouble,

Will Bloch

Race Relations Dept.
Fisk U
Nash

our list
C U pres
biblios

ck $5.00
10/4/62
LK

October 5, 1962

Mr. Thomas B. Francis
Mayor's Committee for Civic Unity
Pinebank, Jamaica Plain 30
Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Francis:

Under separate cover we are mailing you RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT and THE UNEQUAL BADGE, along with a few other materials of a similar nature. VIOLENCE AND THE POLICE is not one of our publications, and I regret that a search of bibliographies on the subject did not yield its source. You might, however, be interested in a pamphlet which has just come to our attention, THE POLICE AND COMMUNITY CONFLICT, published at a cost of $.15 by the National Conference of Christians and Jews (43 W. 57th St., New York City 19).

Your check was quite sufficient. If we can be of further usefulness please call upon us.

Sincerely,

BP:S

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

CITY OF BOSTON
COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC UNITY
PINEBANK, JAMAICA PLAIN 30, MASS.
JA 4-6400 — JA 4-1177

MAYOR JOHN F. COLLINS
JAMES A. TRAVERS,
Executive Secretary
HENRY M. LEEN, ESQ.,
Chairman

October 1, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
N.W. Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Would you please send a copy of "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement" - George McMillan, "Violence and the Police" - William A. Westley and "The Unequal Badge" - Elliot M. Rudwick to me as soon as possible.

If the enclosed check does not cover the cost of the pamphlets plus mailing, please advise and I will adjust same.

Sincerely yours,
Thomas B. Francis
Thomas B. Francis
Mayor's Committee For
Civic Unity

TBF:r

With justice for all
June US

ck $2^{\underline{00}}$
10/11/62
LK

Manchester College

Box 678
NORTH MANCHESTER, INDIANA
September 24, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Harold C. Fleming, Ex. Dir.

Dear Sir:

I am concerned with the problem of civil rights in the United States and am now doing special research on it for an American government class in college. I would appreciate receiving literature informing me of the purpose and activities of your program. I am particularly interested in your view of the best solution to our problem of civil rights. If your literature does not answer this question directly, I would appreciate a brief opinion by one of your group very much. Thank you for your consideration.

Respectfully yours,

Joyce Harley

Joyce Harley

10/1/62 ✓

37 Prince Street
Danvers, Mass.
9/27/62

Gentlemen:

I am writing to you for any information you could give me on understanding of America's race problems. I found in my book, "The Challenge of Democracy," that you offer such information. It offered a copy of your pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors. I would like as much information as you could offer me as it would helps me in school. Thank you very much.

Yours Sincerely
Miss Joanne Rosato

10/9/62

October 9, 1962

Mr. Leon Weisberg
3100 Stiles
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Weisberg:

Please accept our apologies for the delay in answering your letter and its request for information about lynching. Since you are at work on a history honors thesis I have no doubt that you will go quite deeply into your subject and I wanted to do some searching of past SRC files to see what they might yield. I have been disappointed. We have quite thorough files from 1954 to the present and should you expand your time beyond 1940 and wish to deal with any one particular incident, we could send you copies of clippings about it.

In the way of materials,we have not produced anything on the subject in recent years. The enclosed New South does describe rather completely a 1946 conflict which evolved partly from events which took place in the 1920-1940 period. I happened to have noted, too, from aanother magazine of that period that in 1945, one"official" lynching was recorded, that of Jesse James Payne at Madison, Florida.

Until 1952, Tuskeegee Institute, Tuskeegee, Alabama, kept a body of lynching data and published annual reports on the subject. Some of this material may be available by writing to them.

Perhaps you are familiar with the following titles: Rope and Faggot, Walter White, Knopf, 1929; and The Tragedy of Lynching, Arthur F. Raper, U. of N.C. Press, 1933. The latter was the product of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, SRC's predecessor.

Please do not hesitate to call on us if we can assist you further.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson, Secretary, Research

Leon Weisberg · Yale U, 3100 Stiles . N.H, Conn
~~120 East 89 Street, New York 28, N.~~Y.

Dear Sir.

I am a Senior at Yale and am a History Honors major. I am writing a my honors thesis on lynching in the South. I am somewhat acquainted with your fine work in the field of racial relations and would appreciate any material ~~with yo~~ which you could provide me with on the subject of lynchings - especially anything written by the Southern Regional Council. The particular period I am concerned with is from about 1920-40. Anything that you could provide me with will be greatly appreciated. Thank you.

Sincerely yours
Leon Weisberg

Rope & Faggot - Walter White
Knopf, 1929

A Tragedy of Lynching   Arthur F. Raper   Coop.
↓ (Commsn on Interracial
? Race Relation Inst.   result   U UNC Press 1933
? Tuskegee   of Comsn study on lynching

clippings 1954 → present

River Falls, Wisconsin
Sept. 24, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am making a study of the economic status of the American negro in the 1960's. I would appreciate any of the free literature you have in regard to school integration, housing, teachers salaries, types of jobs available in regard to the colored people. I would also appreciate a listing of the information and booklets you have for sale in regard to these same areas.

Thanking you.

10/10/62

Yours truly,
Audrey Schweiner
RR# 3
River Falls, Wisconsin

39 Wadsworth Street
Geneseo, New York
October 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am preparing a paper for a Political Science course concerning the changes that have taken place in the resistance patterns of Southern segregationists to integration since legislative battle has ceased. I will relate the effect on state's rights argument.

I would appreciate your sending any information which might be related to this theme.

Sincerely,
Bernadette Treider

10/10/62

Hollins College
Hollins College, Va.
October 2, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Att: Miss Constance Curry

Dear Miss Curry:

I am a senior at Hollins and am majoring in politics. My senior thesis concerns the "massive resistance" movement in Virginia and the causes for its failure. I understand that you have a collection of articles, dissertations and other materials which might be quite useful in my paper. Could you please send me any material related to and covering this area. I would be willing to pay any fees for handling, microfilming or the actual cost of the publication.

It would be gratefully appreciated if I could get this information soon as research must be started immediately.

Sincerely,
(Miss) Jacquelyn Petree

10/10/62

RAG CONTENT
VALLEY CO
U S A

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII
HONOLULU 14, HAWAII

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

October 5, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Could you kindly make available to me the following publications:

✓ (1) Green, D. R. and Gauerke, W. E., If The Schools are Closed...: A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan.
✓ (2) Price, M., The Negro and the Ballot in the South.
✓ (3) Rader, L, "Public Schools and the Economy of Virginia," Report # L-5.
(4) "The Private School Answer to the Segregation Crisis: The Virginia Experience," Report # L-9.
✓ (5) "Housing for Negroes in Atlanta, Ga." Report # SRC 10.

Thank you for your kind attention. You can bill me at the above address.

Yours truly,

A. James Gregor

A. James Gregor

10/10/62

22 Metropolitan Oval
New York, 62 N.Y.
October, 5, 1962

Dear Sir:

Please send me information dealing with the integration problem. I would especially like the pamphlet "Integration -the first six years". If these pamphlets cost any money, I would appreciate it if you sent me the price.

I need this information for a High School Social Studies course. I would greatly appreciate it if you suggested other references.

Sincerely Yours
Lewis Antine

10/10/62

Oct. 7, 1962

10/10/62

To Whom it may Concern,

My class in school, Problems of Democracy, is studying the problem of "segregation and integration" and I received a list of periodic reports which are available free. I would appreciate it if you would send me as many copies that are available of the following. There are 50 students in my class & if possible I would like a copy for each.

1. L-8 "Race and Intelligence" Aug 10, 1959
2. L-11 "Little Rock Report What has Happened Since the School Crisis? Oct. 12, '59
3. "Types of Desegregation Plans Feb 1, 1960 (L-15)

4. "Desegregation + Academic Achievement" March 14, 1960 (L-17)
5. "Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees" Oct 25, 1960 (L-20) X
6. ~~E~~(L-23) "Desegregation in Higher Education" Jan. 24, 1961
7. "The Easy Chair" June 1958
8. "What the Supreme Court Said"

If it is not possible to send numerous copies of any of these, I'd appreciate at least one for myself.

Thank you very much.

Carol Smith
11 Topstone Dr.
Bethel, Conn.

October 8, 1962

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send a copy of the following

Freedom rides--their impact on one rider the Deep South, national unity, and world opinion.

Please send to: Miss Marie H. Parker
517 N. 42nd Street
Phila. 4, Pa.

Yours very truly,

Marie H. Parker

10/10/62

Gentlemen: OCT 8 1962

Please send us a review copy of your pamphlet(s) ~~entitled:~~

(Ser) Toward regional realism no 1

10/10/62

We are requesting this to consider it for listing in the VERTICAL FILE INDEX, a selected list of pamphlets of interest to general libraries. In case it is listed we also need to know the retail post paid price of this material.

VERTICAL FILE INDEX
The H. W. Wilson Co. 950 University Ave. New York 52

October 10, 1962

Miss Ruth A. Inglis
1 West 81 Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Miss Inglis:

In response to your letter of September 28, we have checked our records and find that you should have received the special July-August issue of New South, "One Hundred Years Later" in its recent mailing, which was later than would have been expected. If you have not, please drop us a card so we can send you a copy.

As for your subscription, our records show that on August 24, 1961, you remitted $2.00. This would mean that your subscription expires with the current July-August issue. We trust that you will wish to renew.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
for New South

RUTH A. INGLIS
1 WEST 81 STREET
NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

September 28, 1962

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have not received a copy of New South since the issue of June 1962. Has there been a more recent issue?

Will you please tell me when my subscription expires. If it has already expired I would like to have any issues I have missed, and will send a check to renew as soon as I hear from you.

Thank you,

Ruth A. Inglis

RAI.a

pd. 8/24/61

October 10, 1962

University of British Columbia
Book Store
Vancouver 8, British Columbia

Gentlemen:

The enclosed invoice was received by us, since the Southern Regional Council is the successor to the Commission on Inter-Racial Cooperation. The Commission did publish AMERICA'S TENTH MAN in 1931 and the Council did some years ago reissue it under our own auspices. It is now, however, out of print.

Sincerely,

BP:s Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
enc. Secretary, Research

October 11, 1962

Miss Carolyn Alford
1201 Alpha Drive
Pasadena, Texas

Dear Miss Alford:

The enclosed two booklets, which are not Southern Regional Council publications as you can see, are about the only thing we have on hand which might be suitable for older elementary school youngsters. I can, however, recommend HELPING CHILDREN LEARN TO RESPECT HUMAN RIGHTS, published by the Governor's Commission on Human Rights (State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin], and FEAR AND PREJUDICE, AVAIlable from Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th Street, New York 16, New York.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Dear Sir:

Please send me any available educational materials I might use in the elementary schools.

Sincerely,
Carolyn Alford
1201 Alpha Dr.
Pasadena, Texas

3 ADL
pamphlets
This is what
we found

THOMAS G. AYERS
President

REV. RAY CARLTON JONES
1st Vice-President

A. E. DAVIDSON
2nd Vice-President

ROLLIN A. BROOKS
Treasurer

HATHORN W. McCULLOCH
Secretary

SPIRITUAL URBAN RENEWAL

CHICAGO CITY MISSIONARY SOCIETY
19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois / CEntral 6-4830

REV. DONALD L. BENEDICT
General Director

REV. JOHN R. SCHWENKE
Associate General Director

HOWARD A. HINDLEY
Director of Business

JOHN D. PURDY
Director of Development

GUNNAR A. PETERSON
Outdoor Education

REV. HELEN A. ARCHIBALD
Christian Education

REV. RAFAEL V. MARTINEZ
Ministry to
Spanish Speaking People

REV. LOUIS D. MITCHELL
Lawndale Community Services

JAMES A. MASON
Research and Planning

please return
to BP

September 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We have Dr. Zinn's excellent report on Albany and a copy of your "New South". We are very interested in receiving your publications.

BP-

Please put us on your mailing list and advise us of the cost involved.

Done 10/12/62

Thank you.

Yours truly,

James Mason lg

James Mason

lg

P.S. Am enclosing a copy
of "Albany Report" which
may be of interest.

Dinsmore
DAIRY COMPANY
GOLDEN GUERNSEY MILK
A SPECIALTY
V. C. JOHNSON — BRADY S. JOHNSTON
EARL A. JOHNSON — CHARLES F. JOHNSON
PRODUCERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF . . . .
QUALITY DAIRY PRODUCTS
BREEDERS OF REGISTERED GUERNSEY CATTLE
Dinsmore, Florida

October 12, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

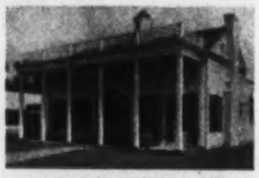
Dear Sirs:

The Committee on Public Relations of our Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations is preparing a factual mimeographed memorandum, with comments, looking toward the deadline for school integration by order of the Federal Court, for Duval County.

The School Board is required to give a plan to the Court, as you may know, by October 31st. We find many of our ministers and the Jacksonville Ministerial Alliance, together with other group leaders, are anxious for this memorandum which is in preparation and which will attempt to give key information on how other cities with a good record have met the questions of:

1. Health, a challenge to the public services
2. How School Situations have been handled
    a. in communities during the preliminaries before school integration
    b. inside the schools, in the classrooms, in the meeting halls, and in activities after school integration
3. The Plan of the Duval County School Board
4. The Challenge of Keeping Educational Standards High
    a. classroom methods, tracks, etc
    b. Washington DC test results over span of years
    c. Teacher integration and teacher preparedenss in this county

TOWN HOME (OFFICE AND PLANT) 660 KING STREET. ALL SECTIONS OF THE CITY AND THE BEACHES ARE SERVED BY ROUTES STARTING HERE.

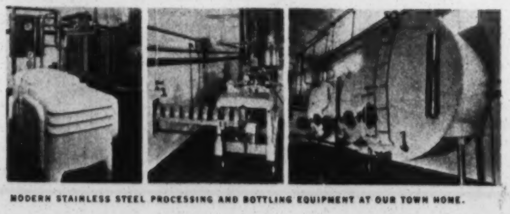

GOLDEN GUERNSEY BUILDING, DINSMORE. HOME OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST HERDS OF PURE BRED GUERNSEY CATTLE.

MILKING TIME AT DINSMORE, SHOWING 84 BEAUTIFUL GUERNSEYS. THE ENTIRE HERD NUMBERS OVER 1400.

DINSMORE'S ''MAY ROYALTY'' 376230AR LEADER OF THE HERD AND RATED AS THE SIRE OF MORE DAUGHTERS CLASSIFIED ''EXCELLENT'' AND ''VERY GOOD'' THAN ANY OTHER LIVING GUERNSEY BULL.

SAPELOE ROSEBUD AR45526, FLORIDA CHAMPION. 17,394.5 LBS. MILK, 930.6 LBS. FAT. CL. A 5.36%. HER SISTER SAPELOE ROYAL MARY AR40339 HAS A RECORD OF 13,348.8 LBS. MILK, 760.9 LBS. FAT. AND HELD 2ND PLACE AMONG THE 10 LEADING COWS OF THE BREED IN CL. AAA WHEN SHE MADE HER RECORD.

OVER 6,000 TONS OF FEED ARE HOME-GROWN YEARLY ON THE DINSMORE DAIRY FARM.


MODERN STAINLESS STEEL PROCESSING AND BOTTLING EQUIPMENT AT OUR TOWN HOME.

VISITORS AT OUR FARM AND PLANT ARE ALWAYS APPRECIATED

Dinsmore Dairy Company

V. C. JOHNSON — BRADY S. JOHNSTON
EARL A. JOHNSON — CHARLES F. JOHNSON

GOLDEN GUERNSEY MILK
A SPECIALTY

PRODUCERS AND DISTRIBUTORS OF . . . .
QUALITY DAIRY PRODUCTS
BREEDERS OF REGISTERED GUERNSEY CATTLE

Dinsmore, Florida

October 12, 1962

Page 2

5. Law Enforcement, philosophy and practices
6. Legal Basis of the case and the decision here
7. Anthropological, the meaning of race - a statistical event
8. NAACP and Communism
9. Christian Love and non-violence
10. Boy-Girl Relationships

and others.

I have mentioned the above because we are asking a considerable favor from the Southern Regional Council. With our memorandum, we feel that it would be very helpful to have the report which you reproduced under Report L-22, December 9, 1960 of the Fowler Commission on Race Relations. I understand that these may be out of print but we think it important that we enclose one of these with each of our memorandums which we are supplying to Jacksonville ministers and others.

Your early reply and the date which they could be supplied, if possible, will be deeply appreciated by our Council and many others in the community. At least 300 and preferably 500 would be required.

Very truly yours,

V. C. Johnson

V. C. Johnson

VCJ/v

TOWN HOME (OFFICE AND PLANT) 660 KING STREET. ALL SECTIONS OF THE CITY AND THE BEACHES ARE SERVED BY ROUTES STARTING HERE.

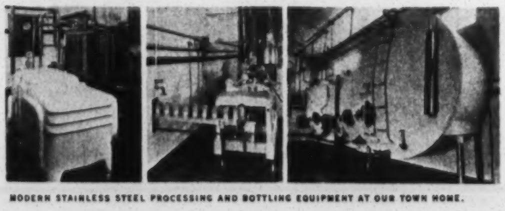
GOLDEN GUERNSEY BUILDING, DINSMORE. HOME OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S LARGEST HERDS OF PURE BRED GUERNSEY CATTLE.

MILKING TIME AT DINSMORE, SHOWING 84 BEAUTIFUL GUERNSEYS. THE ENTIRE HERD NUMBERS OVER 1400.

DINSMORE'S "MAY ROYALTY" 376230AR LEADER OF THE HERD AND RATED AS THE SIRE OF MORE DAUGHTERS CLASSIFIED "EXCELLENT" AND "VERY GOOD" THAN ANY OTHER LIVING GUERNSEY BULL.

SAPELOE ROSEBUD AR45526, FLORIDA CHAMPION, 17,384.8 LBS. MILK, 930.6 LBS. FAT, CL. A 5.36%. HER SISTER SAPELOE ROYAL MARY AR40335 HAS A RECORD OF 13,348.8 LBS. MILK, 760.9 LBS. FAT, AND HELD 2ND PLACE AMONG THE 10 LEADING COWS OF THE BREED IN CL. AAA WHEN SHE MADE HER RECORD.

OVER 8,000 TONS OF FEED ARE HOME-GROWN YEARLY ON THE DINSMORE DAIRY FARM.



MODERN STAINLESS STEEL PROCESSING AND BOTTLING EQUIPMENT AT OUR TOWN HOME.

VISITORS AT OUR FARM AND PLANT ARE ALWAYS APPRECIATED

Memo

PR

We have plenty copies of this so I am going ahead and sending 500. I thought you might want to send them other recommendations, etc. ?

BP

PR has, already, through Mrs. Ralph Dreger of Jax. — Thanks.

MM —

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.
226 Luckie Street, N.W. • JAckson 5-8654

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH WELCOMES YOU

Please send 25 copies of THIS I BELIEVE to

MILTON CRUM, JR.
EPISCOPAL CHAPLAIN
BOX 686 - CLEMSON, S. C.

8/2/62

CITY OF GARY

GARY FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION

400 BROADWAY - GARY, INDIANA

Joseph Welcome, Jr.
~~EDWARD E. SMITH~~
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

886-1624

October 15, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Having recently assumed my position with the Gary Fair Employment Practice Commission, I am interested in broadening my knowledge of and contributing to developments in the area of Intergroup Relations.

6/22/62

Kindly send me "Executive Support of Civil Rights."

Thanking you for your attention to this request, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Joseph Welcome Jr

Joseph Welcome, Jr.
Executive Director

JW/sab

FARTHEST AT GETTYSBURG

THE NORTH CAROLINA
CONFEDERATE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION
BOX 1881, RALEIGH NORMAN C. LARSON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 16, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me a copy of your booklet entitled "A Hundred Years Later?"

My address is: 2001 N. Smythe Street
Apartment 102-C
Arlington 1, Virginia

8/22/62

Thanking you, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Louis H. Manarin

Louis H. Manarin
Editor, New Roster
N. C. Troops

LHM/jm

COLUMBUS
OCT 17
5:30PM
1962
GA.

Do you have a price list of pamphelets or booklets on human relations especially suitable to catalog and place in a church library?

Mrs. Robert Soderholm
327 Galena St.
Worthington, Minn.

8/22/62

October 18, 1962

Mr. Elmo Ellis
Program Director
Station WSB
1601 W. Peachtree Street
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Ellis:

Thank you very much for supplying us so promptly with the tape recording for the broadcast "A Century of Freedom." We have held it for a bit and appreciated its worth, and are now returning it herewith with our thanks for your courtesy.

Yours sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:bp
enclosure

RADIO
WSB
TELEVISION
White Columns ON PEACHTREE
1601 WEST PEACHTREE ST., N. E., ATLANTA 9, GA. • PHONE 875-7221

October 11, 1962

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Thank you very much for your favorable comment on our WITNESS presentation, "A Century of Freedom."

Since this program was on tape, we have no written script available. However, we can furnish you with a tape recording of the broadcast. We would appreciate the return of this tape after you have obtained from it the transcript you desire.

Sincerely,

Elmo Ellis
Program Manager
WSB RADIO

EE:jg

LARRY D. JOHNSON
231 Oak Grove, Apt. 304
MINNEAPOLIS 3, MINNESOTA

October 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In conjunction with a course in Racial and Cultural Minorities at the University of Minnesota, I would like some information about your organization on the following points:

1. The approach of your organization, your objectives and how you seek to achieve them.

2. The nature of your program to meet your objectives, that is, to tell the public your message.

3. What problems do you face? What do you consider to be the most serious among them?

4. How well do you feel you succeed in meeting your objectives?

I will appreciate any literature or assistance you can give me along the lines of the points outlined.

Sincerely yours,

Larry D. Johnson

lh

Sent
10/19/62
h-1, pub. list

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C.

Ask PA

We would appreciate receiving a copy of the publication noted below. In case it is not available for free distribution, please notify us of the price and await our authorization before sending.

The title of the publication is "Homes Without Hate." and the author is attributed to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. It is not our publication. Is it one of yours? If not, do you know the author and where copies may be obtained? If you have any copies may we have two.

Eleanor M. Walden
Commission Librarian.

October 19, 1962

Mr. Ivis Calvet
Interracial Review
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Calvet:

In response to your request of October 18 for permission to reprint the Council's L-Report #37, you do not need such permission from us. The Report, as we have reprinted it for distribution, is completely the text of the report presented to Congress by the President's Council of Economic Advisers as issued by that Council in a press release dated September 25, 1962, and therefore in the public domain.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

INTERRACIAL REVIEW
20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7

October 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

May we have permission to reprint in the INTERRACIAL REVIEW your L-37 report on "The Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment", published October 15, 1962?

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ivis Calvet

Ivis Calvet
Managing Editor

IC/gh

October 19, 1962

Mr. Aryeh Neier
Current
905 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Neier:

Leslie Dunbar, who is out of the office, has asked me to reply to your letter of October 12. We will naturally be glad tosmake copies of "Albany: A Study in National Responsibility" available to CURRENT's readership. As for an advance viewing of the text, copy is at present with the printer. We will, however, make certain that you are among our first mailing of the pamphlet and trust this will suffice for your editorial comment.

Yours sincerely,

SDB:bp

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

CURRENT

905 Madison Avenue New York 21

YUkon 8-7900

SB
pls handle

October 12, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thanks for agreeing to make available copies of "One Hundred Years Later." As always, we are grateful for your cooperation.

I am afraid that we consistently exhaust our supply of your publications and, therefore, I am unable to return any of them to you.

The sequel to the Special Report on Albany sounds like an ideal item for our Readers Service. I hope you will take us into account when placing your print order. Also, I wonder if I can have an advance look at the text of this report for possible editorial use by Current.

Thanks again.

Best wishes,

Aryeh Neier

Aryeh Neier
Associate Editor

AN:cm

WEST HARTFORD PUBLIC LIBRARY
WEST HARTFORD 7, CONN.
[redacted]
ASBURY W. SCHLEY, Librarian

October 19, 1962

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir(s):

Will you please send us one copy of the following publication(s):

Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment (New South v 17 no5) '62	$.20

cash .20
10/22/62
L.K.

Coin card containing Twenty Cents ($.20) is inclosed herewith in payment of the above.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Ysobel Hutchinson
Reference Librarian

YH:E
enc.

October 22, 1962

Miss Clarice Anderson
1111-8th Street
Hudson, Wisconsin

Dear Miss Anderson:

I am glad you enjoyed your tour of the South and are interested in writing about the Battle of Atlanta and/or the Reconstruction period. I regret, though, that you have hardly written to the proper place for information. The Southern Regional Council is largely devoted to the subject of race relations and the contemporary scene. We have recently published ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER, containing reflections on the centennial of the Civil War, and I am sending that under separate cover. You might get more appropriate materials or suggestions from your own state's Civil War Centennial Commission, the National Commission (700 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 25, D.C.), or the Georgia Civil War Centennial Commission, State Capitol, Atlanta, Georgia.

I am sorry we can not be a lot more helpful.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

1111-8th. St.
Hudson, Wis.
Oct. 9, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

During the month of August, I was one of the students from the River Falls State College who toured your South. This tour was for college credit. We are required to write a term paper on some phase of history pertaining to the Civil War.

Could you provide me with material which I might use on the Battle of Atlanta, or Reconstruction in the South.

We did visit the Cyclorama and enjoyed it so much. I did buy the souvenir booklet of the Battle of Atlanta.

If you have materials which will be of help in writing this paper, I shall be happy to pay for whatever fees there might be.

Thank you kindly.

Very sincerely,

Miss Clarice Anderson

October 22, 1962

Mrs. W. R. Banks
Box 2607
State College
Prairie View, Texas

Dear Mrs. Banks:

Thank you for your letter of October 13 with its kind words about ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER. My understanding, which I trust is correct, is that you wish another six copies and a copy of the first pamphlet in the series which was THE SOUTH AND THE NATION. We are sending these under separate cover. The price per copy is $ .20, and an invoice is enclosed with the copies.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Box 2607
State College
Prairie View, Texas

13 Oct. 1962

Gentlemen:

We want to thank you for sending us the brochure "A Hundred Years Later" as suggested by President B. E. Mays and at the same time (price given and we will remit) we want to ask for six (6) more copies of "A Hundred Years Later" and ask what was # 1 in the series titled Toward Regional Realism? We wonder if we have it.

With prayers for you always, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. W. R. Banks

(I was born in Atlanta and Forsyth St. sounds natural:)

Southeastern Arizona
DISTRICT COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS
267 SOUTH STONE AVENUE
TUCSON, ARIZONA

FRED D. RHODES
SECRETARY & B. A.

AFFILIATED
LOCAL UNIONS
471
736
857
2096
2913

October 8, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate one of your little pamphlets entitled "Chattanooga--The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South".

We are setting up a reading room for the Carpenters when they move into their new building, and this book will be of interest to our members.

Very truly yours,

10/22/62

SOUTHEASTERN ARIZONA
DISTRICT COUNCIL OF CARPENTERS

Fred D. Rhodes
Fred D. Rhodes, Secretary

FDR/mer
OEIU # 319
AFL-CIO

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS LIBRARY · LITTAUER CENTER
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

GENTLEMEN:

Our attention has been called to your publication

10/22/62

"Chattanooga-The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South."

This item would be a valuable addition to our research collection, and we should be very grateful for a copy of it, for the use of our faculty, research staff, and students. **If there is a charge, please notify us before sending.**

Date 10/10/62

(Mrs.) Claire L. Brown
Assistant Librarian

WASHINGTON STATE LIBRARY
OLYMPIA, WASHINGTON

October 11, 1962

Gentlemen:

If available for free distribution, please send us the publication(s) listed below. However, if there is a charge, notify us before sending the material.

The Federal executive and Civil rights. 1962.

10/22/62

ORDER CLERK

(LF-4) 3

JOINT UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Serving:
Peabody College
Scarritt College
Vanderbilt University

October 11, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Ref: Ser/LW

Gentlemen:

We have received a copy of your publication A HUNDRED YEARS LATER which is number 2 of the series Toward Regional Realism. Our Libraries has a standing order with you for NEW SOUTH. Is the series being sent on our standing order? If so, may we have a copy of Toward Regional Realism, no.1?

10/22/62

Thank you for supplying this information.

Sent one

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor F. Morrissey LW

Mrs. Ralph G. Morrissey
Head Acquisition Librarian

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25, D.C. Oct. 15, 1962

20 copies

We would appreciate receiving a copy of the publication noted below. In case it is not available for free distribution, please notify us of the price and await our authorization before sending.

Rudwick, Elliott M.
The unequal badge; Negro policemen in the South.
Atlanta, SRC., 1962
14p.

10/22/62

Eleanor M. Walden
Commission Librarian

MRS. EDMOND J. LeBRETON
1561 CALHOUN STREET
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

Oct 14, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen;

Enclosed pleas find check for $1.00 for 5 copies of your publication No. 7. "A Hundred Years Later" to be sent to me at the above address. The presentation is so excellent that I wish to circulate copies among my unconvinced friends.

Very truly yours
Dagmar R. LeBreton

ck. $1.00
10/22/62
L.K.

RUTGERS · THE STATE UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF LAW
LAW LIBRARY

53 WASHINGTON STREET
NEWARK 2, NEW JERSEY

October 15 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

The following is of interest to the law library of Rutgers-The State University:

> Racial work and Negrc waste in southern employment. 15p. '62.

10/22/62

If available for distribution, free of charge, we would appreciate receiving a copy.

If there is a charge, please indicate cost before forwarding.

Yours very truly,

Margaret Howell

(Mrs)Margaret A Howell
Acquisitions Assistant

h

R.F.D. 3.
Brandon, Vermont
October 15, 1962

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me a copy of your phamplet, Understanding Our Neighbors? I am doing my English Term paper on segregation.

I would like to have some information telling how the colored people feel about this also.

Thank you.

Respectfully yours,
Linda Capen

10/22/62

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS COMPANY
BIRMINGHAM 2. ALA.

PUBLISHERS
The Birmingham News
EVENING AND SUNDAY

AGENTS FOR
Birmingham Post-Herald
A Scripps-Howard Newspaper
MORNING EXCEPT SUNDAY

October 16 1962

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5-Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Attached hereto our check in the amount of $ 4.60 which represents the unearned portion of your subscription to the Birmingham News, daily & Sunday.

Very truly yours
THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS
BIRMINGHAM POST HERALD

Lillie Mai Bray

(Miss)Lillie M. Bray
Mail Subscription Mgr.

b-

Books & Subs.
10/19/62

ck $4.60
10/22/62
LK

LIBRARY
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY
FOUNDED IN 1693
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE LIBRARIAN

October 18, 1962

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
S. Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us the issues of the periodical listed below, which we did not receive on our subscription.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Periodicals Department

NEW SOUTH VOL. 17 #7, 8, 9 July-October, 1962 (2nd Claim)

10/22/62

Please send to me
some information
pertaining to racial
integration since 1954 —
social, political, economic,
churches, schools etc.

Thank you, 10/22/62

Mrs. Agnes Carpenter
Ellsworth, Wisconsin
% Hillcrest School

OCT 22 1962

Bear Sir:

May we have a copy of
RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYEMENT.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Dr. JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
395 LAKESIDE DRIVE
BRIDGEPORT 6, CONN.

10/22/62

120 stamps
10/22/62
LR

CONTRIBUTORS

HANS GERTH is Professor of Sociology at the University of Wisconsin. He is the author, with C. Wright Mills, of *Character and Social Structure*, the editor, with Mills, of the well known essays, *From Max Weber*, and the editor and translator of *The First International: Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872*....MIKE MILLER is a second year graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, and a Teaching Associate in the Social Science Integrated Course. His essay reflects a general interest in the sociology of sociology and the development of American education....RODNEY STARK is also in his second year as a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a Research Assistant at the Survey Research Center. His study of a metropolitan newspaper grew out of an apprenticeship served on several newspapers and magazines prior to entering graduate school. He is presently working on a national study of religion and anti-semitism under Professor Charles Y. Glock, director of the Survey Research Center....TRAVIS HIRSCHI is a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley and a Teaching Assistant in the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions. ~~His article, based on autobiographies as well~~ as the work of social scientists, emphasizes the similarities between prostitution and other service occupations....JOHN SCOTT is also a graduate student on the Berkeley Campus of the University of California. His study of Parsons' classification of action theories was developed in the course of research on the foundations of the "action schema"....GEORGE HUACO is an Associate in the Social Science Integrated Course at the University of ~~California, Berkeley, and a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions. His study of the social matrix of film art~~ styles is parts of materials being prepared for a dissertation....PATRICIA RICHMOND is a fourth year graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley. Her article is a revision of the first chapter of her Master's thesis "Mexico's 'One Party Democracy.'" She plans to do research in Mexico this fall under a grant from the Institute of Industrial Relations. This work will be an empirical investigation of the extent and effectiveness of opposition in Mexican politics....GARY MARX is in his second year of graduate study at the University of California, Berkeley. He has recently received his Master's Degree and is now studying for his doctorate. His interests in the study of prejudice and political extremism were reflected in his Master's thesis which examined the social basis of Father Coughlin's support....THEODORE CAPLOW, who has taught for many years at the University of Minnesota, is presently at Columbia University. He is the author of *The Sociology of Work* and, with Reece McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*....LEWIS COSER is Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University. He is the author of ~~*The Functions of Social Conflict*, the co-author (with Irving Howe) of~~ *The American Communist Party: A Critical History*, and the editor with Bernard Rosenberg of the book of readings, *Sociological Theory*....LEWIS FEUER is Chairman of the Social Science Integrated Course and Professor of Philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Psychoanalysis and Ethics*, *Spinoza and the Rise of Liberalism*, and the editor of the anthology, *Marx and Engels: Basic Writings on Politics and Philosophy*.

$2.20 cash
10/22/62
LK

10-15-62

10/22/62

Dear Sir,

I had the happy occassion to receive all the literature I requested from you today. I reviewed this material carefully and appreciate the sober and realistic attitude of your Council toward Race Relations.

It is a pleasent contrast to some individuals who act as if they are living on Mars.

I do not as a habit seek or acquire literature on the RACE PROBLEM, although I am an afro-american.

However, I like what you sent me and now ask that you send the following items:-

① THE CITY AND THE NEGRO 9p. FORTUNE REPRINT 20¢
BY CHARLES E. SILBERMAN
② THE NEGRO & EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES
IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON 22p. 20¢
③ A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL,
BY JOHN LOFTON SCF
④ SEGREGATION VS THE SPACE AGE SCF
BY MARION A. WRIGHT
⑤ THREE VIEWS ON THE SEGREGATION
DECISIONS - BY WM. FAULKNER, DR. BENJ.
MAYS & CECIL SIMS SCF

OVER

⑥ ✓NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH
REPRINT FROM BUSINESS WEEK 8-5-61 SCF

⑦ L-17 ✓DESEGREGATION & ACADEMIC
ACHIEVEMENT 1960

⑧ L-19 ✓WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE
RESISTANCE'? BY FRANK TRIPPETT 1960

⑨ L-27 ✓THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY

⑩ L-31 ✓SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN
LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH
REPRINT FROM WALL STREET JOURNAL 1-16-62

⑪ L-12 ✓VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME
SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS - STATISTICS 1954-1959

⑫ ✓THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS
A 48-PAGE REPORT TO PRESIDENT JOHN F.
KENNEDY 1961 35¢

⑬ ✓A VIRGINIA VIEW OF 'RACE & REASON'
BY BENJAMIN MUSE. NEW SOUTH 12-61 5¢

⑭ ✓THIS I BELIEVE BY HAYWOOD M. HILL, M.D. SCF

⑮ ✓THE SOUTH & THE NATION
BY LEROY COLLINS 1960 10¢

⑯ ✓THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION
BY REV. CORNELIUS TARPLEE 1959 5¢

⑰ ✓ALBANY. BY HOWARD ZINN, PROF. OF
HISTORY ETC., 35p, 1962 25¢

That's all! Thank you Sincerely,

$1.20 ENCLOSED

Melvin A Moore
114 W. 136th ST.
N.Y.C., 30

October 23, 1962

Mrs. Helen T. Chatfield
Bradford
Vermont

Dear Mrs. Chatfield:

Thank you for your letter with its generous comments on ALBANY.

This report has received fairly wide press attention and has been and can be, in answer to your question, reproduced in news stories. I trust that you did note its publication date, January 1962. The recent disorders in Albany have been reported by Professor Zinn in a new manuscript which is presently at the printer. We should be glad to send you a copy of that when it appears in a week or so, if you wish.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson
Secretary, Research

Bradford, Vermont
October 13, 1962

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sirs:

I want to express my great thanks to the Southern Regional Council for the manuscript on Albany by Howard Zinn. For me, it was extremely illuminating and cleared up much misinformation which I had been carrying and gave all in all something solid. SNCC had heretofore been a name and just a name.

Can any of this material be used in news stories without further request?

yes -
note - that its old

Yours sincerely,

Helen T. Chatfield

Mrs. Helen T. Chatfield

October 23, 1962

Research Department of Southern
Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I wrote the NAACP on October 17, 1962 asking for information concerning the intergrating of Southern schools. They referred me to you, and forwarded my letter.

I would appreciate it if you could send me any other information along with the integratin of schools. Such as: Sit-ins, Wade-ins, ETC.

Anything that will prove, why we should have complete integration, over segragation will help. Also, any historical background of the Negro.

8/25/62

We are most intrested to WIN this debate.

Any other information that I have not mentioned that you think will benefit us in winning will be appreciated also!!

Thank you so very much for any help that you can give us.

Very truly yours,

Sue Troxell

Sue Troxell

RETURN TO:

Sue Troxell
2907 Marshall Drive
Sarasota, Florida

OCT 19 1962

- 152

October 17, 1962

NAACP
Atlanta, Georiga

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate it if you would send me any information concerning the integrating of Southern schools. Any facts supporting the matter will help, such as, how both the white, and Negro schools compare to each other in equality.

Also any facts on why the Negro wants more education by the white schools.

This is very important to me and my classmated who are supporting integration, personally, and in the class debate we are going to have. We would like to WIN this debate in our History class with good grounds to stand by.

Thank you very much!!!

Sincerely yours,

Sue Troxell

Sue Troxell
2907 Marshall Drive
Sarasota, Florida

We need this information by October 24, 1962.

REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

A. V. JETT
TREASURER

JAMES O. GIBSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ATLANTA BRANCH
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W.   SUITE 105   ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA   524-8054

October 19,1962

Miss Sue Troxell
2907 Marshall Drive
Sarasota, Florida

Dear Miss Troxell:

Your letter of October 17,1962 has been referred to the Research Department of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I hope they will be able to assist you.

Unfortunately, our office is not equipped to compile and process data for research except in extraordinary cases, as such a service requires staff and facilities which we do not have.

I wish you every success on your project.

Very truly yours,

JOB/rg

James O. Gibson

October 25, 1962

Miss Ellen Garber
1415 G. Commonwealth Avenue
Apt. 3
Brighton 35, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Garber:

Your letter has been referred to us by the NAACP of Atlanta.

Under separate cover we are mailing you a selection of Council publications which may be of some usefulness on your project on the role of the Atlanta Constitution. These include a booklet, RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, several reprints of newspaper articles we have distributed, and the January, 1962, Albany report by Howard Zinn. The latter deals with the Albany events of last winter. Professor Zinn has a work in progress which we should publish within a few weeks and will be happy to send you on the Albany eruptions of this summer. The former deal with your more general topic, "Mass Media Effective Channels of Communicating . . . ."

The Constitution has, of course, given very thorough coverage, including on the spot reporting, of the Albany events. How you plan to make your assessments I do not know, but a contrast with the local Albany paper, the Herald, might be worthwhile. A copy of a news clipping of its publisher, James Gray, is included.

I am sure, too, that in any treatment of the Constitution you would give some consideration to the weight, over the years, of a daily, front page column in which publisher Ralph McGill has commented on issues, local and national, in a vein always a little out in front of the bulk of his readers. Some of these columns were reprinted last year in A Church, A School (Abingdon Press).

Further, on your more general theme, you may have already taken note of the recent Georgia gubernatorial election in which the moderate Carl Sanders defeated the immoderate Marvin Griffin by a 160,000-plus plurality. The Constitution supported Sanders. Griffin maligned the Constitution, but with epithets and denunciations that were apparently so tired and meaningless that they fell with the impact of dried leaves on a large part of the electorate. This was an electorate which the Constitution and Ralph McGill have helped educate since 1954 when Marvin Griffin won the governorship.

Please call on us if we can be of further help.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

1415 G. Commonwealth Avenue
Apartment #3
Brighton 35, Massachusetts
October 16, 1962

National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
Atlanta, Georgia

- 153

OCT 19 1962

Gentlemen:

I am a senior journalism student at Boston University's School of Public Relations and Communications. Presently, I am preparing a research paper for my course in Politics and Governmental Affairs in the United States.

Topic: ARE THE MASS MEDIA EFFECTIVE CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATING THE REAL ISSUES OF A GIVEN GOVERNMENTAL OR POLITICAL SITUATION? A Case Study: The role of the Atlanta Constitution regarding social problems as seen in the Georgia situation. e.g. Albany, Georgia.

How the affairs of government and politics involved are brought to the attention of the people through the mass media of communication (Atlanta Constitution) and through the activities of political leaders.

I am eager for your personal comments and for any literature on my topic which you feel will give depth to my study. My paper is due on November 15. With sincerity, I thank you.

Cordially,

Ellen Garber
Ellen Garber

'61 McGill's book
Reprint his!
columns
A Church, A School —
Abingdon
Southern election
Oxford
Gray - reprint

REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

A. V. JETT
TREASURER

JAMES O. GIBSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105 ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA 524-8054

October 19,1962

Miss Ellen Garber
1415 G. Commonwealth Avenue
Apartment #3
Brighton 35, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Garber:

Your letter of October 16,1962 requesting information has been referred to the Research Department of Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, Atlanta, Georgia. I hope they will be able to assist you.

Unfortunately, our office is not equipped to compile and process data for research except in extraordinary cases, as such a service requires staff and facilities which we do not have.

I wish you every success on your project.

Very truly yours,

JOG/rg

James O. Gibson

REV. SAMUEL W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

MRS. EUNICE COOPER
SECRETARY

A. V. JETT
TREASURER

JAMES O. GIBSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ATLANTA BRANCH

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

859½ HUNTER STREET, N. W. SUITE 105 ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA 524-8054

October 19,1962

Research Department
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Sirs:

The enclosed letters are being referred to you in the hope that you may be able to provide the information requested.

If we may be of assistance, please let us know.

Very truly yours,

James O Gibson

James O. Gibson

JOB/rg

October 25, 1962

Mr. Edward Augustine
2148 Clematis Place
Sarasota, Florida

Dear Mr. Augustine:

Under separate cover I am mailing you today some of the Council's publications on school desegregation. The one of these which will be most pertinent to your point that Negro schools are poorer in quality than white schools is GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. This gives facts and figures in support of "separate but unequal." The other materials do not bear as directly on your argument.

I have sent similar materials to a Miss Sue Troxell in Sarasota who appears from her letter to be involved in the same debate. I have not, however, included the above pamphlet in her packet, since it is costly, and she did not ask about covering the point you do specifically,, Perhaps, however, you might want to share it with her.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

October 18, 1962

Edward Augustine
2148 Clematis Place
Sarasota, Florida

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I along with my fellow classmates are preparing for a debate in our Senior social Studies class on the subject of the comparison of Negroe schools in the South vs. White schools of the South. Our Group is trying to prove that the Negroe schools are not equal to the white schools from teachers to libraries, even though the law is suppose to give separate but equal in every phase.

We wousd appreciate any information you could give us on this subject to help us win our point.

Yours truly,
Eddie Augustine
Eddie Augustine

Ball State Teachers College

Muncie, Indiana

The Library

October 23, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed find 20 cents in stamps for which please send the item or items listed below.

Please send the material at your earliest convenience.

Very Sincerely yours,

G. Robert McLean
Reference Service Librarian

Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment. $ .20
(New South v. 17, no.5)

Cairns
10/26/62
RH

Form L-89, 5C, 10/61

[illegible]
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Please send the following pamphlet(s):

Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment
(New South vol.17, no.5)

RHA
10/26/62

We are enclosing **20 cents** in stamps.

VF/ 9/62 RSR
October 24, 1962

Drew University Library
Madison, New Jersey
Att. Mrs. E. D. Meier

Dear Sir:

Please send me the pamphlet, "Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment."

Sincerely,

Albert Carlson

E212 SHAWNEETOWN
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY

20¢ Coins

10/26/62

RHA

CHARLOTTE COLLEGE
N. C. Highway 49 North
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA

Library

P. O. Box 20428

October 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send our library one copy of "Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment." We are enclosing 20 cents to cover the cost of this publication.

Coin 10/30/62
LK

10/30/62

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Very truly yours,

Mozelle S. Scherger

Mozelle S. Scherger (Mrs. G. R.)
Librarian

Enclosure

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

October 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

May we have 25 copies of Report L-37 please - "Economic Costs of Racial Discrimination in Employment?"

Thank you very much.

10/30/62

Sincerely,

Marie Turner

Marie Turner
Secretary to Jean Fairfax

MT

35-20-77 Street
Jackson Heights 72, New York
October 29, 1962.

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Harold C. Fleming:

Would you kindly send me some information on the workings of the Council. I would like to learn something about its origen, objectives, accomplishments and leading members.

10/30/62

Thank you for your time and effort in this matter.

Very truly yours,
John F. Dempsey

ck. 2.25
10-30-62
LK

Greenbriar Terrace
Stillwater, Minn.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

8/23/62

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your response to my letter requesting a list of your publications.

Would you please send me a single copy of the following publications:

"The City and The Negro"
by Charles E. Silberman
$.20

"The Negro and Employment Opportunities In the South": $.20

"Houston"

"Chattanooga" $.20

"A Virginia View of Race & Reason"
by Benjamin Muse $.05

"The Unequal Badge"
by Elliott Rudwick $.10

"The Annealing of The South"
by Leslie W. Dunbar $.10

Map - $.25

"The South and The Nation"
by Leroy Collins $.10

"Georgia's Divided Education" $.35

"A Southern View of The South"
by Harold Fleming SCF

"This Is What We Found"
by Ralph & Carl Creger $.25

"Three Views of The Segregation Decisions"
by William Faulkner SCF

"The Easy Chair"
by Harry Ashmore SCF

"South Carolinians Speak"
by Rev. John B. Morris SCF

"The Southern Regional Council Reports The Changing South" SCF

Leadership Reports

L-5 "Public Schools and The Economy of Virginia"

L-16 "Atlanta and Washington: Racial Differences in Academic Achievement"

L-17 "Desegregation and Academic Achievement"

L-19 "What Price Tag for 'Massive Resistance'?"

L-20 "Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees"

L-24 "Address by Malcom Bryan"

L-26 "Address by Gen. Lucius Clay"

L-29 "American Anthropological Association Resolution on Race"

Enclosed please find

a check for $2.25. - $1.80 for the publications and the remainder to be used for postage.

Thank you for your co-operation!

Audrey Schweizer
Highway 212
Greenbrier Terrace
Stillwater, Minnesota

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 31, 1962

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Blackford:

I have before me now yours of October 17. Apparently my request was not too clear. I actually was not expecting the Council to make any direct contribution to the program. I really was giving information about our program and inquiring whether or not there is available a document on the progress of the Negro American in the one hundred years of freedom. I appreciate your enclosures and appreciate your attention to our concern.

Most sincerely,

E. Clayton Calhoun

E. Clayton Calhoun

ECC:B

October 17, 1962

Dr. E. Clayton Calhoun
President
Paine College
Augusta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Calhoun:

Mrs. Tilley has referred your letter to me for reply; inasmuch as the research department handles similar matters.

We are, however, a bit unclear about what you would like the Council to do for your meeting of Methodist ministers. If you wish us to undertake the publishing of a pamphlet coming out of your forum on "What Can Methodist Ministers Do To Help Avoid Public Eruptions In Local Compliance to Court Orders With Reference To Education?" we regret that the funds are simply not available for this. If, on the other hand, you would like the Council to supply printed materials for the meeting we can assist you in part. Enclosed is a) "This I Believe," and b) 100 Years Later (the July-August issue of New South containing reflections of Southerners ontthe Civil War). Both of these seem appropriate to your meeting's topic in connection with the Emancipation Proclamation and we would be glad to supply them at cost, i.e., $.02 per copy for the former, and $.10 per copy for the latter. If purchasing is a hardship, however, we could provide a small number without cost.

I trust we have answered your queries and that you will not hesitate to let us know if we can be helpful.

Sincerely,

Staige D. Blackford
Director of Research

SDB:hp
enclosures (2)

Paine College
ESTABLISHED 1882
AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E. CLAYTON CALHOUN, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

October 8, 1962

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

This O few
or
100 yrs later

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

You were most gracious to forward my request for information to the offices of the Southern Regional Council. I have been able to gather material from several sources and will be pleased to send a copy to you when I have been able to correlate it. I believe some interesting references may be drawn from it.

Now I make a further request. We are seeking for wide distribution a pamphlet on the progress of the Negro American in the century of freedom since the Emancipation Proclamation. Do you know of any such document?

A very fine program is being developed on this campus for an interracial meeting of the ministers of the Methodist and CME Churches, to face the question: What Can Methodist Ministers Do To Help Avoid Public Eruptions In Local Compliance To Court Orders With Reference To Education?

You may know also that both Georgia Conferences of Southeastern Jurisdiction will celebrate one hundred years of freedom. I have been asked to locate pamphlets mentioned above for wide distribution.

You will be glad to know that Dr. Charles Gomillion will make an address at our meeting on the subject. We are not quite prepared to finance its publication in the quantity mentioned "wide distribution".

I shall be grateful for any lead you can give me.

Most cordially,

Clayton Calhoun

E. Clayton Calhoun

ECC:B

THIS IS A CLAIM Dec 28, 1962

Please send the following issue (or issues) of

New South: Vol. 17 #7,8,9, 1962

1-3-63

due on subscription, but not received - MA

DIRECT TO:

Library
St. Joseph's Seminary
12th & Varnum Sts. N.E.
Washington 17, D.C.

If replacement can not be made for any reason, Please notify us. Thank you for your prompt attention to this request.

CL:V **BAY STATE PERIODICAL SERVICE, INC.**

January 3, 1963

Mr. Robert J. Geurink
205 12th Street, N.E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Mr. Geurink:

We are sorry, but we do not maintain a mailing list for those who would like to receive our materials. Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of our monthly publication, New South. In it we periodically list our publications as they are issued; from it you would be able to request those which especially interest you. For our major publications, we issue news releases, also.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Robert J. Geurink

205 12th Street N. E., Atlanta 9, Georgia

December 28, 1962

Dear Sir--

I have read your report by Howard Zinn on Albany and find it interesting.

Please put me on your mailing list for any other such reports.

Very truly yours,

Robert Geurink

Robert J. Geurink

January 3, 1963

Mr. George Davis
13918 Hillford Avenue
Compton, California

Dear Mr. Davis:

We are sorry, but we do not maintain a mailing list for those who would like to receive our materials. Under separate cover we are sending you two copies of our monthly publication, New South. In it we periodically list our publications as they are issued; from it you would be able to request those which especially interest you. For our major publications, we issue news releases, also.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

13918 Hillford Ave
Compton, Calif
Dec 10, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentleman please put me on your list for free Publications from your organizations

Thanks
George Davis

January 3, 1963

The Honorable Robert L. Leggett
  of California, 4th District
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Congressman:

At the request of Donald M. Reynolds, we are adding your name to our mailing list to receive all publications. We hope you will find them informative and useful.

We are also taking the liberty of sending you now, under separate cover, several of our publications of the past year which deal with civil rights. Mr. Reyhold indicated that you would be particularly interested in this subject.

Very truly yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- The Federal Executive & Civil Rights
- Executive Support of Civil Rights
- Zinn, Albany: A STudy in National Responsibility
- The Freedom Ride

January 3, 1963

Professor Donald M. Reynolds
4 Parkside Drive
Davis, California

Dear Mr. Reynolds:

We will be pleased to put your new Congressman, the Hon. Robert L. Leggett, on our mailing list to receive our publications.

Thank you for your kind remarks about our work.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

OK

11-28-62

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen -

I would appreciate your sending pamphlets and other releases on the struggle for racial equality in the South to our new Congressman, Hon. Robert L. Leggett, of Calif. 4th Congr. Dist. He may be reached at House Office Bldg, Washington, after Jan. 1st.

He has always as State Assemblyman stood up for Negro rights and should be far ahead of ~~th~~ his ~~of~~ own Democratic administration in doing something about them. You can count on his vote on bills improving the status of Negroes if you just keep him informed.

I am one of his principal campaign workers. Just tell him that I asked you to send the material. I commend your fine work!

Cordially,

Donald M Reynolds

Assoc. Prof. of Bacteriology
University of Calif.

DONALD M. REYNOLDS
4 PARKSIDE DRIVE
DAVIS, CALIFORNIA

DAVIS,
NOV 29
3-PM
1962
CALIF.

4c
U.S. POSTAGE
LINCOLN

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., West
Atlanta 3, Ga.

January 4, 1963

Miss Lucy Komisar
Managing Editor
Mississippi Free Press
1253 Valley Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Miss Komisar:

We are pleased to send you the requested reports, and also a few things on Mississippi. We will put you on our press list to receive all publications and press releases about them.

In addition to the items we are mailing, under separate cover, we have the following magazine articles which could be copied for you if you have not seen them, and we have quite a collection of newspaper clippings on Mississippi which could be duplicated for you. Please let us know if these would interest you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
  The Federal Executive & Civil Rights
  Executive Support of Civil Rights
  Zinn, Albany: A Study in National Responsibility
  The Freedom Ride
Mississippi
  New South, Oct. 1962
  Editorials from student newspapers
  L-Report #38, "What Price Violence?"
  L-Report #30, reprint from Jackson State Times

Magazine articles available for copying:
  New Leader, Oct. 15, 1962, "Kennedy & Mississippi," Lomax
  The Reporter, Nov. 8, 1962,d"One Mississippi Negro Who Didn't Go to College," Hollander
  Liberation, Nov. 1962, "Mississippi Muddle," the editors

The Progressive, June 1962, "Tiger at Old Miss," Cleghorn
U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 15, 1962, "The Mississippi Tragedy--What It All Means"
Saturday Evening Post, November 10, 1962, "The Mississippi Story," "My Ordeal in Oxford," by Meredith, and "The Hate Here Now," by Faulkner

P.S. If and when the New York Times starts publishing again, there will be a long and detailed article by Claude Sitton on Mississippi. I understand it goes way back and included much material on economics. Mr. Sitton has another good article, published right after the Oxford crisis, which you might like if you do not have it already.

The December 20 issue of The Reporter also has a long and good article on Mississippi.

HiCo PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

CHARLES L. BUTTS
EDITOR

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS
1253 VALLEY STREET — FL 5-7345
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Check Press list

December 29, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We would appreciate a copy of Howard Zinn's recent report on Albany Georgia. We would also like copies of the civil rights reports which you have published in the past year. We would particularly like any information or reports on Mississippi--published in any year.

Please put us on your mailing to receive reports as they are published.

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Lucy Komisar

Lucy Komisar,
Managing Editor

The Reporter Dec 20

NY Times
C. Sitton

January 4, 1963

Mr. Jennings Wood, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division
The Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wood:

Under separate cover we have mailed you the requested publications, except for the Report on School Desegregation, 158-59. I am sorry that we have no extra copies of this report at this time.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- Report on School Desegregation, 1959-60, 1960-61
- L-17, Desegregation & Academic Achievement, 10 copies

sent
1-4-63
mA

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Processing Department
Exchange and Gift Division

Refer to: LRS/Libn.

December 17, 1962

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The staff of our Legislative Reference Service has asked me to request the following material to be used in replying to inquiries from Members of Congress:

1 copy each - Reports on school desegregation, 1958-1959, 1959-1960, and 1960-1961.

10 copies - Desegregation and academic achievement. Report no. L-17, March 14, 1960.

This material is in addition to any which you may have already sent the Library. For your convenience, I am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label which will bring the material to the Library without further postage. We are hoping that the material may be received either as a gift or on an exchange basis. In the event that it is not available, or available only by purchase, please notify the Service Librarian, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

We shall be most grateful for any assistance you can give us with our request.

Sincerely yours,

Jennings Wood

Jennings Wood, Chief
Exchange and Gift Division

Enclosure

Dear Sir: (1-7-63-MA) 1/5/63

Please send the publications, "Lunch Counter Desegration in Corpus Christi" and "The Church in areas of Racial tension," to me for the use of the Episcopal Young Churchmen of this parish. If there is any charge for these publications, please till me.

Sincerely,
A. Courtney Yelle
EYC Advisor
St. Peters Chapel Parish
5042 Timiquana Rd.
Jacksonville 10, Fla.

January 7, 1963

Mr. John D. M. Folger
Georgia State Library
301 Judicial Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Folger:

We have your request for School Desegregation: the first six years, a list of our publications, and the forwarded request from the Harvard Law School Library. We are sending a copy to the Harvard Law School Library, and (under separate cover) a copy to you. Enclosed is our latest publications list.

If you would like, we will be pleased to put you on our mailing list to receive publications as they are issued.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years

GEORGIA STATE LIBRARY
301 JUDICIAL BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAN 4 1963

We are forwarding this request for your reply as publisher of the item.

Thank you for your cooperation. The Georgia State Library does not have this title and would greatly appreciate the receipt of a copy together with a list of available publications.

HARVARD LAW SCHOOL LIBRARY
ACQUISITIONS DEPARTMENT
LANGDELL HALL
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

December 31, 1962

Georgia State Library
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In checking our files, we find that we need the following material:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
School desegregation; the first six years
(Atlanta, 1960) 35 pages
61-43175 Lib. of Congress numbers.

We hope that you may be able to grant our request and supply us with what we need.

However, if this material is not available or cannot be supplied for any reason, would you please let us know. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Myrtle A. Moody
Acquisitions Dept.

January 8, 1963

Miss Nancy Calhoun
331 Allen Dormitory
Waco, Texas

Dear Miss Calhoun:

We have your letter of January 3 requesting information on desegregation for your research paper at Baylor. Under separate cover we are mailing you some of our publications which we hope will be helpful to you.

The best source for a great variety of information on all phases of desegregation is the reports published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights; they should be in your school or local library. The 1961 reports deal with: 1) Voting, 2) Education, 3) Employment, 4) Housing, and 5) Justice. The 1962 reports are on Public Schools in Cities in the North and West, and Public Schools in the Southern States. Another good source for information on school desegregation is: The Statistical Summary, November 1962, published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn. I have copied two pages of this report, giving overall statistics. The remainder of the publication gives a state by state analysis, and includes court cases, past and present. This report costs $1.00 and should be ordered from SERS as we only have our office copies.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
School desegregation--the first six years
L-17, L-23-A (corrected), L-34, L-27
School Desegregation--Help Needed?
New South, Sept. 1962, "Separate but Equal Lives," by Dr. Coles (note also article on "Arts and Entertainment for Southern Negroes")
The Negro and the Ballot in the South
The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston
New South, May 1962, note Employment in Miami and other articles on employment
The Unequal Badge (Negro police)

Reprint from Business Week, "The Negro's force in the marketplace"
" " " " "New business ways in the South"
Reports 1-25, 1-31, 1-37, 1-38, 1-39
The Freedom Ride
The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation (There has been a great deal more desegregation since this report was issued in 1961.)

And since this is a sociology class, I think you may be interested in reading the following reports:

L036, L-30, L-29,L-35

331 Allen Dormitory
Waco, Texas
January 3, 1963

Southern Regional Council Incorp.
Room 201
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am writing a research paper on desegregation in my Sociology class at Baylor University. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me all the information possible as quickly as you are able.

I am enclosing a dollar. If that is inadequate I will gladly pay you on delivery. Thank you so very much.

Yours truly,
Nancy Calhoun
Nancy Calhoun

No money
enclosed
MA

These college students!

Schools:

1-9-63
MA

Hollins College
Hollins College, Va.
Jan. 2, 1963

Box 938

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me four articles which are listed in the SRC Publications (1962) listing of current materials relating to race relations: (1) If the Schools Are Closed... A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan, by Warren E. Gauerke and Donald Ross Green. 1959, SC 20¢; (2) A Report From Virginia. 1960, (L-14); (3) The Easy Way Or the Hard Way?. Oct., 1961 (L-27); (4) When A City Closes Its Schools, by Ernest Q. Campbell, 1960, SCF.

Enclosed is 20¢ and thank you very much.

(No money enclosed)
MA

Sincerely,

(Miss) Jacquelyn Petree

Mailed separately:
The Church--
The Church in Areas of Racial Tension
This I Believe
New South, June 1962 (copy) "The Nature of the Problem"
" " Jan. 1960, "Religion's Role in Desegregation"
" " Jan. 1962, "The Display of a Feather"
" " Dec. 1960, XXXXXXXX "Episcopal Society Supports Student Kneel-in"
" " Jan. 1961, "Band Together for Genuine Unity"
What Negroes think--
The Case for Integration
New South, Jan. 1962, Lomax, "The Only True American"
" " April 1962, Long, "Marginal Man and New Negro Identity"
" " ~~Jan. 1961, "Band Together for Genuine Unity~~
" " July-August, 1961
" " Oct. 1961
" " Dec. 1961, "King, "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience"
" " Dec. 1960, "Negroes Strive for Democracy
" " June 1960, "The South's Potential and Responsibility"

January 8, 1963

Miss Olivia Daniel
Baylor University
Wacp, Texas

Dear Miss Daniel:

Today I have written a letter to Miss Nancy Calhoun, also at Baylor, and sent her a quantify of material, on schools, employment, voting, and economics. Perhaps she will share with you the materials on schools. I am enclosing a copy of my letter to her, giving other sources for information. If your school maintains a file of the U. S. News & World Report, you can find in it material on school and on the whole desegregation process (Dec. 10, 1962). If you do not find this in your school or public library, write us again and I will send you a copy.

I am sending to you, under separate cover, materials on the churches and how the Negro feels about desegregation. In this latter connection, I would suggest you read an article by James Baldwin in the New Yorker, Nov. 17, 1962 . There is a lengthy review of this in Time, Jan. 4, 1963. Progress is being made, and I will include opinions on this that are more authoratative than mine and which you could quote from.

Regarding public positions, many advances have been made in government (national, state, and local) by appointments and elections.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Is Problem Getting Better?
New South, July-Aug. 1962, A Hundred Years Later
" " Feb. 1962
" " March 1962
" " Sept. 1961
A Southern View of the South
The Annealing of the South

12-16-62
Waco, Texas

Dear Sr.

My name is Olivia Daniel, I am a student ~~at~~ Baylor University, During a long time I have been interested about the Negro problem.

Now I am writting a term paper for Sociology and I needed some informations.

About 1. The problem in churches, schools or Public positions.
2. How the Negro feels about the situation & 3. If the problem is getting better or worst.

I would appreciate very much Any information that you send. I would pay for it - if it isn't too much.

I would like to have some ~~ilustration~~ pamphlets with ilustrations too.

Thank you very much

Sincerely

Olivia Daniel

January 9, 1963

Mr. S. Govindarajalu
Secretary
Anandhavalli Memorial Library
Kuttalam, Thanjavur Dt.
South India

Dear Mr. Govindarajalu:

Your letter regarding the local library and its need for publications to promote international understanding and friendship interested us very much. We are pleased to contribute some of our publications to this cause, and for the pleasure and interest of those who visit the library. Thank you for writing to us and giving us an opportunity to share with the other forty-five countries in this most worthwhile project.

In Atlanta universities there are a number of students from your country. I have met and talked with some of them, and had an opportunity to meet with them to celebrate India's Independence Day and see some films on life in India. This has been most interesting and rewarding to me. Also, some of your countrymen have come by our offices, while traveling here under the sponsorship of our State Department, and have been interested in learning about the southern part of the United States and our race problem.

Under separate cover we are shipping you a quantity of our publications, and we hope you will find them of interest for your library.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

ANANDHAVALLI MEMORIAL LIBRARY

S. Govindarajalu
Secretary

KUTTALAM.
Thanjavur Dt.
(S. India)

19th October
1962

Dear Sir,

This non-profit, non-political, private, public Library is doing good service to the cause of culture, national integration, promotion of international understanding and friendship with the people of all countries. It greets all visitors to present the whole world in pictures, books and periodicals. Lasting memory it leaves in one's mind who visits it and feasting pleasures who leaves after visiting it. Tt receives gifts of reading and exhibit materials now and then from various countries and also it receives regular gift subscriptions of nearly two hundred magazines and journals from forty five countries. It draws the attention of the people from all walks of life.

We are much interested with your periodical publications, books, art works, photographs etc., for the use of this Library. Our community is poor in their standard of living and so our Library is also poor in funds.

We shall be highly obliged, much benefitted and gratefully thank you sir, if you could kindly supply your books and other interesting materials as a gift for the use of our community and further beg to enlist our address on your complimentary mailing list to your periodical publication of English edition.

We trust your best attention and deserve encouragement.

With humble respects,

Yours very truly,
for Anandhavalli Memorial Library,

SGovindarajulu

SECRETARY.

January 9, 1963

Mr. Hank Patterson
Special Assistant
United States National Student Association
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pa.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

We are entering a subscription to New South, as you requested, for Mr. Raul Roco, and he will be receiving the notice soon.

Under separate cover we are sending to him the requested reports concerned with civil rights published by us this year. There is no charge for the reports, unless ordered in quantity. A list of our publications is enclosed for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Albany
New South: Mississippi

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

3457 CHESTNUT STREET • PHILADELPHIA 4, PA. • BAring 2-5722 • CABLE, NATSTUD - PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • American Association for the U.N. • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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Berkeley, California
Educational Travel, Inc.
20 West 38th Street
New York 18, New York
2161 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California
Southern Human Relations Project
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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RUTH HAGY BROD

January 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please enter a subscription to New South for:

Mr. Raul Roco, RIC
International Commission
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania

Also, could you please send Mr. Roco a copy of any special reports published by the Southern Regional Council concerning the civil rights situation, beginning with the first of this year. You may bill the International Commission for the subscription and costs involved in obtaining the special reports.

Your kind assistance is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Hank Patterson
Special Assistant

HP/bsg

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY
ALBANY 1

CHARLES FRANCIS GOSNELL
STATE LIBRARIAN AND
ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER
FOR LIBRARIES

GIFT AND EXCHANGE SECTION
PETER J. PAULSON, HEAD OF SECTION

January 3, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The New York State Library has the responsibility of providing materials for the use of members of the Legislature and for all State officials. Its extensive interlibrary loan facilities serve readers and local libraries throughout the State. For the maintenance and continued development of such services we depend on the generosity of authors, publishers, institutional and individual donors. Your help here will be most gratefully appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Peter J. Paulson

PETER J. PAULSON, *Head*
Gift and Exchange Section

1. ☐ Please place our name on your complimentary or exchange mailing list. Address:
   New York State Library
   Gift and Exchange Section 2
   Albany 1, N.Y.
2. ☐ We are interested in examining a sample copy.
3. ☑ Please send complimentary or exchange copy.
4. ☐ A replacement copy is desired.
5. ☐ To complete our files the following are lacking, please send if available.
   Please advise us whether they have been discontinued, or are presently out of print.
6. ☐ Stamps enclosed:
7. ☐ Please see over.
8. ☐ If not available on a complimentary or exchange basis, please send with your bill.
9. ☐

sent
1-10-63
MA

A mailing label is enclosed for your convenience.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY, ALBANY - GIFT AND EXCHANGE SECTION

AUTHOR **Southern Regional Council.**

TITLE Executive support of civil rights.
(Also list of your publications)

PLACE ~~[illegible]~~ PUBLISHER Atlanta

DATE 1962 EDITION V. OR P. 52 p

If there is a charge for the above, please advise in advance
PLEASE USE ATTACHED MAILING LABEL

January 10, 1963

Miss Sandi Stump, President
MacMurray College YWCA
Box 952, MacMurray College
Jacksonville, Illinois

Dear Miss Stump:

I am sorry, but we do not maintain a mailing list for individuals or groups. I am enclosing a list of our publications, and we will be pleased to send you those of particular interest to your Committee on Human Relations. I am also enclosing a copy of our monthly publication, New South. In it we periodically list our publications as they are issued, and you would be able to order those which interest you and the Committee. The subscription rate is $2.00 per year.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Box 952, MacMurray College
Jacksonville, Illinois
January 7, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

Will you please add my name to your mailing list. I am interested in obtaining Human Relations information for our YWCA Committee on Human Relations.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sandi Stump

Sandi Stump, President
MacMurray College YWCA

Miss Kim Strommen
Benedict Road
Bethel, Connecticut
January 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Our committee in school is doing a report on Segregation and Intergation. This one was among many other reports which are being made. In my opinion it is the most interesting and immediate problem to study since it involves American lives. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me the following information which I found in your pamphlet of S R C PUBLICATIONS.

1. MAP, showing non-white population in southern states.
2. A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, By Harold C. Fleming.
3. THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by Faulkner Dr. Mays, and Cecil Sims.

LEADERSHIP REPORTS:

1. THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
2. Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees.
3. A Positive Plan To Help Solve Our Racial Dilema.

plus: The Annealing of the South & L-35

These are about all I would need. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerly yours,

Kim Strommen

Sent
1-11-63
MA

January 11, 1963

Mr. Thomas R. Kappeler
212 E. 12th Street
Dover, Ohio

Dear Mr. Kappeler:

In reply to your request for literature on the topic, The Success or Failure of Civil Rights for the Negro," we are sending you some of our publications. You will note that there are some successes and some failures, but in general there has been progress. Some of the publications emphasize the progress; others point up the failures (or the lack of progress). Good luck to you on your thesis.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
The Annealing of the South
New South: Jan. 1962, Feb. 1962, Dec. 1961, March 1962, Sept. 1962, Oct. 1962
Albany
The Negro & Employment Opportunities: Houston
School Desegregation: the first six years
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
The Negro and the Ballot
School Desegregation--Help Needed?
L-34, L-39
The Unequal Badge
The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation
The Freedom Ride
The Federal Executive & Civil Rights
Executive Support of Civil Rights

Jan. 8, 1963

Dear Sirs,

For this term I am required to write a thesis concerning "The Success or Failure of Civil Rights for the Negro". I would appreciate any literature that you might be able to send me on this topic. Thank you.

Thomas R. Kappeler
212 E. 12th St.
Dover, Ohio

PURCHASE ORDER

BACON PAMPHLET SERVICE, Inc.
Pamphlet Distributors
NORTHPORT, NEW YORK
ANDREW 1-7714

No. 9331
MUST APPEAR ON LABEL
to assure identification

1-8-63

To

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 2, Ga.

No. of Copies

1 copy- RACIAL WORK, AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT.
New south v 17 # 5 .20

sent
1-14-63
MA

RHA 1/14/63

We enclose $ .20 in ☐ Stamps ☐ Check

January 14, 1963

Miss Jennifer W. Laugerbach
505 West End Avenue
New York 24, New York

Dear Miss Laugerbach:

In reply to your request for Council materials on the 1960 sit-in movement, the following publications are available:

The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation - .15
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in ... Texas .15
Settling a Sit-in (Nashville, Tenn.) .15
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement .25
(Chattanooga, Montgomery, and Little Rock) .25
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N.C. .20
New South, Sept. 1960, "Student Drive Proves Successful"
" " March 1960, "North Carolina Student Protest"
" " June 1961, dSit-ins Likely to Continue"
" " Dec. 1961, "Love, Law and Civil Disobedience" by Martin Luther King, Jr. (philosophy of the sit-in movement)
" " Oct. 1961, "Revolution in McComb (Miss."
L-Reports, 20, 22, 28, 31, 33

If you do not have these reports and wish to order them, please let us know. If you would like us to list some especially good magazine articles appearing in 1960 and early 1961, we would be glad to do this; perhaps you have already researched on this.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Assistant

505 West End Avenue
New York 24, New York

January 11, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am writing a master's thesis at Columbia University on the 1960 sit-in movement throughout the South. Some of the Council's Special Reports on various aspects of the protest movement have been sent to me by friends, but I understand that there are many more available.

Would you be so kind as to tell me what Reports are available, and at what cost? I would of course be willing to pay for them; I have long admired the work of the Council, and should be glad to have an opportunity to support it in whatever way I can.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Jennifer Lauterbach

(Miss) Jennifer W. Lauterbach

RHA

SUDBURY PUBLIC LIBRARY
SUDBURY, ONTARIO

ISABEL McLEAN, M.L.S., B.A.
LIBRARIAN

January 5, 1963.

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir(s):

Kindly forward the pamphlet entitled:

Hundred years later, by J.M. Dabbs & others
(Toward regional realism no.2) $ .20

Coin
1/15/63
RHA

to:

Miss J.M. Villeneuve,
Order Dept.,
Sudbury Public Library,
74 Mackenzie Street,
Sudbury, Ontario, Canada.

sent
1-15-63
MA

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

(Miss) J.M. Villeneuve.

CASH ENCLOSED $.20

RECEIVED
JAN 16 1963

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

A. Zeniglass
2800 N. Sheridan Rd.
Chicago 14, Illinois

****

Purchase Order # letter
1-14-63
Date Shipped 1-14-63

10 copies each, The Negro & Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston @ .20

$6.00

O.K.

A.S.
Pat Green

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE OF

AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN of NORTH AMERICA, AFL-CIO

2800 NORTH SHERIDAN ROAD 27 CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS
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LOCAL 7 - CINCINNATI, OHIO

January 11, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

30
.20
6.00

Gentlemen:

Recently, your study entitled, "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South" was brought to my attention.

I understand that copies are available upon request. Therefore, I would appreciate your sending me ten (10) copies each of the studies covering the three cities, Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston.

.20
10
2.00
2.00
2.00
6.00

If any costs are involved, kindly send me a bill and we will remit same.

Very ~~truly~~ yours,

Abe Feinglass

sjo

Abe Feinglass, Chairman

January 14, 1963

Mr. Abe Feinglass, Chairman
Civil Rights Committee
Amalgamated Meat Cutters &
Butcher Workmen of North America
AFL-CIO
2800 North Sheridan Road
Chicago 14, Illinois

Dear Mr. Feinglass:

We are mailing you today the requested 10 copies each of *The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South*: Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston.

The bill for charges is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosure

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Purchase Order # letter
1-14-63
Date Shipped 1-14-63

10 copies each, The Negro & Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston @ .20

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No.B 781

Ten (10) copies each, The Negro & Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston @ .20.

A. Feinglass

$6.00

ck B6 00
2/4/63
HK

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America

2800 N. Sheridan Road Chicago 14, Illinois

January 16, 1963

Dr. V. B. Howard
8300 North Wisner Street
Niles 48, Illinois

Dear Dr. Howard:

I am sorry to tell you that there are no more copies available of Education--the Charlottesville, Virginia Experience. We have only a file copy, and those distributed at the meeting were all given out. It is highly probably that this will be reproduced, because there is a demand for copies. In the event that it is, I will let you know and send you a copy.

The proceedings of the conference were taken down on tape, and are being transcribed. After some editing, they are to be published in some form. I will add your name to the list of those requesting a copy. I would imagine that whatever is published will not be ready for distribution before the last of February.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

8300 North Wisner Street
Niles 48, Illinois
January 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate a copy of the proceedings of the conference on "The South: Ethical Demands of Integration" if copies were printed for distribution. I would also appreciate a copy of the paper by Dr. Paul Gaston, "Education - The Charlottesville, Virginia, Experience" if it is available.

Sincerely,

V. B. Howard

VBH:eh

Dr. V. B. Howard

1-18-63
MA

Route 2 Box 61
Butler, Georgia
January 16, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me one of your publications list.

yours truly,
Samantha Gray

January 18, 1963

Miss Genevieve R. Lee
45 Carpenter Street
Woodbury, New Jersey

Dear Miss Lee:

In reply to your inquiry of January 15 regarding America's Tenth Man and Singers in the Dawn; these are both very old publications of the Council and have been out of stock for some years. Since they are very much out-dated, now, we have not had them reprinted.

I am enclosing our current publications list for your possible interest.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

45 Carpenter St.
Woodbury, N.J.

Dear Sirs

Please send me the following Pamphlets. America's Tenth Man and Singer in the Dawn. Please send these C.O.D. and I will pay Postman. Thanks very much in advance

over

Genevieve R. Lee
45 Carpenter St.
Woodbury, N.J.

Director of Youth
work at Bethel A.M.E.
Church.

Rev. A. Lewis Williams
Pastor.

45 Carpenter St
Woodbury, N.J.

WOODBURY,
JAN 15
N.J.

Conference on Education
& Race Relations.
~~710 Standard Building~~
Atlanta Ga.

18 January 1963

Mr. James O. Gibson
Program Specialist
Community Education and Industrial Relations
Flanner House of Indianapolis
333 West 16th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

Dear Mr. Gibson:

Your letter to Mr. Rilling requesting copies of our employment studies and other materials on the employment situation of Negroes generally has reached the Research Department and we are forwarding our four recent studies separately. We expect to release a special report on the Plan for Progress program next week and shall forward a copy.

There are in our files recent single-copy reports from such groups as the Conference on Economic Progress, the National Urban League, the NAACP, the Anti-Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee, and the Special Subcommittee on Labor. Likely you already are familiar with them. Additionally, we have some recent studies of localities and of some state employment practices. At the time of your visit here, you may want to look at these and order copies for your reference.

Please let us know whenever you think we can be of help.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

Sent 3rd class: SRC employment studies, Atlanta, Miami, Chattanooga, Houston

5DB

Flanner House of Indianapolis

333 West 16th Street   Zone 2   MElrose 5-7586

Donald B. Fobes, *President*   Cleo W. Blackburn, *Executive Director*

(acknowledged by PA)

January 9, 1963

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It may come as a surprise to you that I write you "under this hat." My exit from Atlanta and the N.A.A.C.P. occurred under conditions that kept me working right up till the last minute, and some visits and discussions I had hoped to have the chance for didn't take place.

I had particularly wanted to talk with someone at Southern Regional Council about research data related to what I will be doing. Our work here will cover all phases of Negro employment problems, including location of employment sources, studies of the attitudes and motivational dynamics of those Negroes affected, a positive program of adult education in basic language and arithmetic skills, and a program of vocational training and placement. The Council's employment studies, materials on the employment situation of Negroes generally or any projects or activities now functioning in the areas of identification, evaluation or correction of the unskilled Negroes employment plight will all be of value.

Probably you will refer this letter over to the appropriate people. I will appreciate all the cooperation I can get. Since we are starting from scratch and have a pressing schedule please send all pertinent materials at your earliest convenience and [place our name on your mailing list to receive materials as they are published.]

Marty, I'm not certain PA did this and I didn't mention in my letter, att. Can I do anything about the mailing list? JL

OK MA

Flanner House of Indianapolis
333 West 16th Street Zone 2 MElrose 5-7586
DONALD B. FOBES, President
CLEO W. BLACKBURN, Executive Director

You may bill me personally for any costs involved.

It won't be too long before I am in Atlanta. I want to stop by the Council Office for some rather full talks. Several of the people here are aware of the Council and its work, but for the most part this knowledge is still vague. I think they've been suffering from this fact.

Thanks for the bother I cause. Please tell Maggie Long I said "Hello."

Sincerely yours,

Jim Gibson

James O. Gibson
Program Specialist,
Community Education and Industrial
Relations

JOG/op

January 18, 1963

Mrs. Gail W. Nathan
Department of Sociology and
Anthropology
1879 Hall - Room 116
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Nathan:

I'm very sorry some of the requested material was inadvertently omitted in the late December mailing. Under separate cover I am mailing to Professor Morroe Berger the eleven L-Reports. Report 23-A is being up-dated, and we will be glad to send you a copy of it when mimeographed.

There is no charge for one copy of the L-Reports.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
1879 Hall - Room 116

January 15, 1963

Order Department
Publications
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for the receipt of the 11 publications, requested in Professor Morroe Berger's letter of December 26th. However, I note that all publications which were listed as "L" pamphlets were not received.

Would you be so kind as to let me know the price of these (there are no prices listed) so that I may again place my order for the following:

L-17, 18, 22, 23A, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 36

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Gail W. Nathan

(Mrs.) Gail W. Nathan
Secretary

sent 1-18-63
MA

error in mail room

January 20, 1963

Miss Delvis Crawford
Route 2, Box 512
King George, Virginia

Dear Miss Crawford:

We appreciate your kind comments about the materials we sent you January 4th; however, we are not able to supply all the items you ordered in quantities of 50 without charge. Some of these publications were rather costly and we do have to charge for quantity orders. We are sending you 25 copies of L-37 and L-39 without charge. We can make a special price of .10 each on The Negro and The Ballot in the South for quantity orders. I am returning your letter with the prices for the other publications marked.

8 Jan. 14

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

January 4, 1963

Miss Delvis Crawford
Route 2, Box 512
King George, Virginia

Dear Miss Crawford:

Under separate cover we are mailing you a variety of our publications dealing with various social problems for you class study on minority groups and race relations. It is far too much for one paper, I know, but I thought perhaps you might wish to get together with other class members and each of you take one phase, such as law enforcement, schools, voting, employment, economics, etc. After you have looked over the material, if any particular publication appeals to you and the class, you may write us again about more copies of it.

You asked about other places to write for information. I would suggest the Anti-Defamation League office here in Atlanta, 41 Exchange Place S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. They will send you a publications list, but they do charge for their pamphlets. The cost is usually very minor.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative secretary

Mailed separately:
- Georgia's Divided Education
- The Negro and the Ballot
- Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
- Employment: Atlanta, Houston, Chattanooga, and Miami (New South)
- Albany: A Study in National Responsibility
- New South, Feb., March, May, Oct., 1962
- The Unequal Badge
- The Freedom Ride
- L-Reports 36, 37, 39,
- Reprints: Fortune, Business Week,
- Press reports on Atlanta's Public Hospital

Route 2, Box 512
King George, Virginia
December 26, 1962

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Gentlemen:

As a results of receiving your address from another company I wrote to requiring information concering Race Relations and Minority Groups. I am requiring to see if your company may have any information that would be usefull on further studies in my class of Social Problems, which we in the future will be studing on Minority Groups and Race Relations. I would like to have as much information that may be available, an as many copies as passible.

Thank you very much

Very truly yours
(Miss) Delois Crawford

My address is:
Miss Delois Crawford
Route 2, Box 512
King George, Virginia

Do you have any other addresses of other companys I may write to in order to get further information. If so I would appreciate it very much.

"Thank You Very Much."

The Wesley Foundation
The Methodist Student Center at the University of Illinois

URBANA, ILLINOIS

January 14, 1963

New South
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We write to request 20 copies of the New South for January, 1962.

These copies will be used in a program of education and orientation for students preparing for intensive work in negro, urban neighborhoods.

$2.50 is enclosed as remittance for this report. Please send the copies immediately, as they are needed January 22.

Cordially,

J N Peacock
Joseph N. Peacock
Associate Minister-Director

JNP:dls

Enclosure

ck $2.50
1/21/63
LK

sent
1-17-63
MG

January 21, 1963

Mr. Frankie Devetta
147 East 87 Place
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Devetta:

The publication you requested, Brothers in Black, by Richards, 1941, is now out of print. The information in it is, of course, very much outdated at the present time. The subjects you mentioned as being covered have been dealt with in more recent publications, and I am sending them to you.

If it is not the subject matter which interests you, but the publication itself, please write again and I will see what might be done about copying it.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- The Negro and the Ballot
- School Desegregation: the first six years
- New South, Sept. 1962, "Arts and Amusements for Southern Negroes"
  - May, 1962, "Racial Work & Negro Waste in Employment"
  - April, 1962
  - December, 1961
  - June, 1960

147 East 87 Pl.
Los Angles, Calif.
December-62

Southern Regional council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

√ ¢ Cam'
1/22/63
RHA

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me Brothers in black, by Richards, J. McDowell, 1941. Sermon on position of Negro as to: his need of housing, medical aid, education, recreation, ballot, common courtesy, opportunity to grow, and the Gospel.

Cordhility yours,
Mr Frankie Devetta

pd in stamps
1-15-63

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Richard Abel & Company, Inc.
P.O. Box 5357
Portland 6, Oregon

****

Purchase Order # 09668

Date Shipped 11/30/62

1 RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

$.25

Thank You

Stamps
1/21/63
RHA

1341/2 Bradford Road
Fort Myers, Fla
January 16, 1963

Please send a copy me, one of your ~~[illegible]~~ Meredith Case of missing [illegible] Times

H. E. Matthews

1-21-63
MA

January 15, 1963 1-21-63 MA

5 Benita Way
Martinez, California

Gentlemen:

I have heard of your excellent commemorative pamphlet, "A Hundred Years Later."

Would it be possible for you to send me a copy of this publication, together with a list of the other available titles published by the Southern Regional Council?

With thanks, I am

Gerald E. Sedgewick

DANIEL R. FOLEY
1448 DAVIS DRIVE WESTMORE 6-2610
FORT MYERS, FLORIDA

Jan 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me editorials from Southern colleges in regard to the Meredith case.

Very truly yours,

Daniel R. Foley

1-21-63
MA

REV. L. H. R. HASS
2446 RICHMOND STREET
FORT MYERS
FLORIDA

January 17, 1963

Dear Friends,

Please send me your compilation of editorials from southern colleges in regard to the Meredith case.

THANK YOU!

L. H. R. Hass

1-21-63
MA

2117 Mc Gregor Blvd.,
Ft. Myers, Fla.
Jan. 17 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

In the Ft. Myers News-Press of Jan. 16th re - "Meredith Editorials" - by Southern colleges I am interested in receiving the "Editorials" which are mailed free of charge upon request.

Thanking you sincerely, I am → Mrs Ann Fick

P.S. Hoping I will receive them at an early date.

Please also mail a copy to my son Robert W. Luedtke
6320 S. Carrol Circle
Franklin 19, Wis.

1-21-63
MA

3048 Apache Street
Fort Myers, Florida
January 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send me the summary of editorials from southern colleges regarding the Meredith case.

Miss Genevieve M. Knight
3048 Apache Street
Fort Myers, Florida

1-21-63
mA

Truly yours,
Miss Genevieve Knight

January 21, 1963

Mr. Edmund D. Campbell
Douglas, OBear & Campbell
Southern Building
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

We are pleased that you wish to be put on our mailing list again to receive our publications (to be sent to your home address: 2912 North Glebe Road, Arlington 7, Virginia), and we are today adding your name to our list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

#7
Research

LAW OFFICES
DOUGLAS, OBEAR & CAMPBELL
SOUTHERN BUILDING
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-2155

CHAS. A. DOUGLAS (1862-1939)
HUGH H. OBEAR
EDMUND D. CAMPBELL
J. A. MARSHALL
BENJ. W. DULANY
RONALD E. MADSEN

CHARLES R. MONTGOMERY
DANIEL W. COON

JOHN C. RISTINE
ASSOCIATE TAX COUNSEL

January 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

I shall be glad if you will put me on your mailing list again to receive your regular publications. I would like the publications to be sent to my home address which is 2912 North Glebe Road, Arlington 7, Virginia.

Very truly yours,

Edmund D. Campbell

Dear Sir

Our group is very interested in racism. We were wondering if you would have some free material which you could send ~~you~~ us, that is concerned with this subject.

Thank you very much.

1-22-63
MA

1. New South June 1962
W. Campbell
2 This I Believe
3 Churches Areas of Racial Tension
4 New South: Mississippi
5 Fleming: Sea View

Sincerely yours,
Young Christian Students
c/o Barbara J. Manseau
25 B Street
Lowell, Mass.

MAUDE MASSEY ROGERS - ~~115~~ 109 McDANIEL AVE. - EASLEY, S. C.

Jan 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Miss Albright:

In your letter of Jan. 8th you state that the Reports I requested were mailed the day before (Jan 7th). They have not arrived and I would appreciate your checking this as I am most anxious to get the current materials available list. Thank you.

(Mrs.) Maude Massey Rogers

1-22-63
MA

3042 Anderson
Ft. Myers, Fla.
January 20, 1963

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of "Editorials of the Meredith Case."

I thank you.

Reese M. J. Eady

Fort Myers - Florida
January 17 - '63

Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta, 3. Ga -

RHA 1/23/63

Gentlemen - (.05 stamp enclosed MA)

Please send me a copy of Editorials from southern Colleges in regard to the Meredith Case -

Thank you very much -

Respt -
Mrs. Dale Rowe
3488 E. Riverside Dr -
Fort Myers - Florida

1-23-63 MA

January 23, 1963

Dr. J. Francis Paschal, Chairman
North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee
Duke Law School
Durham, N. C.

Dear Dr. Paschal:

Mr. McNeill Smith has advised us that you are the new chairman of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee. We are adding your name to our mailing list to receive our monthly publication, New South, and our publications as they are issued.

Would you be kind enough to send us a list of the full committee so that we may bring our mailing list up to date? There may be other new members whose names we do not have, and we may carry other names which should now be removed from the list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

January 23, 1963

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700 Jefferson Standard Bldg.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for telling us about the new chairman of the North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee. We have added his name to our mailing list, and changed the New South mailing as you requested. We have also written him regarding the new members of the Committee, as you suggested.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

SMITH, MOORE, SMITH, SCHELL & HUNTER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
SUITE 700 JEFFERSON STANDARD BUILDING
GREENSBORO, N. C.

JULIUS C. SMITH
BEVERLY C. MOORE
McNEILL SMITH
JULIUS C. SMITH, III
BYNUM M. HUNTER
BRAXTON SCHELL
STEPHEN P. MILLIKIN
JOHN J. DORTCH
RICHMOND G. BERNHARDT, JR.
CHARLES E. MELVIN, JR.
DAVID M. CLARK
RICHARD J. TUGGLE
HERBERT O. DAVIS
ALICE WATKINS COREY
JAMES G. EXUM, JR.
JACK W. FLOYD

TELEPHONE 273-8265
DRAWER G

January 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please correct your mailing list for "New South" so as to show that the new Chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee is Dr. J. Francis Paschal. The copy of "New South" which you have previously been mailing to me as Chairman of this Committee should be mailed to the following address:

Dr. J. Francis Paschal, Chairman
North Carolina Civil Rights Advisory Committee
Duke Law School
Durham, N. C.

add mailing list
1-31-63
MA

You might also ask Dr. Paschal for the names of other new members of the Committee who should be on your mailing list.

Very truly yours,

McNeill Smith

McNS:bmc

January 24, 1963

Miss Doris C. Jones
Film Representative
Mary Washington College
University of Virginia
Fredricksburg, Virginia

Dear Miss Jones:

The rental of "Face of the South" is handled for us by the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place S.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. I telephoned their office, and the film is available for showing the week of February 18; rental price is $2.00. If you decide to use it, please let them know. I am sending a carbon copy of this letter to the ADL so they will be holding the date for you until you decide.

Sincerely yours,

CC: ADL office

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

MARY WASHINGTON COLLEGE
of the UNIVERSITY *of* VIRGINIA
FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF THE BURSAR

January 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like to rent the film "FACE OF THE SOUTH" for showing the week of February 18. Please advise whether or not it will be available.

yes
$2.00

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Doris C. Jones

Doris C. Jones
Film Representative

J

3225 Imperial Dr.
Macon, Georgia
Jan. 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir

Please send a list of publications, pamphlets and list of materials suitable for use in observance of Negro History Week.

I would appreciate a listing of all materials which may be purchased also.

write NAACP
New York, N.Y.

Sincerely
A. B. Hughes
Macon, Ga

Changing Patterns
~~One~~ A Hundred Years Later
(2) {The Negro & the Ballot in the South
The Negro Voter in the South
School Deseg: 6 yrs later
~~Fleming~~
Dunbar, The Annealing of the South

New South, Nov.-Dec.

C Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow
Oxford Univ Press, N.Y. ~~1955~~ 2.50

Langston Hughes & Milton Meltzer,
A Pictoral History of the Negro in America
Crown Publishers, Inc. 419 4th Ave N.Y. 16, N.Y. 5.95

John Hope Franklin, ~~The Negro in America~~ From Slavery to Freedom; A History of the Am. Negroes.

Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt, Harper & Bros N.Y. 4.50

Nathaniel Weyl, The Negro in Am. Civilization
Public Affairs Press 6.00

January 24, 1963

Mr. Larry R. Caughron
101 N. Poplar Street
Carbondale, Illinois

Dear Mr. Caughron:

We are always pleased when people find our materials helpful. We will send your New South to your home address, as above.

MG
1-25-63
I asked her to
send bill

Regarding the Clyde Kennard case, copies of recent news clips are enclosed. Would you please send us a copy of the Resolution passed by the Student Council of Southern Illinois? We would like it for our files.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

The Student Voice
Dec. 1962
Jet Jan. 31, 1963
SNCC Newsletter, 12-14-62

Mailed separately:
  New South, 1961 and 1962 (copies of issues we have in quantity)
  The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation
  The Freedom Ride
  Lunch-Counter Desegregation in.....Texas
  L-Reports 25, 31, 37, 39, 33, 38, 36
  Fortune reprint, "The City and the Negro"
  Settling A Sit-in
  The Negro and Employment.....Houston

January 8, 1963

Mr. Larry R. Caughron
Chairman, Information Committee
Southern Illinois University Student
  Nonviolent Freedom Committee
703 South State
Carbondale, Illinois

Dear Mr. Caughron:

Well, you know what they say about a new broom sweeping clean--at least while it's still new! The publications list you mentioned is enclosed; we are in short supply on these at present but would be able to supply you with additional ones if you need them.

Under separate cover we are sending you a selected batch of our materials, as you requested, including the back issues of New South. We have entered your subscription to New South, and you will be billed $2.00 per year. For the other materials there is no charge unless you decide to order some of them in quantity. We have no set policy on quantity orders; the price set will depend on our supply of the item wanted, how old it is, and somewhat on the organization which wishes the material and the use to which it will be put. So, after you have looked over this material, decide what you would like to have in quantity and write us again.

Thank you very much for sending us a copy of "The Cairo Action Report". If you did publish a pamphlet on this, we would like to receive a copy. If not, we would be interested in your further reports. As you said, newspaper accounts do vary from the reports of participants in such action projects.

Sent to research for filing MA

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

MA

January 8, 1963

Mr. Larry R. Caughron
Chairman, Information Committee
Southern Illinois University Student
   Nonviolent Freedom Committee
703 South State
Carbondale, Illinois

Dear Mr. Caughron:

Through an inexcusable blunder on my part, I still have your requests of September 25. Your letter has now been passed on to Mrs. Montez Albright of our staff from whom you will hear shortly. Certainly, she won't be as long as I have.

My sincere apologies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

703 South State
Carbondale, Illinois
September 25, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We should like to thank you for the materials you provided us for our Leadership Training Conference which was held a week ago. We found the reports and other information to be quite good, and the material aided our program considerably. However, the large envelope in which the material arrived was open and apparently some of the material had been lost. The copies of your publications list you referred to in your letter were missing, and unfortunately, these are the things we could use most. We should like to have said list with prices for all material -- prices for single copies and quantity orders, and information on availability of material on consignment. Also, if possible, we should like sample copies of as much of the material as you might judge relevant to our use. We are concerned with group involvement in programs of training in the theory and practice of nonviolence and also with the history and chronology of events. We feel that much of the "Special Report" type material is good in that it is fairly objective -- certainly as objective as possible from your involved position.

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement, by George McMillan, in the November issue of New South, seems to be an example of the type material that is required for some of our projects. We should like prices on multiple copies of New South, as well as as many back issues as possible. My committee of voracious readers and analysts welcomes anything of such quality. Please enter our subscription to New South, in my name, and bill us the necessary amount for single copies of any other material you may send (back issues, "special reports," etc.).

I am enclosing, for your understanding that we are not exactly out of the "Deep South," a copy of our report on what happened in Cairo, Illinois on August 17 of this year. It should be understood that although some of our students were involved, the organization in Cairo is an autonomous one that was inspired by members of our group and Mary McCullom, SNCC Field Secretary and ex- student here. We served there in an advisory capacity, while some of our members were involved as individuals, either by preference or almost by accident. News releases have not given the credit that is due to the local people who decided in all cases whether to demonstrate or not. The " outside interference" and "rabble-rousing" complaints have been over-stressed, as I am sure has been the case in the South.

The SNCC people have yet to give us the expected summary of action which we had planned to print by now. We are continuing with plans for a quarterly review to be printed later this fall. In this, we shall attempt a less subjective slant than in our August 17 report, as well as a more formal and sophisticated format.

We should appreciate any further advice on publications or correspondence relating to the requested information. Publication and price lists, as well as sample copies of any material would be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Larry R. Caughron

Larry R. Caughron, Chairman

Information Committee
Southern Illinois University Student
Nonviolent Freedom Committee

Dear Mrs. Albright, 1-20-63

Thank you for your letter, the literature, and the back issues of *New South*. Please bill me for the latter. I would appreciate it if you would take my new address for mailing the *New South's* in the future: it is

101 N. Poplar, Carbondale, Ill.

X Our Student Council is trying to pass a resolution on the Clyde Kennard case. Our committee would appreciate any information S.R.C. might have that would help in the passing of such a resolution. Any facts, stories, etc. relevant to the case would be of great help at as early a time as possible.

Sincerely,

Larry R. Caughron

1-24-63 MA

January 20 - 1963

Dear Sirs:

Would you please send me your free booklet "Hundred Years Later"? I am working on a project for my college minor in Library Science. For my class 'Library Materials' we have chosen a unit in social studies and are to find materials from all possible sources for use in the library. As my project is on the Civil War, I believe this booklet will be helpful.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

1-25-63
MA

MISS DIANE MCCULLOUGH
MOULTON HALL
KENT, OHIO

Southern Regional Council.
5 Forsyth St. N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga

WILLIAM S. THOMPSON.
1741 IXORA AVE.
NORTH FORT MYERS.
FLORIDA.

January 21 '63

Dear Folks.

I sure disagree with the News-Press Editorial of Jan. 13.

Please send me a free copy of Southern Student Reactions

1-25-63
MA

Sincerely
William S. Thompson.

January 25, 1963

Mrs. Myrna E. Garfinkle
255 Lexington Drive
River Edge, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Garfunkel:

I would suggest that you get two government publications as follows:

U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Housing. 1961
Supertintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Housing and Home Finance packet on housing, The President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Washington, D. C.

I am also listing on an attached sheet a bibliography of books on housing; many of them you should be able to find in your local library.

I hope this will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Bibliography on Housing

Banfield, Edward C., and Grodzins, Morton, Government and Housing in Metropolitan Areas, New York, McGraw Hill, 1958.

Clark, Dennis, The Ghetto Game, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1962

Conant, James B., Slums & Suburbs, New York, McGraw-Hill. 1961

Javits, Jacob K., Discrimination USA, New York, Washington Square Press, 1962 (60¢ revised paper back edition)

Laurenti, Luigi, Property Values & Race, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960

McEntire, Davis, Residence and Race, (same as above)

Murray, Pauli, editor, States' Laws on Race and Color, Woman's Division of Christian Service, 7820 Reading Road, Cincinnati 37, Ohio, 1950; supplement 1955.

American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. pamphlet, The People Take the Lead, a Record of Progress in Civil Rights, 1954-1963.

Anti-Defamation League, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. pamphlet, Discrimination in Housing: A Handbook of Facts, George and Eunice Grier

If you have access to a file of the Journal of Intergroup Relations, there are many articles in it over a period of the past 3 or 4 years that would be of interest to you.

Trends in Housing, published bimonthly by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York, is of interest too.

1-25-63
MA

255 Lexington Drive
River Edge, New Jersey
January 16, 1963

Gentlemen:

The Riverdell - New Milford section of the National Council of Jewish Women is involved in a study of civil rights, with an emphasis on housing problems.

Would you kindly suggest pertinent reading materials. Thank you.

Yours very truly,
(Mrs) Myrna C. Garfunkel

January 25, 1963

Library, Merritt Campus
Oakland City College
5714 Grove Street
Oakland 9, California

Dear Sirs:

add mailing list
1-31-63

We have your request to be placed on our mailing list to receive the Council's publications; we are pleased to add the Merritt Campus Library to our library list.

1-25-63
MA

Under separate cover we are sending you several of our latest publications. We are in process of up-dating our publications list; when it is complete we will mail you one so that you may check those publications which would be of particular interest to you.

send when ready

Many libraries subscribe to our monthly publication, __New South__. A sample copy is enclosed with the other materials in case you are interested.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Albany
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
Employment Studies
Houston, Atlanta, Chattanooga
Executive Support of Civil Rights
The Freedom Ride
S P Movement
New South: Sept., Oct. 1962

OAKLAND CITY COLLEGE, MERRITT CAMPUS--LIBRARY
5714 GROVE STREET
OAKLAND 9, CALIFORNIA

Will you please place the name of this library upon your mailing list to receive

Publications of the Southern Regional Council

regularly.

If back issues are still available, we should appreciate receiving them also to make our file complete.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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PROGRAM
AND TRAINING
DEPARTMENT
Gordon R. Carey
director
Norman Hill
assistant to the director

January 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would like at least a dozen copies of your Report # L-39 of December 19, entitled, "Negroes Pay Rises But Half as Fast."

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Shirley Sacks

1-28-63
mA

Shirley Sacks
Secretary
PROGRAM & TRAINING DEPT.

January 24, 1963

Dear Sir:

We would appreciate very much receiving a copy of your periodical NEW SOUTH. Thank you.

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1963

Sincerely yours,

Allan E. Nurmi
Secretary

sent
1-28-63
m A

LUOMA PHOTOS
WEIRTON, WEST VIRGINIA

AN ORDER FROM

THE WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS PAMPHLET DISTRIBUTING COMPANY
INCORPORATED
55 EAST 86TH STREET, NEW YORK 28, N. Y. TELEPHONE SACRAMENTO 2-7272

1/24/63
P.P.L. 1/18

Please send us, FOR RESALE *to our public library customer:*

1 copy-HUNDRED YEARS LATER by Dabbs (Toward Regional Realism #2)

sent
1-28-63
m A

billing us on terms stating retail price and best trade discount. If unable to supply, report at once. Supply paper editions unless otherwise specified.

January 28, 1963

Mrs. George A. Eddy
5151 Polk Avenue
Alexandria, Virginia

Dear Mrs. Eddy:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, the requested copies of L-33 and L-36.

We regret that New South is behind schedule, due to circumstances beyond our control. We hope to be back on the regular monthly mailing schedule by February. The November-December issue has just been received from the printer and you will receive it soon. Just in case you did not receive the September issue, we are sending one with the L-reports. Since you are not certain you saw it, we would rather send you a duplicate than take a chance that you did miss it.

Thank you for your kind remarks about the excellence of the magazine. Needless to say, we are always pleased to receive praise of our publications, and especially from people like yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

MRS. GEORGE A. EDDY
5151 POLK AVENUE
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

January 23, 1963

Gentlemen:

1- Please send me a copy of

L-33

L 36 1-28-63 mA

2- I just received yesterday the October copy of New South. Is that normal? I have had none for November or December. ~~or was~~ My last copy was the July-August "A Hundred Years Late". If all records seem to be in order please tell me what the September-December main articles on cover and color of cover in case I have seen them and misplaced them.

It is such a *first-rate* magazine that I hate to miss any.

Cordially

Eileen Eddy

January 29, 1963

Miss Louise Jamison
Hollins College
Hollins College, Virginia

Dear Miss Jamison:

Under separate cover we are mailing you some publications which will be helpful to you in preparing your thesis on Little Rock and Mississippi integration.

Regarding the Ole Miss situation, you will find the following articles helpful:

U. S. News & World Report, Oct. 15, 1962
Look Magazine, December, 1962
Life Magazine, October 12, 1962

Sincerely yours,

SEA FOAM BOND

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
- New South, October, 1962
- Student Editorial Comment
- L-Report 11
- Saturday Evening Post, November 10, 1962
- Some General Observations in the Negro Community of Little Rock, Ark.
- This is What We Found

Hollins College
Hollins College, Virginia
January 26, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forysith Street North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir,

Does your orgination have any literature on the Oxford, Mississippi and Little Rock, Arkansas desegregation crises? I am writing a senior thesis on these two incidents and would appreciate any assistance that you could give me. Information and literature on these issues and any suggested places where I could write for more material would be of great help.

Since my thesis is due on February 11, of this year, a prompt reply to this letter would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your time and trouble.

Please send any literature to the above address.

Yours truly,
Louise Jamison
Louise Jamison

January 30, 1963

Mrs. Maude Massey Rogers
109 McDaniel Avenue
Easley, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

I'm very sorry for the delay in reaching you of the materials you requested January 2, 1963. In checking on the matter, we found that the order had been misplaced in the mail room; the materials were mailed out on January 25th and I trust you have received them by now.

Sincerely yours,

EA FOAM BOND

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

January 8, 1963

Mrs. Maude Massey Rogers
109 McDaniel Avenue
Easley, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

We mailed youryesterday the requested publications and reports, and enclosed a list of publications as you requested.

Regarding the books written by staff or board members of SRC, here is a list:

James M. Dabbs, The Southern Heritage, Knopf
The Road Home, Christian Education Press

Wilma Dykeman & James Stokely, Seeds of Southern Change, Chicago

Benjamin Muse, Virginia's Massive Resistance, Indiana

Harry Golden, Only in America, World (former member)

Brooks Hays, A Southern Moderate Speaks, Chapel Hill

John Hope, Equality of Opportunity, Public Affairs Press

I'm sorry that we do not have paper back editions of these books, and I do not think any have been so issued except Only in America. We only have our file copies.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Albany
All L-Reports
List of publications

ret. MA

gave check $2.00 to RHA 1-7-63 MG

109 McDaniel Ave.,
Easley, S. C.
Jan. 2, 1963

Southern Regional Council.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Council:

I have been receiving New South through my membership in S.C. Council but I wish to subscribe directly. My last copy was September 1962 but I do not know when the subscription is supposed to expire, so please check it and start with October 1962 as I am trying to keep my files complete. I have almost all issues since the beginning.

Please send me copies of the free L-"Reports" from L-125 on if they are still available, and a list of other books, pamphlets, reports, etc., currently available.

Do you have books by members of the Board of Council and staff of New South; I should like very much to have them in paper backs or inexpensive bindings as my funds are very limited.

Anything you have "for free" that I could pass on to white and negro friends will be gratefully received.

Maude Massey Rogers.

posted card expires July 1964 - MG
sent ALBANY, L reports, + publication list 1-7-63 - MG
Sent by BC on 1-25-63, after campaign

~~The Southerner as an American~~ Chapel Hill

Dabbs
The Southern Heritage Knopf
The Road Home (note race relations) Chr. Edu. Press

Dykeman &
Stokely
Seeds of Southern Change Chicago

Muse, Va's Massive Resistance Indiana

Golden (former)
Only in America World

Hays, Brooks A Southern Moderate Speaks Chapel Hill

John Hope Equality of Opportunity Pub. Affairs Press

ODOM FANNING
12 BELKNAP STREET
CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

January 28, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen:

A Hundred Years Later

About six months ago I read your pamphlet in which one of the contributions was by Paul Green.

Please send me another copy. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Odom Fanning

Odom Fanning

1-30-63
MA

also sent
Nov-Dec New South

Western Elec. Co.
Mr. W. J. Ganson
P O Box 1728
Atl 1

send
2 Plans for Progress

telephone
request

no cy

1-30-63
MA

REFERENCE LIBRARY
MUNICIPAL TECHNICAL ADVISORY SERVICE
Box 8500, University Station
Knoxville, Tennessee

Will you please send us the publication(s) listed below for use in our Reference Library. If there is a charge please notify us in advance.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE: NEGRO POLICEMEN IN THE SOUTH
by Elliott M. Rudwick
1962, 14 p.

1-31-63
MA

Miriam E. Bass
Miriam E. Bass
Librarian

Maine Township High School East
Library
Park Ridge, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Enclosed please find 20¢ for your pamphlet, "Hundred Years Later", which was listed in a recent issue of Vertical File Index.

Thank you.

2/4/63

Mrs. J. W. Meyer,
Head Librarian

1-31-63
Sent

20¢
Coin
RHA

25¢ 5¢ or 1¢

50¢ Coin or Folded Bill

25¢ 5¢ or 1¢

10¢ or 1¢

25¢ 5¢ or 1¢

25¢ 5¢ or 1¢

10¢ or 1¢

DEMCO NO. 840 . . . DEMCO LIBRARY SUPPLIES,
NEW HAVEN, CONN. MADISON, WISC. FRESNO, CALIF.

January 31, 1963

Miss Virginia Zoller
Scarritt College
Nashville 5, Tenn.

Dear Miss Zoller:

For your class report on the Southern Regional Council we are mailing you today some materials on the Council. In regard to the 1957 Congressional Record reprint, the state councils which are mentioned are now autonomous, but maintain a liaison with the Council because we have the same interests.

The enclosed news release on the Voter Education Project describes a new program project of the Council, not covered in the other materials.

We are an organization of fact finding and persuasion, we do a great deal of interpretation of what is going on in the South, and we provide information to news media, writers, researchers, foreign visitors, and interested people.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- Origin and Aims
- Congressional Record reprint
- VEP news release
- SRC Reports the Changing South

Scarritt College
Nashville 5, Tenn.
January 28, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Gerogia

Dear Sirs:

In attending a class at Scarritt College on The Church and Social Action, I have become interested in your organization through the Tennessee Council on Human Relations. I shall be reporting to the class, therefore, I am interested in securing all the information I can about the organization, purposes, and procedures. I would be grateful for any information you can send me.

Thank you very much for your help in this area.

Sincerely,

Virginia Zoller

Virginia Zoller

January 25, 1963

1-31-63

Mr. John W. Piercey
Labor Attache
The American Embassy
Oslo, Norway

Dear Mr. Piercey:

We are pleasedto send you some requested materials for your lecture on February 20.

We will put you on our mailing list to receive our publications as they are issued, as you request. You may wish to subscribe to our monthly publication, New South. The cost is $2.00 per year for eleven issues.

cc of letter + reply sent to HCF

Mr. Fleming is no longer with the Council; ~~is~~ he is now executive vice president of the Potomac Institute in Washington, D. C. The address is 1501 18th Street, N. W. We are therefore filling your request, and will convey to Mr. Fleming your personal message.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosed:
- Dunbar, The Annealing of the South
- Reprint, Fortuna, March 1962, "The City and the Negro"
- Reprint, Business Week, August 5, 1961, "New Business Ways in the South"
- L-Reports 31, 36, 37, 39
- A Study of Negro Farmers In South Carolina
- Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey

P.S. For future reference, you may wish to get from the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. their Notes on the Economic Situation of Negroes. (We only have one file copy.)

1501 - 18th St. N.W.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Embassy,
Oslo, Norway,
January 17, 1963

Mr. Harold Flemming,
Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I am giving a lecture here at the American Embassy on the economic and social status of negroes in the United States on February 20. I wonder if you have some reports or pamphlet material which could be useful to me for this lecture?

New South mailing list?

It occurs to me that it would be desirable to regularly receive any publications which you have. Can we subscribe or receive notices of your materials?

I am sure that it is warmer in Atlanta than here where it has been continuously well below freezing since the end of November, but it has been a wonderful winter for skiing and winter sports.

Best personal regards,

John W. Piercey
Labor Attaché

Dept. of Labor
Notes on the Ec Sit of Negroes
✓ Agri report
✓ Plans for Progress

January 31, 1963

Mrs. Phillip T. Paul
23 Summit Road
Naugatuck, Conn.

Dear Mrs. Paul:

Mr. McGill's secretary, Mrs. Lundy, requested us to send you some materials for your paper, "Ralph McGill and the New South."

Under separate cover we are mailing you several items which we hope will be helpful in giving you a general background for your article.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- McGill, "The Agony of the Southern Minister"
- Dunbar, "The Annealing of the South"
- New South, March, April, November-December, 1962
- McMillan, "The South's Pattern of Violence Has Changed"
- A Hundred Years Later
- Fleming, "A Southern View of the South"

Jour.
McGill
doing paper on "Ralph McGill & New South"

Mrs. Phillip T. Paul
23 Summit Rd.
Naugatuck, Conn.

1-31-63 MA

19 Spring Street
Tremont, Pa.
January 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

If any of the following material is still available, kindly send me:

✓ "A Virginia View of 'Race and Reason'", by Benjamin Muse

✓ "This I Believe", by Haywood M. Hill

✓ "Segregation Versus the Space Age", by Marion A. Wright

✓ "Three Views of the Segregation Decisions", by Faulkner, Mays, and Sims

✓ "South Carolinians Speak", compiled by Rev. John B. Morris

✓ "Refutation of 'Race and Reason'", by Sullivan - L-32

sent 2-1-63
mA

L-16 ✓ "Atlanta and Washington: Racial Differences in Academic Achievement", by Stallings

✓ "The Easy Chair", by Ashmore

I am enclosing twenty-five cents, which I hope will cover material costs and mailing charges.

Please send me the desired material as soon as possible. Thank you.

Very sincerely yours,

Kay Rentschler

Kay Rentschler

25¢
Coins
RHA
2/4/63

THINGS TO DO TODAY

for
Rev.
Haskell Murry, Anniston, Ala.
~~before 12:00~~ ~~after 1:30~~

~~1705~~
Plans for Progress Report
to Rev. N. Q. Reynolds.
1702 Cooper Ave.
Anniston, Ala.

[illegible] 2-1-63 MA

MONDAY, JANUARY 21, 1963

DECEMBER

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
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2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

JANUARY

Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

FEBRUARY

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
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3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

21st Day Patented 344 Days to Come

February 1, 1963

Miss Mary Ann Kosydar
79 Fairview Avenue Ext.
Bridgeport, Conn.

Dear Miss Kosydar:

Regarding school desegration, public and parochial, in Atlanta and Albany, we are sending you some materials for your term paper. I am afraid you will have to limit it to Atlanta, becuuse there has been no school desegregation (or any kind of desegregation at all) in Albany.

I would suggest that you look up in your library the following articles:

Good Housekeeping, May 1962, Walker, "How Women Won the Quiet Bettle of Atlanta"
Harpers, October 1962, "Honeychile at the Barricades"
Life, September 15, 1961, McMillan's article on Atlanta

We hope these will be helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Albany Report
School Desegregation: the first six years
New South, June 1962, Jenkins, "Police, Progress & Desegregation in Atlanta"
_________, Sept. 1962, Coles, "Two Boys of Conscience and Courage"
Southern School News, clips of Sept. and Oct., 1962

MA

79 Fairview Ave. Ext.
Bridgeport, Conn.
January 16, 1963

Harold C. Fleming
5 Forsyth St., N.W
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have become quite interested in 'Integration in the Deep South' and have made this the topic of my term paper. Having limited myself to the cities of Atlanta and Albany, I am unable to find adequate information on this idea of integration in public and parochial education and on the opinion of the people toward this idea. Therefore, I would appreciate it very much if you could send me any information regarding these two cities or could send me the address of someone to whom I might write.

I shall anxiously await your reply.

Thank you

Sincerely
Mary Ann Kosydar

Albany – (no school deseg.)

Atlanta – Clips

– 2 reports on parochial schools
Atlanta ?

School deseg – first 6 years

New South: Dr. Coles article
Chief Jenkins's article

Honey Chile at the Barricades
Harpers, Oct 1962

Good Housekeeping May 1962
Walker How women won the Quiet Battle of Atlanta

Life McMillen Sept 15, 1961

February 1, 1963

Mr. Mark Welch
"Y" Committee of Race Relations
Eagleson Hall
1417 N.E. 42nd Street
Seattle 5, Washington

Dear Mr. Welch:

Under separate cover we are mailing you some of our publications about race relations committees. Some are educative, investigative, negotiative and some are action oriented. We are also enclosing with this material a sample copy of our monthly publication, New South, as you requested. The subscription rate is $2.00 per year.

We are temporarily out of our publications list, as it is being revised; one will be sent to you when we have a new supply.

Other sources of information are:

C.O.R.E., 38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee,
#6 Raymond St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

j Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- Settling a Sit-in (Nashville)
- Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem
- The Student Protest Movement
- The Freedom Ride
- Toward A Solution of the Sit-in Controversy
- Lunch-Counter Desegregation in .... Texas
- New South, Sept., Dec., 1960; Oct. 1961
- L-Reports

Eagleson Hall
1417 N.E. 42nd Street
Seattle 5, Washington
January 23, 1963

Dear Sirs:

Recently the "Y" at the University of Washington formed a Race Relations Committee. The nature of the committee is to be educative, investigative, negotiative and if necessary, action oriented. We would greatly appreciate it if you would send us any pamphlets or information publications you might have available.

If you could suggest any other sources of information we would appreciate it. Also, would you send us a sample copy and the subscription rates of your publication for our library?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mark Welch

Mark Welch
"Y" Committee of Race Relations

CORE 38 Park Row, NY 38

SNCC, #6 Raymond St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

February 1, 1963

Mr. A. B. Hughes
3225 Imperial Drive
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Our publications are all about current issues and problems, but a few of them would, I believe, be appropriate for display in your observance of Negro History Week. We are mailing these to you under separate cover.

I would suggest that you write to the NAACP office; it may be that they have a prepared kit of publications and suggestions.

Books on Negro history which we have in our library and can recommend are as follows:

Langston Hughes & Milton Meltzer, A Pictoral History of the Negro in America, Crown, N. Y. $5.95
John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom: A History of the American Negroes
Louis E. Lomax, The Negro Revolt, Harper & Bros., N.Y. $4.50
Nathanial Weyl, The Negro in American Civilization, Public Affairs Press. $6.00
C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow, Oxford University Press, N. Y. $2.50
(we do not have these for sale; only our library copies)

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Changing Patterns
A Hundred Years Later
The Negro & the Ballot (2)
School Desegregation: the first six years
Publications list

Order from: January 9, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Spearman, Walter and
Meyer, Sylvan Racial Crisis and the Press .30

1-31-63
mA

Coin
RHA
2/4/63

Please send to

NORTH FARMINGTON HIGH SCHOOL Library
32900 THIRTEEN MILE ROAD
FARMINGTON, MICHIGAN

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
ANN ARBOR

January 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

stamps RHA 2/4/63

Enclosed is 60¢ in stamps in payment of your invoice ______________ covering our order number 13-310446. The copy of your invoice is also enclosed.

The University Library prefers to make payment for small bills in postage, and we appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Connie Dunlap
(m. l. e.)

(Mrs.) Connie Dunlap
Acting Head
Order Department

CD:pjp

NATIONAL BOARD
OF THE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
OF THE U. S. A.
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

VOUCHER NO.	INVOICE NO. OR DESC.	INVOICE AMOUNT – DEDUCTIONS	DISCOUNT	VOUCHER BALANCE
BILL FOR 1,000 COPIES OLE MISS STUDENT OPINION BILLED TO YWCA, S. REG. ATLANTA, GEORGIA				
JA 284		40.00+		40.00

DETACH AT PERFORATION BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK

ck $40.00
2/14/63
LK

P4-10/60

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Order Department
University of Michigan Library
Ann Arbor, Michigan

****

Purchase Order #~~300828~~ 310446

Date Shipped **10-3-62**

The Negro and employment opportunities in the South 3 vols.

1 copy - vol. 1	**$.20**
1 copy - vol. 2	**.20**
1 copy - vol. 3	**.20**
total --------	**$.60**

D. P. S. 4 (Rev. 4-61)

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

AGENCY PURCHASE ORDER

Invoice covering items listed on this order should be sent directly to agency to which merchandise is furnished—not to Commonwealth of Virginia.

The New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PURCHASE ORDER NO. A - 899
SHEET NO. 1
DATE February 4, 1963
REQUISITION NUMBER
CONTRACT NUMBER
ACCEPTING YOUR BID DATED:
SHIP VIA
DELIVERY
TERMS:

Subject to proposal and contract conditions, furnish articles or services listed below. Invoice to and deliver to:

Fold The Library, Longwood College, Farmville, Virginia Fold

COMMODITY CODE	ARTICLES OR SERVICES	QUANTITY	UNIT	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
4823	The New South, 1963 (11 issues)	1 yr.			$2.00

INSTRUCTIONS

1. This purchase order number including the prefix "A" shall be shown by vendor on all related invoices, delivery memoranda, bills of lading, packages and/or correspondence.
2. All invoices shall be prepared upon the standard State form supplied by the Department of Purchases and Supply, herewith or as requested.
3. A separate invoice for this purchase order or for each shipment thereon shall be rendered immediately following shipment. All copies of invoice shall be forwarded direct to using agency at delivery point shown, not to the Department of Purchases and Supply or to the Department of Accounts unless either is the receiver of the articles or services.
4. All prices unless otherwise specified are net, F. O. B. destination with transportation charges prepaid.
5. Equipment, materials and/or supplies delivered on this order shall be subject to inspection and test upon receipt and if rejected shall remain the property of the vendor.
6. If shipment is made by freight or express the original bill of lading properly receipted shall accompany invoice.
7. If not shown on this order shipping directions will be supplied by the consignee.

ENCUMBER: Approp. Code — Allotment — Quarter
214 - 06 - 1593 (1 - 3)

Certified as to availability of funds— Department of Accounts

(Date)

Agency Longwood College, Farmville, Va.
By
Title Bus. Mgr. and Treas.

VENDOR

LEONARD J. HASTY JULIAN H. BURNS

Pine Tree Building & Supply Company

P. O. Box 323 Telephone HEmlock 2-6066

MILL STREET
CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA

February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send, to the above address, five (5) copies "This I Believe" by Heywood N. Hill, MD, and invoice the above.

Yours very truly,

PINE TREE BUILDING & SUPPLY COMPANY

Julian H. Burns

JHB:nf

2-6-63
MA

BOARD OF EDUCATION
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LANGLEY, WASHINGTON

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Superintendent
George Young
High School Principal
Lee Larrick
Elementary Principal

20¢ coin
RHA 2/4/63

Dear Sir:

It would be appreciated if you would send Hundred years later, by J. M. Dabbs & others to our library. We have gotten this information from the Vertical File Index.

Mrs. Odell Hyde, librarian
South Whidbey Consolidated
School District 206
Langley, Washington

2-6-63
m A

Enclosure;

PURCHASE ORDER

BACON PAMPHLET SERVICE, Inc.
Pamphlet Distributors
NORTHPORT, NEW YORK
ANDREW 1-7714

No. 9626
MUST APPEAR ON LABEL
to assure identification

1-29-63

To

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

No. of Copies

10 copies- Dabbe- HUNDRED YEARS LATER.
3 copies- RACIAL WORK & NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT.
@.20 2.60

Ck $2 60
2/4/63
LK

sent 2-6-63 MA

We enclose $ 2.60 in ☐ Stamps ☒ Check

58

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY EAST LANSING

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

January 29, 1963

AIR MAIL

Southern Education Regional Council
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Dr. Kenneth Morland of Randolph-Macon Women's College suggested that I write you concerning the study conducted by Dr. Mary Ellen Goodman on the private foundation schools in the southern area of the United States. I am especially interested in any data that she might have gathered on the white school children in Prince Edward County, Virginia.

Since this area is of interest to me, any information that you might forward will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Lee Green

Robert L. Green, Ph.D.
464 Education

RLG/aj

2-6-63
mA

February 6, 1963

California Book Co., LTD.
2310 Telegraph Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Sirs:

We have your notice that the three copies of McMillan, Racial Violence & Law Enforcement arrived in a damaged condition. We are very sorry, and are sending to you today replacements.

We note that you plan to keep the damaged copies for possible resale. If you are able to sell them,at discount, we would appreciate a remittance. If not, please return them and we will refund the postage.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Date 1-30-63

Re: Our P.O.# 291 of 1-7-63. 3 copies of Racial Violence & Law Enforcement received DAMAGED. Will keep until end of Spring Semester sales. If not sold, we will return on our Debit Memo under our own label at end of that time.

Yours very truly,

CALIFORNIA BOOK CO., LTD.
2310 Telegraph Avenue
Berkeley 4, California

Atlantic Christian College
Wilson, North Carolina

Feb 6, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Ga

Gentlemen;

Kindly send me following literature

1 A Hundred Years Later — 20¢
1 A Virginia View of Race & Reason 5¢
1 Slipping Segregation - reprint
1 Refutation of Race & Reason "
1 Desegregation in Southern Parochial Schools reprint
1 Richmond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations "
1 What Price Violence? "
1 Negroes Pay Rises But Half as Fast "

25¢
Coin
2/7/63
RH

Your New South for Nov-Dec 1962 is excellent.

Sincerely
C. H. Hamlin
Atlantic Christian College
Wilson
N.C.

sent
2-7-63
MA

JOINT UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE

February 5, 1963

Sirs:

We have not yet received Vol. 17 # 7-8, No. July-Aug. 1962,

current series, of New South.

which we get from you by subscsiption through Faxon. This is the
2nd claim. Please supply to complete our vol.

Kindly supply this number.

Very truly yours,

Ethel Birdsong

Ethel Birdsong
Periodicals Librarian.

2-7-63
MA

FORM NO. 4

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Urban League of Greater Muskegon
500 West Muskegon Avenue
Muskegon, Michigan

(ordered by Miss Romella Ealom)

****

Purchase Order # **letter 1-31-63**

Date Shipped **2-7-63**

5 - School Desegregation: the first six years @ .20	**1.00**
5 - maps, population @ .20	**1.00**
	$ 2.00

URBAN LEAGUE OF GREATER MUSKEGON

Interracial Teamwork In Action

500 West Muskegon Avenue MUSKEGON, MICHIGAN Telephone PA 2-6994 or PA 8-5193

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January 31, 1963

2-7-63
mS

New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us five (5) copies of the issue of New South which contained maps of the 1960 Census in relation to County-wide Non-White population of the Southern States.

I am sorry that we do not have the volume number or more specific information as to what particular issue contained this information.

We shall appreciate your efforts in locating these copies for us.

Sincerely,

Romella Ealom

(Miss) Romella Ealom
Administrative Secretary

ck $1 25
2/7/63
LK

rct MA

c/o Robbins
31 Charlton Street
New York 14, New York

February 4, 1963

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 14 about materials available on the 1960 sit-in movement. I would appreciate your sending me the following publications:

Lunch-Counter Desegregation in... Texas
Settling a Sit-in (Nasville, Tenn.)
Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Winston-Salem, N. C.
New South, issues of Sept., 1960; March, 1960; June, 1961; Dec. 1961; and Oct., 1961.
L-Reports 20, 22, 28 31 and 33.

I am enclosing a check for $1.25 for the cost, as you stated it, of the first four items; if there is a charge for the New South copies and the L-Reports, I will be happy to pay it.

Thank you for the offer of a list of magazine articles on the sit-ins; I have a voluminous list already, and unless your list includes articles not indexed in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, my list probably includes your list!

Your very kind assistance is certainly appreciated.

sent 2-7-63
MA

Sincerely yours,

Jennifer Lauterbach
(Miss) Jennifer W. Lauterbach

encl.

EXTENSION LIBRARY
20 MEMORIAL LIBRARY BUILDING
MADISON 6, WISCONSIN

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
University Extension Division

January 31, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We enclose 20¢ in coin **to pay for** one copy **of the following:**

Hundred years later -- J. M. Dabbs and others 20¢ Coins 2/7/63 RHA

We hope we may have a prompt response.

Sincerely yours,

Gladys Trayser

Mrs. Gladys Trayser
Administrative Assistant
REFERENCE LOAN SERVICE

GT:vmr
Enclosure

2-4-63
mA

entered - mA

ck #12.00
2/7/63
LK

February 7, 1963

Mr. Peter Nemenyi
450 Clarkson Avenue
Brooklyn 3, New York

Dear Mr. Nemenyi:

Your order the first of this month caught us in a great frenzy of activity, made more acute by illness and absence of several staff members. It was mailed out yesterday and I will give you an accounting of the two checks you sent, and the charges deducted from them.

Nemenyi:	first order, *New South*	$2.00	
	materials	1.80	
	second order, "	7.58	
	back issues, *New South*	8.00	
	($2 per yr., 1959-60-61, 62)	$19.38	
	some issues will be missing		
	postage	.95	$20 .33
Dandridge:	materials	2.37	
	postage	.75	3 .12
			$ 23. 45

You sent us two checks: $16.00 and $12.00, and this leaves a balance of $4.55, which you wished to go to the voting registration efforts in the South. May I make a suggestion. We can allocate this money to our own Voter Education Project, but this amount will make little difference in their budget, and they are, at present, well financed. On the other hand, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which is one of the groups and agencies working out in the field to educate people to the advantages of registering to vote, operates on a shoe-string and needs every dime they can get to keep going. This is a group of students, most of them Negro but with a number of white students too, both young men and women, who go out to places like Albany, Ga., and Jackson, Miss. and hold meetings, usually with the cooperation of a local church. (You no doubt read of the three churches that were burned in south Georgia, and the houses shot into there and in Mississippi.) These young people take the lumps on the head, the jailings, the constant harrassment and even sometimes bullets. I hope you will agree that the balance of $4.55 may be sent to them. Outside support of other young people over the nation is a tremendous moral builder above and beyond the actual money.

I hope you may find the materials useful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

SRC PUBLICATIONS

Peter Nemenyi
450 Clarkson Ave
Brooklyn 3, N.Y.

---

* those marked to

Miss Vivian Dandridge
Pres., NAACP
Brooklyn College
Brooklyn, N.Y.

---

plus 1 Plans For Progress
3 copies publications list to Nemenyi
1 to Dandridge

a listing of current materials
relating to race relations and
allied subjects available from

(out of 1st Albany)

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Summer, 1962

Let me know postage on both pkgs. MA

1 * EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962, 52 pp. SC 50¢. *

1 * THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 1961. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

2 * THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman. Migrations from South to North and rural to urban as reported in Fortune, March, 1962. Reprint, 9 pp. SC 20¢.

1 THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, Nov., 1961; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, Feb., 1962; and ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

4 * A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

2 * A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

2 ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

1 THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick,

Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q2¢. 2 *

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢. 2

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢. 2 *

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Myer. Racial news in the press. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢. 1

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Statistics and specific local examples. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢. ← 1

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢. 4 *

THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢. 2 *

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: A RECAPITULATION, a summary of sit-in activity 6 *

from February 1960 to September 1961 and its results. (Mimeo.) SC 15¢.

2 WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the 1954 decision reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years ... and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

1 IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke & Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

2 SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

1 THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles reprinted from the Washington Post. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

1 ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961, SC 5¢.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢. 2 *

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.) 27 pp., 1961, SC 10¢. 1 *

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢. 1 *

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC. 1

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29 pp. SCF, QCWC. 1

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine June, 1958. SCF, QCWC. 1

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC. 1 *

2 DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell. Study of Norfolk, Va., citizens at a time when schools were closed there conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Univ. of North Carolina. 159 pp., 1960. SCF, QCWC.

2 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug., 5, 1961. SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise noted, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 1 * PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 1 * VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 2 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 2 * ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960. 2 *

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960. 1 *

L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES. Where and how this has been effective. 1960. 3 *

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing importance of leaving education to educators. Nov., 1960. 1 *

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. Dec., 1960. 1 *

L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 - 1961. 4 *

L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. Feb., 1961. 2 *

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961. 1

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July, 1961. 1 *

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of 2 *

Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov., 1961. 2

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov., 1961. 2 x

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance. 1 x

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962. 1 x

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962. 2 x

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962. 1

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May, 1962. 2

Index to price code

SC - single copy SCF - single copy free
Q - price per copy in quantity
QRR - quantity rates on request
QCWC - quantities considered without cost

Fall 1962
additions to
SRC Publication List

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS - reprint from the Washington Post. 3

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. 3

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots.

ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the summer 1962 events. SC 25¢.

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER - comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. SC 20¢.

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. SC 5¢.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Downstate Medical Center
450 Clarkson Ave., Brooklyn 3, N. Y. ULster 6-2020

College of Medicine
Department of Environmental Medicine
and Community Health

Plans for Progress

Southern Regional Council

Dear Friends;

Thanks you very much for your letter and the materials you sent me already.

I should be grateful if you would send me [Peter Nemenyi, 450 Clarkson Ave, Brooklyn 3] the materials marked on your publications list enclosed (2 copies if it's marked 2)*. And in addition send a copy of those publications marked with an asterisk * to: Miss Vivian Dandridge, Pres., NAACP, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. Also please enclose 3 copies of your publications list in my package and one in Miss Dandridge's.

Also please send me a complete set, from 1959 on, of New South. Encl. another $12 which, with the previous $16 should (more than) cover everything. Please ~~apply~~ use any balance for voter registration. Thank you,

Peter Nemenyi

* Plus: please send me another 3 copies of Richmond Leads the Way and of your mimeographed writeup on the cost of segregation. Thank you.

Nimenyi	Dandridge
50	350
35	35
20	20
40	
20	5
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04	
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50	25
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100	25
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90	15
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25	25
7.38	2.37

2.37
75
3.12

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23.45

January 21, 1963

Mr. Peter Nemenyi
450 Clarkson Avenue
Brooklyn 3, New York

Dear Mr. Nemenyi:

Thank you for your check for $16.00; we have entered your subcription to New South and we are mailing you today, under separate cover, the materials you requested. This does not use up the total amount of your check. The publications list you wish three copies of is out of print; we shall be mailing it to you next week. After you have looked it over to see if there is anything else you wish, we will allocate the remainder of your check to the voting drive, as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:

The Negro and the Ballot (2) @ .25 each	.50	
Later information on voting registration (3)	.25	
Albany: A Study in National Responsibility	.25	
A Hundred Years Later	.20	
A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina	.10	
Reprint of editorials re Oxford, Miss.	.10	
New South, Sept., Oct., 1962	.40	1.80
L-Reports, 36, 37, 38, 39		2.00 New South

P.S. We will have out next week a report on the "Plans for Progress" and will send it to you.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Downstate Medical Center
450 Clarkson Ave., Brooklyn 3, N. Y. ULster 6-2020

College of Medicine
Department of Environmental Medicine
and Community Health

ck $16.00 2-N.S.
1/21/63 14-M. Lit.
LK

Southern Regional Council:

Dear Sirs:

Please send me 2 copies of "The Negro and the Ballot in the South" (Margaret Price, 1959) and 3 copies of any more recent booklet(s) you may have on the same subject, especially anything on the current big voter registration effort.

Also 2 copies of "The Case for Integration", + one copy of all your publications, except books, since August 1962 (when I was down there). And put me on your subscription list for your "monthly publication* ~~(you have one, don't you?) and regular serials~~. Please send 3 copies of a list of your publications too

New South 1-21-63

I enclose $16 which should cover this; if it doesn't, bill me for the balance. (If it more than covers, the extra is a small contribution for the voter drive)

Thank you,

Peter Nemenyi
PETER NEMENYI
450 CLARKSON AVE.
BROOKLYN 3, N.Y.

* New South

February 7, 1963

Miss Jacqueline Carhart
Brooklyn College NAACP
1617 Church Avenue
Brooklyn 26, New York

Dear Miss Carhart:

We have today mailed out packages of materials requested by Peter Nemenyi and Miss Vivian Dandridge (president of NAACP at Brooklyn College). It occurs to me that this may be for the same exhibit about which you wrote. Since Miss Dandridge did not request the Albany report, I am mailing it to you under separate cover. You could then add it to her material for the exhibit.

I regret to tell you that the pamphlet Intimidation, Reprisals, and Violence is out of print; we have only a file copy left. Since it was produced in 1958, it is now very much out of date and we do not plan to re-issue it.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

1617Church Avenue
Brooklyn 26,NewYork
Feb. 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
~~X~~ 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

The Brooklyn College N.A.A.C.P. is preparing an exhibit which is to be called(tentativly) "Why Integrate?", which will be concerned with integration in both the North and the South.We would appreciate it if you coud help us in gathering material,; we are especially interested in a pamphlet "Intimidations, Reprisals and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis", and Data on the Albany Movement. However, any material you can send us, especially pictures, will be much appreciated.

Thank you,

Jacqueline Carhart

Brooklyn College

N.A.A.C.P.

Albany Report

P.S. Any material can be sent to the above address.

Peter Nemenyi
Miss Vivian Dandridge
Pres. of NAACP at Brooklyn College

February 7, 1963

Mr. Brian Kashiwagi
Box 3222
420 Memorial Drive
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Kashiwagi:

Our monthly publication, New South, is available to subscribers, at $2.00 per year. Under separate cover I am mailing you a sample copy. Periodically, materials published by us are listed, and may be ordered. We are temporarily out of our publications list, and I will send you one as soon as they are mimeographed.

Along with the New South, I am sending you a few of our publications which would be of special interest to college students.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
New South, Oct., 1962
The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation
The Freedom Ride
Student Newspaper editorials, Mississippi

Box 3222
420 Memorial Drive
Cambridge 39, Massachusetts
February 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We are a group of college students in the Greater Boston area and we are interested in the South's racial problems, particularly as they concern students. Consequently, we would like to get on your mailing list and receive some of your informative material including The New South. Please tell us how we accomplish this.

Sincerely,

Brian Kashiwagi

Brian Kashiwagi

February 7, 1963

Miss Alice Sandow
154 Mapleton Avenue
Baytown, Texas

Dear Miss Sandow:

We do not have movies or filmstrips on race relations; I have requested the Anti-Defamation League office here to mail you their listing of films and filmstrips and hope these will meet your needs.

We do have materials published on race relations in the South, and I am enclosing a publications list for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Am in charge of a program Entitled "Race" and request your assistance for information or sources of information on race relation. If it is possible I would like to obtain a movie (30 min) or movie strip from which a discussion could evolve. Could you please give me a list of such movies available And where it may be obtained.

Sincerely,
Alice Sandow
154 Mapleton Ave.
Baytown, Texas

February 7, 1963

Mr. Bruce M. Williams
Back Bay Mission
United Church of Christ
424 Chartres Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your complimentary remarks regarding our reprint of Southern student editorial opinion of the riots at Ole Miss.

We are mailing you the requested 30 copies, and are pleased that you will be mailing them out to friends both North and South. A statement is enclosed.

We are placing your name on our mailing list to receive research publications; you may also wish to subscribe to New South, our monthly publication. A sample copy is enclosed with the requested materials.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

February 7, 1963

Mrs. Millie H. Johnson
306 Parmier Street
Greenville, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

The materials you requested were published by the Council years ago and are not only completely out of date but out of stock. We do not plan to reissue any of them.

Perhaps you would be interested in some of our more recent publications; a list is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Asst.

publications
list

306 Parmer St.
Greenville, Ala.
January 23, 1963

Conference On Education
And Race Relations
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send the following material.

1. Singers in the Dawn — 20¢ — two Copies
2. Study Guide for "Understanding Our Neighbors" — No Charge — two Copies
3. Envelope Assortment, ten pamphlets — 20¢ — two assortments.
4. The Southern Frontier — 25¢ per year

Please let me Know if the prices have Changed and send a bill.

Yours truly,
Mrs. Millie H. Johnson

February 7, 1963

Miss Emily McLees
Administrator of Materials
Resource and Promotion
Board of National Missions
of the United Presbyterian Church, USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Miss McLees:

We have your letter regarding the student study tours and work groups, and your request for information on packets of material on each of the areas to be visited. The Council publishes material on the South in general, and sometimes on specific areas in the South. The materials we have on Georgia are as follows:

Zinn, *Albany*
The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta

It occurs to me that since the students will be touring the South, you may wish the packet to be more inclusive than just Georgia. Accordingly, I am enclosing a publications list, for your information, and I have marked those which I would consider especially useful for your purposes. If you like, we could send you one copy of any of the materials you think you would like to order, so that you could look it over in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Montez Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK 27, N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

February 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Each summer the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church sponsors a number of student study tours and work groups to areas where national missions work is being done. In order to help leaders and young people prepare for these experiences we are this year providing packets of material on each of the areas to be visited. The packets will include general background information, materials from state and federal governments and other agencies, and from churches and church-related projects.

I would appreciate your sending me a list of your materials which might be useful in the packet which will be given to groups going to Georgia.

Sincerely yours,

Emily McLees
Emily McLees
Administrator of Materials
Resource and Promotion

EM:ve

Quantity prices

The Negro & Employment Opportunities: Atlanta @ 15¢
Houston 15¢
Chattanooga 15¢

Zinn
Albany - 20¢

Rudwick
The ~~Unequal Badge~~ 6¢

Nell
This I Believe 2¢

The Negro & the Ballot in the South .20¢
The Freedom Ride 20¢
The SPM: a Recap 10¢

FIRST CHURCH OF GOD

1503 EAST HIGHWAY 98 • PANAMA CITY, FLORIDA • PHONE 785-4891

February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me your information regarding the publications available from the Southern Regional Council office.

I have only recently discovered the services you offern through some pamphlets at our local Bay County library.

Thank you for your services.

Sincerely yours,

Larry W. Thornton

Larry W. Thornton,
Pastor

2-8-63
Publications list
New South folder
MA

February 8, 1963

Mr. Bill Goode, Coordinator
Labor Education and Services
Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations
Student Center Building
Detroit 2, Michigan

Dear Mr. Goode:

We are extremely sorry that you found pages 1 and 9 missing from your copy of our Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey. Since we have no extra copies of page 9, we are today mailing you a complete copy.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Ret MA for letter

INSTITUTE OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

1817

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN-WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
ANN ARBOR DETROIT

1868

In Reply Please
Refer to:
STUDENT CENTER BUILDING
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have received a copy of your January 1963 Special Report entitled "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" and find that pages 1 and 9 are missing.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me copies of these two pages.

Thank you, in advance.

Sincerely,

Bill Goode

Bill Goode, Coordinator
Labor Education and Services

BG/ams
aft1382afl-cio

sent 1 complete copy - 2/8/63
BCC

ck #1|95
2/7/63
LK

Ret MA

2-11-63

325[redacted] Avenue West (Apt. #2)
Bir[redacted] 4, Alabama
Feb[redacted], 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Send me a copy of the "Miscellan[redacted] Bulletins entitled "Albany: A Study in National Responsi[redacted] by Howard Zinn (25¢), "A Hundred Years Later" (20¢), "Southern [redacted]ent Newspaper Opinion On The University Of Mississippi" (5¢),, "The Unequal Badge" by Elliot M. Rudwick (5¢), "Exec[redacted] Support of Civil Rights" (50¢), "A Virginia View of Rac[redacted] Reason" by Benjamin Muse (5¢), and Segregation Ve[redacted] Space Age by Marion Wright (5¢).

Send me the "Special Reports" ent[redacted] A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina" (10¢) and "[redacted]dent Protest Movement, A Recapitulation" (10¢0.

Send the "Employment Studies" ent[redacted] Chattanooga" (20¢), "Houston" (20¢), and "Atlanta" (20¢).

Also, send one copy of the follow[redacted] L-Reports" entitled "Slipping Segregation" (L-31), [redacted]tation of Race and Reason" by Dr. William P. Sullivan [redacted] "The Challange of Desegration for the American Police [redacted]ive" (L-33), "Desegregation in Southern Parochial S[redacted]" (L-34), "State Commissions on Human Relations" (L-35)[redacted]mond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations" (L-3[redacted]tatement on 'Economic Cost of Racial Discriminatio[redacted]loyment' Presented to Congress by the Council o[redacted]ic Adbisers" (L-37), "What Price Violence?" (L-38), and "Neg[redacted]ay Rises But Half As Fast." + L-39

I have enclosed a check for $1.95 [redacted]r the costs.

Please rush order.

Ver[redacted] yours,

Arthur Spears

Art[redacted]ars

entered 2-7-63-MA

February 11, 1963

Miss Barbara Reed
1356 W. St. Charles
Brownsville, Texas

Dear Miss Reed:

I am sorry to inform you that we have no more copies available of America's Tenth Man. This is an out-dated publication, and I am enclosing our current publications list with the hope that you may find listed in it something for your history class.

We will hold the 20¢ you enclosed untile we hear from you further, and will either apply it on something else or refund it to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

1356 W. St. Charles
Brownsville, Texas
February 4, 1963

Conference on Education and Race Relations
703 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

20¢
Cain
RHA
2/8/63

Dear Sirs:

I am taking United States History at Brownsvill High School. In my history class there are twelve persons who would like to have a booklet entitled "America's Tenth Man," (a brief survey of the Negroe's part in American history).

I am enclosing twenty cents for the twelve booklets. If there is any additional charge please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Reed

Barbara Reed

2-11-63
3A

Baptist Student Union

Joe D. Crumpacker
DIRECTOR

UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE MEDICAL UNITS
SOUTHWESTERN AT MEMPHIS
STUDENT CENTER AND OFFICES
879 UNION AVE., MEMPHIS 3, TENN.

PHONE 525-3995

February 6, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us one copy each of your pamphlets entitled "Toward Regional Realism", numbers 1 and 2. If others in this series are available, please supply us with those also.

If there are charges, please bill us at the above address. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Joe D. Crumpacker

Joe D. Crumpacker

JDC:bd

2-11-63
MA

Also publication list

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
SALT LAKE CITY

THE EXTENSION DIVISION
BUREAU OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

February 7, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Aubrun Avenue, NE.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In expanding our library facilities, we are trying to obtain all available lists of publications related to the field of community development. If lists are available, we would appreciate receiving them.

Our complete address is: P. O. Box 200, Salt Lake City 10, Utah.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Gayla Thomsen

Gayla Thomsen
Secretary

2-11-63
mA

North Texas State College Library Denton, Texas

Dear Sir:

We have failed to receive the numbers of your periodical listed below:

New South volume 17, no.8

2-11-63
n A

We should appreciate your supplying this material as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Polly Clarke

The Library.

(Form 39)

February 11, 1963

Mr. Gary Johnson
Hotel Walvern
River Falls State College
River Falls, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The information you requested is assembled for Georgia, in our publication, Georgia's Divided Education. For the Southern states, the statistical information was compiled in 1959 by the Southern Education Reporting Service, Southern Schools: Progress and Problems. You will also find information and tables in Harry Ashmore's The Negro and the Schools, Chapel Hill, N. C. $2.75. 1954.

You may want to read, if you haven't already, the Staff Reports submitted to the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1962: Public Schools Southern States(.75) and Public Schools North and West ($2.00). If you do not find these in your library, they may be ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. The Statistical Summary of the Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 12, Tenn. ($1.00) also contains good information on school attendance and laws, but not on funds, teacher qualifications, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
~~Georgia's Divided Education~~
Southern Schools: Progress & Problems
School Desegregation--Help Needed?

Hotel Walvern
River Falls State College
River Falls, Wisconsin
February 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I have been informed by my Sociology Professor that I might receive some information from you for my research paper.

I am writing on the Discrimination and Inequality of Negroes in public schools. I would appreciate any information you might send me dealing with unequal funds, qualification of those teachers teaching Negroes, or anything relevant to this subject. I would appreciate it, if it would be possible, to receive the information within the next two weeks. If there is any charge I'll gladly reimburse you. Thankyou very much.

Yours very truly,
Gary Johnson

Staff Report submitted to
~~Report~~ the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Public Schools in Southern States 1962 .75
" " North & West 1962 2.00

Statistical Summary, Southern ~~School News~~ Edu. Reporting Service Nov. 1962
P.O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12. Tenn. 1.00

5224 South Nottingham
Chicago 38, Illinois
February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sirs:

Please send me your free pamphlet "The Case for Integration". I would like to have it as soon as possible. Thank you very much!

Sincerely,
Christine
Piasecki

2-11-63

February 11, 1963

Mr. David Feldstein
839 Bryant Avenue, F6
Bronx 59, New York

Dear Mr. Feldstein:

Our apologies that page 12 of your copy of our Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey is missing. Since we have no extra pages left, we hasten to send you a complete copy.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright(Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Dear Sirs

I just received your SPECIAL REPORT, "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey," and was very impressed with it. This is nothing new, as I eagerly await new material from you. However, I am missing a page 12 and wonder if you would send one to me. Thank you.

David Feldstein

2-11-63
mP

DAVID FELDSTEIN
839 Bryant Avenue, F6
Bronx 59, New York

February 11, 1963

Miss Betty Congleton
Box 29
East Carolina College
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Miss Congleton:

The publications you mentioned in your letter of February 6 are out of print and we have only file copies. They are, of course, very much out-of-date now.

For your information, I am enclosing our current publications list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Box 29
East Carolina College
Greenville, North Carolina
February 6, 1963

Commission on Interracial Cooperation
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am most interested in learning if certain pamphlets originally distributed in the 1930's at a nominal cost are still available. I should like to secure copies of these or similar pamphlets for use in my classes in American Government.

Are the following still available? "Lynchings and What They Mean", "The Quest for Understanding" and The Mob Still Rides.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Very truly yours,
Betty Congleton

February 11, 1963

Mr. Jim Dunnington
126 Sumner Street
Waterloo, Iowa

Dear Mr. Dunnington:

Thank you for you complimentary remarks about our Executive Support of Civil Rights publication last year. We have not, and do not plan to, issued one this year. We do not know of any other report that has been issued on integration in the national guard.

The Air Force Academy is in Boulder, Colorado.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Page 1)   2-7-1963

Southern Reigonal Council
Dear Council
when will you all Booklet
call Executive Suspport
of Civil Rights 1963
Copy. B I of the press I want
one. or page 42 in you all 1962
Copy National guard. Eleven
Southern State is Lily white.
National guard in the
District of Columbia is Still
Segregated. Say this Report
it Say that the 49th Division
in Texas Seem to Have one
negro. would you all 1963 Copy
give a good Report on the
National guard in the Eleven Southern
State and the District of Columbia
what about the Six Border State
Do all of Them Have negro in the
National guard what was the
First Border State to Have

Page 2

Negro in the national guard I
would Like to Have a Report
on the Six Border State.
where is the Head Quarter
of the Air Force Adademy
School. I mean what City it
is there a lot of other
good Reading in you all
1961-1962 Report
This is all write and let
me Here from you all
your Truly

Jim Dunnington

1226 Summer Street

waterloo Iowa

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Margaret C. McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tenn.

****

Purchase Ord2r8#63

Date Shi2pd1-63

1 - Executive Support of Civil Rights	**.50**
4 - Study of Negro Farmers in S.C. @ 10¢	**.40**
1 - Employment Studies: Chattanooga, Atlanta,,Houston @ .20	**.60**
	$1.50
check enclosed w/order $1.00	**- 1.00**
due	**$ .50**

ck 8 1.00
2/8/63
EK

Miscellaneous

ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the Summer, 1962, events . . . . . . 25¢

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER—comments by six outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial . . . . . . 20¢

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford . . . . . 5¢

THE UNEQUAL BADGE . . . 5¢
by Elliot M. Rudwick

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS . . . . . 50¢

50
40
60
1.50

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF *Race and Reason* . . . . . . 5¢
by Benjamin Muse

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE . . . . . . 5¢
by Marion Wright

Special Report

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA . . . 10¢ X (4) 4 copies

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, A RECAPITULATION . . . . 10¢

Employment Studies

CHATTANOOGA . . . . 20¢ * 1
HOUSTON . . . . 20¢ * 1
ATLANTA . . . . 20¢ * 1

L-REPORTS Single Copies Free, Bulk Prices

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION — Reprint from *Wall Street Journal.*

L-32 REFUTATION OF *Race and Reason* by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprint from Southwest Louisiana Register.

L-33 THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE. Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. * 1

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS — official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

L-36 "RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS THE WAY IN RACE RELATIONS," reprint from *The Washington Post.* * 1

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. * 1

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots.

L-39 NEGROES' PAY RISES BUT HALF AS FAST. X 1

of 7

For check attached - please send 1 copy each item, 4 copies of one as indicated

Margaret C. McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tennessee

February 11, 1963

Miss Loraine Cohen
16 Trent Lane
Kings Park, L. I.
New York

Dear Miss Cohen:

Thank you for your very nice letter about the Council and its work. Under separate cover we are sending you a complimentary copy of our monthly publication, New South.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

16 Trent Lane
Kings Park, L.I.
New York
January 30, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Having read in newspapers and other periodicals about the questions of civil rights arising of late in the South, I am very much interested in the work you are doing concerning the desegregation of schools, and your activities in other areas of discrimination. Living in the North, as I do, I haven't witnessed very much mistreatment of negroes. Of course I have come across hatred, but never any violence. I feel very bad that so many people think the color of a man's skin makes him better or worse than another man. It makes me feel even worse, though, that a prejudice like this can rule a person's life to the extent that it does. All I can feel for the person who acts maliciously toward anyone different from himself, is pity for his warped sense of values.

I am always very impressed when someone from the South stands up for racial equality. I am quite aware of the fact that there are a great number of people in the South who don't hate the negroes the way so many northerners think. Why I am impressed is that some of these people defend their beliefs even with the risk of being harmed or shunned.

I hope that more people in the South and North will follow the example you people in the Council have helped set.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Loraine Cohen

Loraine Cohen

JOHN D. DUNCAN
BOX XX 21538
EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

February 10, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I would be much obliged to receive copies of the following:

J.M.Dabbs "The South's Man across the Table," New South
June, 1957
A Mike Wallace Interview with James McBride Dabbs
M.A. Wright Segregation versus the Space Age
B.E. Mays "The Moral Aspects of Segregation," in
Three Views of the Segregation Decisions

Sincerely,

John D. Duncan
John D. Duncan

2-12-63
MA

February 12, 1963

Mr. L. F. Coles
225 W. 135th Street
New York 30, New York

Dear Mr. Coles:

The Methodist magazine you inquired about is: The Together magazine, 201 8th Avenue, South, Nashville 3, Tennessee. I'm sorry, we don"t know which issue included the article you mentioned. However, if you write them, I am sure they would be able to send you the particular issue you wish.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

225 W. 135 St.
N NYC 30

Jan. 31, 1963

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

I am enclosing a 5¢ stamp and I am asking for the following information:

The name of the Methodist magazine and address of the same and the issue which very recently carried an illuminating article on the South and written by Rev.Kirkpatrick.

Very truly yours,

L. F. Coles

L.F. COLES

The Together magazine
201 8th Avenue, South
Nashville 3, Tenn

February 12, 1963

Mr. Edwin H. Green III
Hebron Academy
Hebron, Maine

Dear Mr. Green:

We are mailing you today the requested publications, and thank you for the enclosed $2.00 to cover costs and postage.

I am sorry that we have no more copies of Atlanta: A Second Look. Since you ordered one publication on 'The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South, I am substituting a second one for the publication which is not available.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

cash $2.00
2/12/63
LK

Edwin H. Green III
Hebron Academy
Hebron, Maine

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir;

Would you please send me the following literature which I have chosen from your publications list.

$.20 1. The Negro And Employment Opportunities in the South
Houston
.05 2. A Virginia view of "Race and Reason"
.10 3. The Annealing of the South
.25 4. School Desegregation: The First Six Years
.40 5. The Negro Voter in the South + The Negro and the Ballot
$1.00 6. Desegregation and Academic Achievement. L-17
7. Problem Solving Through Race Relations Committees L-20.
8. Address by Malcolm Bryan L-24
9. The Easy or the Hard Way? L-27
10. American Anthropological Association Resolution on Race L-29
11. A Positive Plan to Help Solve Our Racial Dilemma L-30
12. Refutation of "Race and Reason" L-32
.25 13. Atlanta - A Second Look - Employment Atlanta 2-12-63 MA
$1.25

I have enclosed $2.00 in order to make sure of covering mailing charges, etc. Thank you very much for you time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Edwin H. Green III

entered 2-11-63 MA

P.S.

Dear Sir;

I am doing a term paper on integration in Atlanta. If you have any other information on integration, especially in Atlanta, ~~I would~~ which you think would be helpful, I would appreciate it very much if you would send it to me.

Thank you,

Edwin H. Green III

Cash .25
2/12/63
LK

EDWARD H. PEEPLES, JR.
3425 POWELTON AVE.
PHILA. 4, PA.

2-6-63

Margaret Long, Editor
New South
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Sent material
2/12/63
MG

Dear Miss Long:

Would you kindly mail to me one each of the following which are reported in your Nov-Dec, 1962 issue of New South;

1. "South Student Newspaper Opinion on the University of Mississippi" .. 5¢

2. "A Virginia View of Race and Reason" by Benjamin Muse ... 5¢

3. L-36 "Richmond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations"

4. L-37 "Statement on Economic Cost of Racial Discrimination in Employment Presented to Congress By the Council of Economic Advisors"

Enclosed find 25¢ which I hope will cover costs.

Thank you.

Most sincerely,

E. H. Peeples Jr.
graduate student in
Human Relations,
Univ. of Penna. and
former member of
Rich. Chapter of Va.
Council on H. R.

Cash .20
2/13/63
LK

PURCHASE ORDER FORM

No. 29

SOUTH BROWARD HIGH SCHOOL

HOLLYWOOD, FLORIDA

DATE: January 30, 1963

TO BE PURCHASED FROM — MERCHANT: Southern Regional Council

ADDRESS:
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Ga.

QUANTITY	ITEM PURCHASED	ITEM PRICE	TOTAL PRICE
1	Hundred years later (Toward regional realism no. 2)		$0.20
	SEND TO:		
entered & sent 2-13-63	South Broward High Schoo Mrs. J. M. Dowerman, Lil 18th Ave. & Harding Stre Hollywood, Florida		

$0.20

Louise R. Dowerman
PURCHASER
SPONSOR
Harold Phares
PRINCIPAL

Florida State Tax Ex.
07-00053-05-16

TAXABLE
Yes____
No X

NOTE: FILE PINK COPY with bookkeeper.

BUFF COPY, SIGNED BY PRINCIPAL, authorizes students or teachers to purchase items listed above. Merchant send bill directly to school, list P. O. No. DO NOT give bill to student.

GREEN COPY should be retained by club treasurer.

MERCHANTS MUST NOTIFY THE SCHOOL OF ANY LARGE PRICE DIFFERENCE BEFORE ORDER IS COMPLETED. SOUTH BROWARD HIGH SCHOOL IS ONLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MERCHANDISE LISTED ON THIS PROPERLY SIGNED FORM

Cash .20
2/13/63
LK

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
Eugene, Oregon

The Library

February 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 forsythe Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs

We are enclosing twenty cents (.20) in stamps which we trust will prove satisfactory payment for a copy of the following publication:

~~stamps~~
see underneath
attachment

Southern Regional Council: RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT (New South, Vol. 17, No. 5)

Very truly yours,

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON LIBRARY

EBBarnes
E. B. Barnes, Head
Acquisitions Librarian

enc.

entered &
sent 2-13-63
MA

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY

Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission
Room 619 Chester, Fidelity Building
Fifth and Market Streets TR 2-8885
Chester, Pennsylvania

February 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of "New South"--Periodical.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely,

W. Norman Watts

W. Norman Watts
Field Representative

WNW:sbp

2-13-63
mA
Oct, Nov.-Dec.

Cash \$1$^{\underline{00}}$
2/13/63
LK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta (3) Georgia

entered & sent
2-13-63
MA

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for referring my request to the Anti-Defamation League and also for enclosing your publication list. Would you please give me a short history and purposes of your group. Also would like the following publications:

(1). "This I Believe" by Haywood Hill
(3) L-21 (2). "Problem Solving Thru Race Relations Committees"
(4) L-22 Report by Fowler Comm. on Race Relations
(5) L-24 Address by Malcolm Bryan.
(6) L-30 Two editorials

2/

(7) L-32 Refutation of "Race & Reason".

(8) L-36

(9) L-37

(10) L-38

(11) Albany - A Study in Nat'l Responsibility 25¢

(12) A Hundred Years Later - 20¢

(13) A Southern View of the South 2¢

(14) This Is What We Found 25¢

(15) Three Views of Segregation Decisions,

(16) South Carolinians Speak

(17) Action Patterns in School Desegreg. A Guidebook

(18) Southern Regional Council Reports

(19) L-1

3/ Am enclosing one dollar to cover expenses - if it is not enough please let me know in your next correspondence.

Again thank you!

Sincerely,

Alice M. Sandow
154 Mapleton
Baytown, Texas

February 13, 1963

Mr. James Studzinski, Secretary
Catholic Students' Mission Crusade
St. Meinrad Seminary
St. Meinrad, Indiana

Dear Mr. Studzinsky:

We are mailing you today some of our materials for display and study, as you requested. We hope you find them of interest and benefit.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
The Negro & the Ballot in the South
Albany: A Study in National Responsibility
Racial Violence & Law Enforcement
Employment Study: Houston
New South, Mississippi
Student editorials
Map
The Freedom Ride
The Student Protest Movement
A STudy of Negro Farmers in South Carolina

MA

CATHOLIC STUDENTS' MISSION CRUSADE

MARTIN MARTY MISSION UNIT • ST. MEINRAD SEMINARY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS ST. MEINRAD, INDIANA

February 9,1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street,N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Our mission unit is presently studying the problems faced by Negroes and other groups still sufering discrimination. To aid us in our study, we would greatly appreciate any bulletin board materials (pictures, posters, etc.) and free publications you may have available.

Permit me to thank you in advance for anything you may be able to send.

Gratefully,

James Studzinski
Secretary

February 13, 1963

Mr. James C. Simms, Chairman
Department of Sociology
Millsaps College
Jackson 10, Miss.

Dear Professor Simms:

I am sorry that we no longer have available the old pamphlet, Understanding Our Neighbors. I am mailing you today, under separate cover, another publication which may serve something of the same purpose. The questions and answers, although published in 1960, are valid today.

I am also enclosing one of our publications lists, and you may find in it something you think would serve your purpose better for the course in American Minorities.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistantt

Sch Deseg: 1st 6 grs.

MILLSAPS COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY
JACKSON 10, MISSISSIPPI

February 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

In looking through our files here, for the purpose of preparing for a course in American Minorities which I am offering this semester, I came across your pamphlet Understanding Our Neighbors (No. 3). I notice that this pamphlet was originally published in 1940, and was wondering if you might have a more recent edition available, or in lieu of this one or another pamphlets covering comparable materials.

I would appreciate any help which you may be able to give. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Simms

James C. Simms
Chairman

coin .40
2/15/63
LA

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york 27, n. y. RIverside 9-2200

j. irwin miller, president

rev. roy g. ross, general secretary

rev. robert c. dodds
general director
of planning

February 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Please send me a copy of

Employment Studies - Houston, Texas

Employment Studies - Chattanooga, Tennessee

I understand each of these is 20¢. Enclosed you will find 40¢ in coin.

Sincerely,

Dorothy G Berry

Dorothy G. Berry

db
Enc.

entered 2-14-63 MA
1 sent

435 Josephine
Memphis 11, Tenn.

Mrs. Ensley Tiffin

MEMPHIS
FEB 12
12 M
1963
TENN.

"ABO FOR
BETTER BUSINESS SERV.

5 U.S.POSTAGE

90¢ paid
2-14-63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

substituted
Plans for Progress for
Rudwick study 2-14-63 MA

---

1 each, please -

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford	5¢	.05
THE UNEQUAL BADGE by Elliot M. Rudwick	5¢	.05
EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS	50¢	
A VIRGINIA VIEW OF *Race and Reason* by Benjamin Muse	5¢	.05
SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE by Marion Wright	5¢	.05
Special Report		
A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA	10¢	
THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, A RECAPITULATION	10¢	.10
Employment Studies		
CHATTANOOGA	20¢	.60
HOUSTON	20¢	
ATLANTA	20¢	

L-REPORTS Single Copies Free, Bulk Prices →

- L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION — Reprint from *Wall Street Journal*. ✓
- L-32 REFUTATION OF *Race and Reason* by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprint from Southwest Louisiana Register. ✓
- L-33 THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE. Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration. ✓
- L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. ✓
- L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS — official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia. ✓
- L-36 "RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS THE WAY IN RACE RELATIONS," reprint from *The Washington Post*. ✓
- L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. ✓
- L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots. ✓
- L-39 NEGROES' PAY RISES BUT HALF AS FAST. ✓

Ck. 2^{90} enclosed for subscription + above literature.
E. Tiffin

602-40th avenue North, apt 5
Nashville 9, Tennessee
Febuary 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

2-14-63
mA

Dear Mr. Dunbar,

Please send me a single copy of the following:

S-31 Slipping Segregation — Reprent from Wall Street Journal
S-32 Refutation of Race and Reason by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprent from Southwest Louisiana Register
S-33 The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive. Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration
S-34. Desegregation in Southern Parochial Schools. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states
S-35 State commissions on Human Relations — official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.
S-36 "Richmond Quietly Leads The way in Race Relations," reprent from The Washington Post
S-37 Statement on "Economic cost of Racial Discrimination in Employment" Presented to ~~Con~~ Congress By the Council of Economic Advisers.

I-38 What Price Violence? Press Commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots

I.39 Negroes' Pay Rises But Half as Fast

Sincerely Yours
James R. Thornton, Sr.

Memo : from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

2-14-63

A Valentine to the Staff

Today Dr. O. W. Wake, President of Lynchburg College, Lunchburg, Va., telephoned to request 30 copies of 23-B (desegregated colleges & universities) for his ~~xtxaff~~ Board meeting next week; he plans to ask them to adopt a policy of admission without regard to race.

February 14, 1963

Mr. Abe Feinglass, Vice President
Chairman, Civil Rights Committee
Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen
2800 N. Sheridan Road
Chicago 14, Illinois

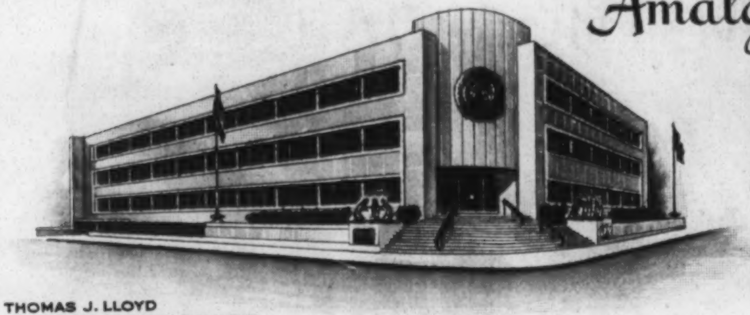
Dear Mr. Feinglass:

I am at a loss to understand why you have not received the Employment Opportunities studies for Atlanta, Houston, and Chattanooga; our records show these were mailed to you on January 14th.

We are mailing you today another copy of the three requested studies, and very much hope that you receive them in good order next tweek.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant



Amalgamated
Meat Cutters and
Butcher Workmen
OF NORTH AMERICA

2800 N. SHERIDAN ROAD CHICAGO 14, ILLINOIS

THOMAS J. LLOYD
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT
PATRICK E. GORMAN
INTERNATIONAL SECY.-TREAS.
ABE FEINGLASS, VICE PRESIDENT
DIRECTOR, FUR & LEATHER DEPARTMENT

February 12, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

sent
1-14-1963

Gentlemen:

To date we have not received shipment of "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Atlanta, Chattanooga, and Houston", as requested in my letter of January 11, 1963.

I would appreciate your checking into this at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Abe Feinglass

Abe Feinglass, Vice President
Chairman, Civil Rights Committee

sjo

Again sent
2-14-63
MA

48
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

Coin. 20
2/15/63
HK

Box 2607
Prairie View, Texas
13 February, 1963

Sou. Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me one (1) copy of *A Hundred Years Later* for which I enclose twenty (20) cents.

Yours gratefully
Mrs. W. R. Banks

entered 2-14-63
& sent MA

stamps .20
2/15/63
LR

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY
RAYMOND C. LINDQUIST DIRECTOR
ORDER DEPARTMENT
HELEN J. MAUNU HEAD
325 SUPERIOR AVENUE CLEVELAND 14 OHIO

February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us the following for which we are enclosing 20¢ in stamps:

1 copy Dabbs, J.M. - HUNDRED YEARS LATER (Toward regional realism no. 2)

Since petty cash orders are checked at a special desk, please refer to our Petty Cash No. 116. A mailing label, giving the petty cash number, is enclosed for your convenience.

IMPORTANT
Please use this mailing label

Very truly yours,

Helen J. Maunu
Head, Order Department

HM:Se:AH

entered & sent
2-14-63 MA

2559

The United Christian Missionary Society

Disciples of Christ

A. DALE FIERS, *president*
MRS. MAE YOHO WARD, *vice-president*
MISS MAYBLE M. EPP, *secretary*
ALFRED C. BROWN, *treasurer*
WADE D. RUBICK, *legal counsel*

A Board of Missions and Education • 222 SOUTH DOWNEY AVENUE • FLEETWOOD 3-1491 • INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

February 14, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me one copy of your report L-32 entitled "Refutation of Race and Reason" by Dr. William P. Sullivan.

Sincerely yours,

McCrae

Ian McCrae
National Director
Human Rights

IM:z-87A

2-18-63
MA
sent

Division of Church Life and Work

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ACTION AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Barton Hunter, Executive Secretary • **Executive Directors:** Lewis H. Deer, Church and Community; Robert A. Fangmeier, Christian Citizenship • **Administrative Assistant:** Mrs. Virginia M. Clarke • **Departmental Associate:** Miss Loisanne Buchanan • **Coordinator of Relief and Rehabilitation Services:** Miss Ella L. Williams

Assembly Rules Committee
TOM BANE, Chairman

California Legislature

Subcommittee on Reference Services
JOHN T. KNOX, Chairman

E. LESTER LEVINE
Director

Assembly Legislative Reference Service

ROOM 3194, STATE CAPITOL
HI 5-4711, Ext. 3551

Sacramento, Calif February 11, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Assembly Legislative Reference Service would appreciate receiving 1 copy(ies) of the following to bring its files of your publications up to date.

Sincerely,

E. Lester Levine

E. Lester Levine
Director

EL:jb

The unequal badge: Negro policemen in the south; by Elliott M. Rudwick. 14p Atlanta, 1962

2-18-63
MA
sent

If there is any charge for this (these) publication(s), please return this letter annotating it with the price of the publication.

S/Sgt. Neil E. Elgin
CMR Box 3675, APO 328
San Francisco, Calif.
February 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta,
Georgia

Dear Sir:

Would you please send me any information that you have on the rights of the Negro; the problems thattthe Negro has in finding adequate housing, employment, and their voting rights; and also the pamphlet "Questions and Answers: The Schools and the Courts". If you do not have any of this information would you please refer me to someone else.

Please use the enclosed stamps and send the requested information air mail.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Patricia Elgin

Patricia Elgin

2-18-63
mA

employment study (Houston)
Voting
School deseg: the 1st 6 yrs.

Housing] Copies:
1. Pres. order
2. Progressive, Dec. 1962
3. House/Home, Nov. 1962

1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report

1. Voting
2. Education
3. Employment
4. Housing
5. Justice

1962 Public Schools: Southern States
North & West

Statistical Summary

SERS -
P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tenn.

Ashmore, The Negro & the Schools
Harlan, Separate & Unequal
Giles, The Integrated Classroom

159 Avenue-P
Brooklyn 4, New York
February 14, 1963

Dear Sir:

I have read, and in my possession, "A Hundred Years Later," Toward Regional Realism No. 2. I would like to know if I can receive any further publications from your organization. Please send me a list of your publications and any you have on hand.

Thank you,

Prof. Bert Seltzberg

sent publications list
2-18-63

(over)

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 11, 1963

Miss Barbara Reed
1356 W. St. Charles
Brownsville, Texas

Dear Miss Reed:

I am sorry to inform you that we have no more copies available of America's Tenth Man. This is an out-dated publication, and I am enclosing our current publications list with the hope that you may find listed in it something for your history class.

We will hold the 20¢ you enclosed until we hear from you further, and will either apply it on something else or refund it to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

1354 W. St. Charles
Brownsville, Texas
February 14, 1963

Dear Sirs:

I have just received this letter stating that you no longer had the article of *America's tenth Man*. You said you were enclosing a list of current publications that you have. However, you did not enclose this list.

Please either send me this list or use you own judgement in picking a phamplet on a survey of the Negro's part in American History, since it is urgent that I have the phamplets

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) Barbara Reed

2.18.63
MA

P.S.

I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness and consideration

sent pubs. list + suggested 2 books: Lomax, *The Negro Revolt*
Hughes, Story of the NAACP

O'DWYER & BERNSTIEN
50 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

U.S. POSTAGE
NEW YORK
FEB 14 '63
N.Y.
08
P.B. METER
257429

ck $1.00
2/18/63
LK

AIR PAR AVION MAIL

Publications Division
South Regional Counc.
5 Forsyth St NW
Atlanta 3
GA.

Materials
2-18-63
MA

From the desk of

HOWARD N. MEYER

Please send
L-31
L-32
L-37

2-18-63
MA
entered + sent

Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on U. of Miss (5¢)

The Student Protest Movement: A Recap (10¢)

A study of Negro Farmers in S.C. (10¢)

9. (5) Five Copies Nov Dec 1962 "New South"

H.N. MEYER
76 TARENCE ST
ROCKVILLE CTR.
L.I. N.Y.

February 18, 1963

Mr. Philip A. Camponeschi
Chief, Employment Section
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Camponeschi:

We are mailing you today the requested copies of New South (October 1961 and 1962). Regarding the request for Revolution in Mississippi, by Tom Hayden, we only have one file copy left. Perhaps you can get a copy from the publishers, Students for a Democratic Society, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

If you cannot get a copy, let us know; we could use our copying machine to reproduce the copy we have.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

February 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We should appreciate it very much if you could find it possible to forward us copies of the following:

✓ New South of October 1961

sent 2-18-63 mA

✓ New South of October 1962

Revolution in Mississippi by Tom Hayden, a report of Students for Democratic Society.

We require this material for background data, looking toward preparation of our third biennial report to the President and the Congress in September 1963, and shall be most grateful for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Philip A. Camponeschi
Chief, Employment Section

February 18, 1963

Mrs. Raiford G. Baker
Millville High School
Dudley, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Baker:

The publication you requested, America's Tenth Man, is no longer available; it is quite old and out of date now. I am enclosing a list of our current publications and perhaps you will find from it something to take the place of the old publication.

So far as we know, there has never been a compilation or roster of famous Negroes that is complete, and especially with an individual portrait of each. dYou will find some information on Negro leadership of the past in Richard Bardolph's The Negro Vanguard, $6.95. Rinehart & Company, New York. Another source would be Langston Hughes Fight For Freedom, the Story of the NAACP. Paperback. 50¢. Berkeley Publishing Corp., 15 E. 26 St., New York 10, N.Y. Current Negro leadership is referred to in Louis E. Lomax's The Negro Revolt. $4.50. Harper & Brothers, N. Y.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Millville High School
Dudley, Georgia
February 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Please send the following material C.O.D.:

30 copies America's Tenth Man. we do not have; very old & out of date

1- Roster of famous negroes dead or alive and an individual portrait of each.

I shall expert to hear from you by return mail.

yours truly
(mrs.) Raiford G. Baker
chr. of Social Sceance Group

JACKSON STATE COLLEGE
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

February 5, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Long:

Kindly send me several copies of The New South, pamphlets reflecting new job opportunities for the Negro, and such other leaflets or posters which reveal progress or setback in key or isolated areas.

Please include a list of your publications and a report on the achievements of the Council.

Sincerely yours,

S E Warren
S. E. Warren, Chairman
Social Science Area

/b

Report of the Director?

2-18-63
MA
sent

1. Houston
2. Atlanta
3. Chattanooga
4 Miami
5. Plans for Progress
6. S.C. Farmers
7. publications list

February 18, 1963

Miss Bonnie Gardner
1111 Oakland Street
Point Pleasant, New Jersey

Dear Miss Gardner:

Segregation is such a general subject and covers so much territory, it is difficult to know what to send you. Are you doing your research paper on any particular phase of segregation: education, employment, housing, voting?

I am enclosing one of our publications listings, and perhaps after you look it over you may wish to indicate some particular one that would be most helpful to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

1111 Oakland Street

Point Pleasant, New Jersey

February 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council

5 Forsyth Street, N. W.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

I am writing on the topic of segregation for my research paper in psychology. I would be grateful for any information that you could send me on this subject.

I would especially appreciate any statistical information which you might be able to supply.

Thank you very much for any help you may send.

?

Voting

Employment

Housing

Education ?

Sincerely yours,

Bonnie Gardner

February 18, 1963

Mrs. Mary O'Donald
4061 Mathews
Indianapolis 27, Indiana

Dear Mrs. O'Donald:

For your paper on "integration of the Negro...in elementary and high schools" I am sending you under separate cover several publications. I am also listing several books that we know about. Although we try very hard, I'm quite sure that we don't know of ALL available research in this field.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years
Action Patterns in School Desegregation
The Louisville Story
Southern Schools: Progress & Problems
Southerners and Schools, reprint from New Republic
School Desegregation--Help Needed?
Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's Private Schools

Suggested books:
Ashmore, The Negro and the Schools
Harlan, Separate and Unequal
Giles, The Integrated Classroom

Also: Statistical Summary. $1.00. Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tenn.; 1962 Report of the Civil Rights Commission, Public Schools: Southern States, North and West.

4061 Mathews
Indianapolis 27, Indiana
February 5, 1963

Southern Regional Council Pub.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I am a student at Indiana Central College and am a minor in the field of sociology. My professor of Sociology has given me your address — as to fact finding information about the integration of the negro people of the south in the Elementary & High Schools. I would like to know the problems, if any — and all available research.

All information pertaining to this subject will be appreciated. Thank You!

Sincerely,

Mrs. Mary O'Donald
4061 Mathews
Indianapolis 27, Indiana

cash .50
2/20/63
LR

Balance enclosed -
Sorry for error
M.C. McCulloch

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Margaret C. McCulloch
858 Whitford Place
Memphis, Tenn.

****

Purchase Order # 2-8-63

Date Shipped 2-11-63

1 - Executive Support of Civil Rights	.50
4 - Study of Negro Farmers in S.C. @ 10¢	.40
1 - Employment Studies: Chattanooga, Atlanta,,Houston @ .20	.60
	$1.50
check enclosed w/order $1.00	- 1.00
due	$ .50

1100 Myrtlewood Drive
Tuscaloosa, Ala.
17 February 63

Mrs. Barbara Patterson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Patterson:

Thank you for the package of pamphlets. Apparantly through some error in the shipping department it did not contain "Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina." If you will correct this error I will be deeply obliged.

You have said nothing about the subscription to "New South" so I presume it is included in my membership in the Alabama Human Relations Council.

Very truly yours,

John C. Payne

2-20-63
m A sent

602-40th avenue North
apt 5
Nashville 9, Tenn.
Feb. 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs

I received all the the S. Reports save one that I requested, The Report that I didn't get was S.-39 Negroes' Pay Rises But Half as Fast.

Please send me this Report.

James R. Thornton, Sr

2-20-63
M.A

February 20, 1963

Mr. R. D. Anderson
State Director
Vocational Education
State of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Under separate cover we are mailing you the requested three copies of our special report, A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina.

You also asked for the name and address of the person preparing the report. It was written by the research staff of the Council, based on research done for us under the direction of Mr. Ira Kaye, an attorney in Sumter, S. C. Mr. Kaye was assisted in collecting the statistics and the personal interviews by three other lawyers and several other persons.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764
A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 11, 1963

Miss Betty Congleton
Box 29
East Carolina College
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Miss Congleton:

The publications you mentioned in your letter of February 6 are out of print and we have only file copies. They are, of course, very much out-of-date now.

For your information, I am enclosing our current publications list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez Albright

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Ck. $2.00
2/19/63
LK

Box 29
East Carolina College
Greenville, N. C.

Dear Mrs Albright,

Enclosed is a check for $2.00. Please send me copies of the booklets I have circled on the blue sheets.

I shall appreciate copies of all the free pamphlets.

After I have read them I may wish to order quantities of some of them for my classes.

Thank you,
Betty Congleton

2-21-63
sent MA

SRC

PUBLICATIONS

a listing of current materials relating to race relations and allied subjects available from

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Summer, 1962

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS, a review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962, 52 pp. SC 50¢.

THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE AND CIVIL RIGHTS, a 48-page report sent to President John F. Kennedy with an 18-point proposal on executive power in furthering civil rights. 1961. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

THE CITY AND THE NEGRO, by Charles E. Silberman. Migrations from South to North and rural to urban as reported in Fortune, March, 1962. Reprint, 9 pp. SC 20¢.

THE NEGRO AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE SOUTH: HOUSTON, 22-page report based on a survey by Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, Nov., 1961; CHATTANOOGA, Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, Feb., 1962; and ATLANTA, Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May, 1962. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF "RACE AND REASON," by Benjamin Muse. A refutation of Carleton Putnam's views on superior-inferior race. Reprint from New South, Dec., 1961. SC 5¢, Q 3¢.

A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. In his article reprinted from the Pittsburgh Post Gazette (March 18, 1959) Lofton pitts arguments from James McBride Dabbs' The Southern Heritage against Putnam's segregationist views. SCF, QRR.

ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, Prof. of History & Social Science, Spelman College. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo.) 35 pp., 1962. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE UNEQUAL BADGE, by Elliott M. Rudwick,

Assoc. Prof. of Sociology, Southern Illinois Univ. A 14-page survey of the number of Negro policemen employed in the South and their status in 130 communities. 1962. SC 10¢, Q 6¢.

THE ANNEALING OF THE SOUTH, by Leslie W. Dunbar. In his article reprinted from the Autumn 1961 Virginia Quarterly Review, SRC's Executive Director examines the changing climate of southern thinking. SC 10¢, Q 7¢.

THIS I BELIEVE, by Haywood M. Hill, M.D. The eloquent message a southern Presbyterian elder delivered to his church school class. 1961. SCF, Q2¢.

RACIAL VIOLENCE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT, by George McMillan. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. SC 25¢.

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, by Walter Spearman and Sylvan Myer. Racial news in the press. 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959), both by Margaret Price. Statistics and specific local examples. SC -57 20¢, -59 25¢, together 40¢.

MAP, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. SC 25¢, Q 20¢.

THE FREEDOM RIDE - MAY 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo.) SC 25¢.

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: A RECAPITULATION, a summary of sit-in activity

from February 1960 to September 1961 and its results. (Mimeo.) SC 15¢.

WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar. A 12-page legal analysis of the 1954 decision reprinted from Southern School News. SC 10¢

THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins, former Governor of Florida. "A picture of the material advance of the South in recent years ... and of the possible return of the South to her early position of national leadership." 1960. SC 10¢, Q 8¢.

THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSION, by the Rev. Cornelius Tarplee, Assoc. Secy. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959. SC 5¢.

IF THE SCHOOLS ARE CLOSED ... A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL PLAN, by Warren E. Gauerke & Donald Ross Green. 40 pp., 1959. SC 20¢, Q 15¢.

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE, by Marion A. Wright. A probing address by a former SRC President. SC 5¢.

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS. Articles reprinted from the Washington Post. SC 10¢.

GEORGIA'S DIVIDED EDUCATION. A detailed report published by the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities points to "separate but unequal." 56 pp., 1960. SC 35¢, Q 25¢.

ARE SOUTHERN MINISTERS FAILING THE SOUTH? by Robert Paul Sessions. An Arkansas pastor critically appraises his colleagues. Reprint from The Saturday Evening Post, May 13, 1961, SC 5¢.

A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Reprinted from The New York Times (April 3, 1960), this is SRC's former Executive Director's view of southern change and its effect on our image abroad. SCF, Q 2¢.

SANCTUARIES FOR TRADITION: VIRGINIA'S NEW PRIVATE SCHOOLS, by Mary Ellen Goodman. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo.) 27 pp., 1961, SC 10¢.

THIS IS WHAT WE FOUND, by Ralph and Carl Creger. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 pp., 1960. SC 25¢.

THE LOUISVILLE STORY, by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James. Detailed account of Louisville's desegregation of schools. 173 pp., 1957, Simon and Schuster. SCF, QCWC.

THREE VIEWS OF THE SEGREGATION DECISIONS, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29 pp. SCF, QCWC.

THE EASY CHAIR, by Harry S. Ashmore. The story behind the Little Rock headlines reprinted from Harper's Magazine June, 1958. SCF, QCWC.

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89 pp. SCF, QCWC.

ACTION PATTERNS IN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A GUIDEBOOK, by Herbert Wey and John Corey. 276 pp., 1959, Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF, QCWC.

201 — Oct

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF, QCWC.

148 Oct

WHEN A CITY CLOSES ITS SCHOOLS, by Ernest Q. Campbell. Study of Norfolk, Va., citizens at a time when schools were closed there conducted by the Institute for Research in Social Science of the Univ. of North Carolina. 159 pp., 1960. SCF, QCWC.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL REPORTS THE CHANGING SOUTH. A collection of reprints illustrative of SRC's program in public information. SCF.

NEW BUSINESS WAYS IN THE SOUTH. Reprint from Business Week, Aug., 5, 1961. SCF

LEADERSHIP REPORTS (all mimeographed unless otherwise noted, SCF, QRR)

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL - ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS

L-5 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ECONOMY OF VIRGINIA, excerpts from a talk by Dr. Louis T. Rader, Gen. Mgr., Special Controls Dept., General Electric Co., Waynesboro, Va., June 12, 1959.

L-12 VOLUNTARY DESEGREGATION IN SOME SOUTHERN SCHOOL DISTRICTS. Statistics from six states, 1954-59.

L-14 A REPORT FROM VIRGINIA. News reports of the Virginia Education Association's actions in the desegregation controversy. 1960.

L-16 ATLANTA AND WASHINGTON: RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, Frank H. Stallings, Assoc. Prof. of Education, Univ. of Louisville, Jan. 26, 1960.

L-17 DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. The findings of some border and Southern school districts which have desegregated. 1960.

L-19 WHAT PRICE TAG FOR 'MASSIVE RESISTANCE?' Two articles by Frank Trippett on the economic effects of Virginia's policy reprinted from the St. Petersburg Times, June 24 and 31, 1960.

L-20 PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES. Where and how this has been effective. 1960.

L-21 PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, address by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., stressing importance of leaving education to educators. Nov., 1960.

L-22 A REPORT BY THE FOWLER COMMISSION ON RACE RELATIONS, a biracial group appointed by former Governor Collins of Florida to supply race relations leadership. Dec., 1960.

L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION. Fact sheet covering 1935 - 1961.

L-24 ADDRESS BY MALCOLM BRYAN, President of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, concerning racial problems and economics. Feb., 1961.

L-25 NEW CENSUS LOOK AT CITIES AND RACE. Reprint from the Washington Post, March 22, 1961.

L-26 ADDRESS BY GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY. Remarks on the industrial climate of Georgia. July, 1961.

L-27 THE EASY OR THE HARD WAY? Aspects of the option taken in parts of

Virginia and North Carolina not to desegregate schools. Oct., 1961.

L-28 ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT. Nov., 1961.

L-29 AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION ON RACE. Scientists reject theories of Negro racial inferiority. Nov., 1961.

L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA, reprint from the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, Nov. 3, 1961, and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION, reprint from the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 25, 1961. Two editorials from centers of Deep South resistance.

L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH. Reprint from the Wall Street Journal, Jan. 16, 1962.

L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON," by Dr. William P. Sullivan, Asst. Prof. of English, McNeese State College, Lake Charles, La. 1962.

L-33 A STATEMENT OF RECOMMENDED POLICE POLICY RESULTING FROM THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION CONFERENCE ON "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive." March, 1962.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. May, 1962.

Index to price code

SC - single copy SCF - single copy free
Q - price per copy in quantity
QRR - quantity rates on request
QCWC - quantities considered without cost

Fall 1962
additions to
SRC Publication List

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS - in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS - reprint from the Washington Post.

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS.

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots.

ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the Summer, 1962, events. SC 25¢.

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER - comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. ~~SC 20¢.~~

SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. SC 5¢.

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A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, a brief but accurate description of meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. SC 10¢

PLANS FOR PROGRESS, a study of their interpretation and implementation by 24 large corporations with southern branch offices in Atlanta. SC 10¢

MILTON S. CAROTHERS, MINISTER

CHURCH AND MANSE PHONE MELROSE 3-4333

JOHN CALVIN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

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SALISBURY, N. C.

Jan. 29. 1963

Dear Sirs:

I would appreciate your putting me on the mailing list to receive copies of "The New South".

Sincerely,

M. S. Carothers

Mailed: publications list
NS subscription blank
2-21-63

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. James T. McCain, Director
Organization Dept.
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 28, New York

****

Purchase Order # **letter**
2-20-63
Date Shipped **2-21-63**

10 - A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina @ 10¢ $1.00

James T. McCain
Organization Department
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

February 20,1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send me at once and bill us for the same, 10 copies of your SPECIAL REPORT on "A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA. If you do not have 10 copies, send me what you have.

Yours truly,

James T. McCain

James T. McCain, Dir.

Organization Department

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rabbi Harold L. Gelfman
203 Riverdale Drive
Macon, Georgia

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Purchase Order # **2-21-63**

Date Shipped **2-21-63**

1 - Albany: A study in national responsibility	**.25**
1 - A Hundred Years Later	**.20**
1 - Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on Mississippi	**.05**
L-32, L-34, L-37, L-38, L-39	
	.50

Rabbi Harold L. Gelfman
203 Riverdale Drive, Macon, Ga.

inside of them two broken ribs are grating together." A great many of the harassments that we experienced this summer dealt with this. Threatening phone calls almost always referred to "that white girl" or "white boy." It seems to be a feeling of betrayal. Encounters with police or local whites have the same "tone." On the other hand, harassments, beatings, shootings, occur with non-integrated groups. Witness Mississippi, witness Southwest Georgia before last summer.

I am expounding — sometimes with absolutes, sometimes with the uncertainties that flood my mind. And as the pace quickens, then slows, as more people register, then fewer again, as homes and churches get burned and people are shot, as discouragement sets in as it occasionally does, I hold onto the thought of each individual that we reach even a little bit of progress.

I come up on a porch and an ancient lady, full of dignity in *her* world, says, "Yes mam" and offers me her chair. An enraged white face shouts curses out of the car window. Jack Chatfield walks up to a house and the lady of the porch shakes visibly. The voter registration team is greeted with fear at the door. "I didn't know that colored people could vote."

And people ask why we are down here . . .

One (1) each of those checked
H. L. Gelfman
203 Riverdale Dr.
Macon, Ga.

Miscellaneous

✓ ALBANY: A STUDY IN NATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the Summer, 1962, events	25¢
✓ A HUNDRED YEARS LATER— comments by six outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial	20¢

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THE UNEQUAL BADGE by Elliot M. Rudwick	5¢
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L-32 REFUTATION OF *Race and Reason* by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprint from Southwest Louisiana Register. ✓

L-33 THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE. Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration.

L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states. ✓

L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS — official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

L-36 "RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS THE WAY IN RACE RELATIONS," reprint from *The Washington Post.*

L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS. ✓

L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots. ✓

L-39 NEGROES' PAY RISES BUT HALF AS FAST. ✓

February 21, 1963

Mr. James R. Thornton, Sr.
602 - 40th Avenue North, Apt. 5
Nashville 9, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Thornton:

We are enclosing the L-39 report you requested. The first report of Dr. Zinn on Albany is not available at the present time; we do plan to reprint this within the next ten days and will send you a copy then. The price is 25¢.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

602-40th Avenue North
Apt. 5
Nashville 9, Tennessee
February 6, 1963

Southern Regional Council
57 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

I have just finished reading "Albany A Sturdy in National Responsibility" by Howard Zinn. In the report there was a reference to the author's first "Special Report" on Albany as ~~pp~~ published by the Southern Regional Council January 8th, 1962.

Please send me a copy of this "Special Report on Albany and advise as to its cost.

Sincerely
James R. Thornton, Sr.

February 21, 1963

Miss Leone W. Eckert
I. L. R. Library
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Miss Eckert:

In reply to your request for a copy of our annual report for your documentary files, we are very sorry, but we do not issue an annual report for general circulation.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Assistant

2/1/63

Gentlemen:

Could we please have a copy of your annual report for our documentary files?

Leone W. Eckert
I. L. R. Library
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

[illegible]

coins .60
2/21/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enoch Pratt Free Library
Periodicals Section
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Baltimore 1, Maryland

****

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2-4-63

Date Shipped **2-6-63**

New South @ .20 each **.60**
March, October, November-December

entered
2-21-63
MA

ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY

400 CATHEDRAL STREET
BALTIMORE 1, MARYLAND

January 31, 1963

South Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

2-4-63
~~4-2-63~~
MA
sent 2-6-63

Gentlemen:

May we have your cooperation with respect to the request below? For your convenience we have allotted space for your reply.

Thank you.

Enoch Pratt Free Library
Periodicals Section

SUBJECT New South - March, October, November and December 1962 - one copy each

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2. (XX) Send items listed above. If this order cannot be filled within 60 days, please advise.

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7. ( ) (Renew) subscription to the above for period indicated.
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(X) Bill us in (duplicate) (tXXXXXXXXX) for all charges, including shipping, on your own invoice, when publication is sent.

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Signed Date

stamps
2/22/63
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FEB 18 1963

N

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CITY LIBRARIAN
HAROLD L. HAMILL

January 25, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen;

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6 copies Hundred years later, by J.M. Dabbs & others (Toward regional realism no. 2) @ 20¢

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MA

A bill in triplicate should accompany the above order. Please use attached mailing label on the package. We are accustomed to receiving the regular Library discount and shall greatly appreciate this courtesy.

Yours very truly,

Helen M. Mason
SERIALS DIVISION

Form 56 5-49

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Evanston, Illinois

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2/22/63
LK

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1963
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U.S. AIR MAIL

2-22-63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

letter referred
to VEP for
reply (Jack Minnis)
requested info on
voting only available
from VEP.

AIR MAIL

2-22-63
Literature
letter returned by M.A.

PRESCOTT MEMORIAL LIBRARY
LOUISIANA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

RUSTON, LOUISIANA

February 20, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please advise us as to the availability and price of your Reports No. L-8, August 1959, and No. L-29, December 1961.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Ann Welsh

Mary Ann Welsh
Serials Librarian

2-22-63
M.A
publications list
NS folder

COSSITT REFERENCE LIBRARY
33 SOUTH FRONT STREET
MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

Feb. 19, 1963

Dear Sirs:

We shall appreciate your sending us the following pamphlet for use in our files:

Do you have a copy of May, 1962 "New South", which you may deposit in this library?

Thank you.

2-22-63
MA

Yours very truly,

C. Moffett Moore
Chief Reference Librarian

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES

202 Junipero Serra Boulevard • Stanford, California *DAvenport 1-2052*

February 21, 1963

Airmail

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me a copy of--

Racial Violence and Law Enforcement by George McMillan (1960).

Sincerely yours,

David J. Bordua

David J. Bordua
Professor of Sociology
U. of Mich., on leave.

sent 2-25-63 MA

NS - Coles article
Albany

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Race Relations Institute
United Church of Christ
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

****

Purchase Order # **letter,**
January 1963
Date Shipped **2-1-63**

200 copies New South, October 1962
@ 15¢ ea **$30.00**

pd 2-25-63
MA

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
[illegible] 3-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date Jan. 30, 1963

To: BC From: MMJ

Subject:

Bernice,

Please send 200 copies of October New South to Dr. Herman Long, Fisk University (label attached). Bill Dr. Long for $30.00 (.15 each)

thanx, mmj

sent - 2/1/63 - BCC

(bill)

billed - 2-8-63
MA

February 25, 1963

Miss Eleanor F. Dore
3335 Love Circle
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Miss Dore:

We do not have any reprints of the article, "In the Name of Southern Womanhood," by Eliza Heard. Since this November-December issue of New South is a double issue for two months, we could not let you have it for less than 20¢ per issue, or $10.00 for 50 copies.

It occurs to me that you may have access to a mimeographing machine, and could produce this much cheaper by this process. We have no objection, provided credit is given for the source of the article.

A year's subscription to New South is $2.00; a subscription blank is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

3335 Love Circle
Nashville, Tenn.
20 Feb 63

Dear Sirs: I have just read the article "In the Name of Southern Womanhood" in the November, 1962 issue (I believe that is the correct date), and I would like to have some offprints of same. Is this possible, and if so, what would the cost be?* Also, I would like to order a year's subscription to *The New South*.

Thank you.

* for 50.

20
50
$10.00

Sincerely,
Eleanor F. Dore
Eleanor F. Dore

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dept. of Interpretive Materials, Room 1258
Board of National Missions
The United Presbyterian Church, USA
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

****

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35 - Map, @ 20¢	**7.00**
35 - Church in Areas of Racial Tension	**1.75**
35 - Malcolm Bryan address (NC)	
35 - Gen. Clay address (NC)	
35 - Albany @	**7.00**
	$21.00

pd - 2-25-63
mA

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Board of National Missions
# of The United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

~~OFFICE OF PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS~~

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5 Forsyth Street NW
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Please furnish the following: 35 copies of each

① The Negro and Employment opportunities in the South, Atlanta

② map (showing distribution of non-white population in Southern States

③ The church In areas of Racial Tension

④ address by Malcom Bryan

⑤ address by Gen'l L. D. Clay

⑥ Albany - A study in National Responsibility, by Howard Zinn.

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February 13, 1963

Mrs. Montez Albright
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you for your prompt and helpful response to my request for materials on the state of Georgia.

Please send us the materials listed on the enclosed order form and bill as directed.

Again, thank you for your assistance in this project.

Sincerely yours,

Emily McLees

Emily McLees
Administrator of Materials
Resource and Promotion

EM:ve

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HM:H:KK

Quantity		PRICE per copy	REMARKS
5	Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment (New Soyth, Vol. 17 no. 5) @ 20¢ each	1.00	

TO BE [✓ PAID] IN ADVANCE

2-25-63
mA entered

sent 2-25-63
mA

RAYMOND C. LINDQUIST Director

Helen J. [illegible] Head, Order Department

February 25, 1963

Miss Carol Harlow
Box 318
Carson-Newman College
Jefferson City, Tenn.

Dear Miss Harlow:

In reply to your request for our L-Report on "New School Laws in Georgia" we are sending it to you under separate cover. However, it was intended to prevent the closing of schools rather than to prevent segregation.

Our report in October, 1957, titled Summary of Recent Segregation Laws Enacted in Southern States is what you want, I believe. Unfortunately, we have only one file copy left. I am copying it for you.

Your best source for more complete information, including copies of the laws, is Race Relations Law Reporter, published quarterly by the Vanderbilt School of Law and beginning February 1956 to date. Perhaps you could find copies in your library, or in the library of a local attorney. Another good source is Greenberg's Race Relations and American Law, 1959. N. Y.: Harper. Shoemaker edited With All Deliberate Speed, 1957. N.Y.: Harper. The Virginia Law Review, May 1959 had an article on pupil placement laws by Meador, pp. 517-571. The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, 1961: Education had information on laws.

The first state laws tried to prevent desegregation of the schools by several means; the later laws (pupil placement) sought (and still do) to limit desegregation.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
School Desegregation: the first six years
copy, Summary of Recent Segregation Laws

L-24-A

Box 318
Carson-Newman College
Jefferson City, Tenn.
February 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you please send me the free pamphlet describing the laws of legislatures since 1954 which were passed to further segregation. Also, if one is available, I would like to have a bibliography on this same subject.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) Carol Harlow

Bibliography: state legislative laws furthering segregation

Race Relations Law Reporter

Va Law Review by Meador 1959 or 1960

Placement Law

May, 1959
517-571

U.S. Commission on C R Report
1961: Education

ck $5.00
2/26/63
HK

Hold for reply

February 7, 1963

Mr. Carlos E. Ward
6412 22nd Rd. North
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Mr. Ward:

We have your check in the amount of $5.00, with a notation to renew your membership to New South and "a paid membership". Perhaps you are not aware that the Council has not been a membership organization for many years; memberships are held in the state councils on human relations. It is possible, however, to make a donation to the work of the Council, and such contributions are welcomed.

However, since you mentioned membership, we are wondering if you meant to designate a membership in the Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 E. Carey St., Richmond, Virginia. The Virginia Council has a membership fee of $5.00 per year, plus $2.00 for a year's subscription to New South.

We are holding your check until we hear further from you, and will be pleased to use it as you wish. If you wish only the New South, we will return your check and ask that you mail us only $2.00. If you wish to belong to the Virginia Council, you should send a check to them for $7.00, stating that $2.00 is for a subscription to New South.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

No reply
2-25-63
Renewed 2 1/2 yrs. - $5.00
MA

sent 2-26-63
MA

159 Avenue-P
Brooklyn 4, New York
February 23, 1963

Dear Sir:

I have enjoyed reading "A Hundred Years Later," and I would like you to send me the following publications: (one copy of each):

1. "A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal," by John Lofton.
2. "This I Believe," by Haywood M. Hill
3. "A Southern View of The South," by Harold C. Fleming.
4. "The Louisville Story," by Omer Carmichael and Weldon James
5. "Three Views of the Segregation Decisions," by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, + Cecil Sims.
6. "The Easy Chair," by Harry S. Ashmore
7. "South Carolinians Speak," compiled by the Rev. John B. Morris
8. "Action Patterns in School Desegregation: A Guidebook," by Herbert Wey and John Corey.

9. "Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools," by The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems

⑩ "When a City Closes Its Schools," by Ernest Q. Campbell.

11. "The Southern Regional Council Reports The Changing South."

⑫ "New Business Ways in The South."

13. Leadership Reports:
L-1, L-5, L-12, L-14, L-16, L-17, L-19, L-20, L-21, L-22, L-23A, L-24, L-25, L-26, L-27, L-28, L-29, L-30, L-31, L-32, L-33, L-34, L-35, L-36, L-37, L-38.

I understand there is no charge for the aforementioned publications. I am carrying on a study of Southern racial relations, and I would appreciate all consideration you may give me.

Respectfully,

Prof. Bert Seltzberg

ck $7.50
2/26/63
GK

February 25, 1963

Mr. John H. Black
5 Elm Street
Geneseo, New York

Dear Mr. Black:

Thank you for your renewal of New South, and for the enclosed check for $7.50.

Would you please indicate how you wish us to credit this check?

1. Renewal for 3 years and 8 months,
2. Renewal for 1 year; donation to the work of the Council of $5.50.

Thank you very much for further instructions.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant

Hold for
instructions

February 26, 1963

Mr. Georgi Kuznetsov
Corsespondent of "Trud", Moscow
11 Riverside Drive
New York 23, New York

Dear Mr. Kuznetsov:

Thank you for your comment that you found our employment studies interesting "for all who want to understand this problem." We are sending you the requested studies, along with several other publications which we believe will interest you. A list of our current publications is also enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- Employment studies: 3
- New South, November-December, 1962
- Executive Support of Civil Rights
- The Annealing of the South

FEB 25 1963

Mr. James A.Moss

Director of Research
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
Room 20I, 5 Forsyth St.,N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February20, I963

Dear Sir,

The other day I came across some of your publications on the Negro problem-booklets on "The Negro and employment opportunities in the South". I found them very interesting for all who want to understand this problem.

Will you please be kind to send a copy of each of these booklets to me. I'll be most thankfull. May be you have some other literature on this problem? Will you be kind enough to send me a list of it?

In hope to hear from you soon,

Yours sincerely,

Georgi Kuznetsov

G.Kuznetsov
Correspondent of "Trud", Moscow
II Riverside Drive
New York 23,N.Y.

Employment Studies (3)
Cutler Support of Civil Right
Nov-Dec New South
Dunbar speech
Publications list

February 26, 1963

Mrs. Jo Ann Stevens
15251 Goodhue
Whittier, California

Dear Mrs. Stevens:

Under separate cover we are mailing you some of our publications which we believe will be helpful to you in teaching social studies and American government. We are also enclosing one of our publications lists, for your information.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
- The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
- Executive Support of Civil Rights
- Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
- Albany: A Study in National Responsivility
- The Freedom Ride
- The Sit-in Movement: A Recapitulation
- Plans for Progress

Please send me any material you might have which would be useful in the teaching of secondary school social studies and American government.

Thank you,

Mrs. Jo Ann Stevens
15251 Goodhue
Whittier, Calif.

Voting (2)
Employment (3)
3 ~~Education — 1st bus, Ga.~~
Civil Rights - (2) + Albany
McMillan
Freedom Ride
Sit-in
Wright
Right to Live,

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
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ALDERMAN LIBRARY

ACQUISITIONS DIVISION

February 26, 1963

By direction of the Librarian I beg to acknowledge with cordial appreciation the receipt from you of the gift mentioned below, a welcome addition to the collections of the University of Virginia.

Southern Regional Council: Desegregation in Higher Education . Report L-23B, Revised

Very truly yours,

Louise Savage

Louise Savage
Acquisitions Librarian

To Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 26, 1963

Mrs. Frances H. Coker
5514 Hartsdale Drive
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Coker:

We are mailing you today, under separate cover, the requested ten copies of "The Case for Integration" and "This I Believe." I have also enclosed with the order one of our publications lists, giving prices of other materials. There is no charge for this initial order; anyone brave enough to distribute this in Jackson has our good wishes. If you decidedto order other material, we can make you a special price for quantity orders.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

5514 Hartsdale Dr.
Jackson, Miss.
Feb. 24, 1963

Southern Regional Co.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs;

Would like to have the price of the pamphlets, "The Case for Integration" and "This I Believe"--this material is much needed in this area at this time and would like to order about 10 each to start.

Thank you.

(Mrs.) Frances H. Coker

February 26, 1963

Miss Marcia McKenna
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Miss McKenna:

We are mailing today, first class, the requested 50 copies of Report L-39 to Miss Mary Hamilton in Lexington, Ky. She should receive them Thursday or Friday, in time for the March 2 meeting.

There is no charge; we are pleased to be of help to CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

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CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

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February 25, 1963

Air Mail
Urgent

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

Can you please send as quickly as possible, 50 copies of your Report L-39, December 19, 1962, entitled "Negroes' Pay Rises But Half as Fast." We will pay any charges, including postage.

Miss Mary Hamilton needs this literature for a Area Conference this weekend, March 2nd. The literature should be sent to: * NOTE!

Mary Hamilton
% Julia Lewis
405 Robertson St.
Lexington, Ky.

Thank you very much for your prompt attention.

Sincerely,

Marcia McKenna
Marcia McKenna
for
Jim McCain
Director of Organization

cc: Mary Hamilton

M.O. $1.50 .25 coin

2/27/63
LK

Sent
2-27-63
mA

Box 999
Rifle, Colorado
January 24, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would like to order the following current materials if they are available:

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: THE FIRST SIX YEARS, Southern Regional Council	$ .30
RACIAL CRISIS AND THE PRESS, Walter Spearman and Sylvan Meyer	.30
THE SOUTH AND THE NATION, by Leroy Collins . . .	.15
THE CHURCH IN AREAS OF RACIAL TENSIONS, by the Reverend Cornelius Tarplee	.10
TOWARD A SOLUTION TO THE SIT-IN CONTROVERSY, by Margaret Price	.10
THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT and THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH, by Margaret Price; and (RACE AND SUFFRAGE IN THE SOUTH SINCE) 1940, Southern Regional Council	.40
WHAT THE SUPREME COURT SAID, by Prof. Robert A. Leflar	.10
Total	$ 1.45

I would also like to order the following items that are free of charge:

L-6 --THE "DAVIS REPORT" AND THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SITUATION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., July 3, 1959

L-8 --RACE AND INTELLIGENCE, August 10, 1959

L-13 --"DID YOU FIND THAT THERE WAS MUCH DIFFERENCE IN THE ABILITY OF NEGRO CHILDREN TO RECEIVE AND PROFIT BY INSTRUCTION?", December 15, 1959

L-15 --TYPES OF DESEGREGATION PLANS, February 1, 1960

L-17 --DESEGREGATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, March 14, 1960

L-20 --PROBLEM SOLVING THROUGH RACE RELATIONS COMMITTEES, October 25, 1960

L-21 --PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, by H. McKinley Conway, Jr., November 30, 1960

L-23 --DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION, January 24, 1961

CHANGING PATTERNS IN THE NEW SOUTH, Southern Regional Council, from NEW SOUTH magazine, 1946-55

DESEGREGATION IN BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOLS, The Maryland Commission on Interracial problems and Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Lynda Smeltzer

(Miss) Lynda Smeltzer

Enclosure

P.S. I have also enclosed $ .30 for postage. Only .25 enclosed
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Albany, a study in national responsibility.
Atlanta, G.

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February 21, 1963

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Re: NEW SOUTH

We received volume16, number 4, April, 1961, of the above title, instead of our requested volume 16, number 5, May, 1961. We are returning herewith the incorrect issue and the invoice. Please send to us volume 16, number 5, May, 1961.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Truley Juneau

(Mrs.) Truley Juneau
Serials Department

2-27-63
MA

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February 25, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Would you kindly send me one copy of your pamphlet "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey."

Thank you.

Sincerely,

David Cohen

David Cohen
Legislative Representative

DC:brs

2-27-63
mA

Unitarian Fellowship for
Social Justice
5015 Waterman Avenue
St. Louis 8, Mo.

March 1, 1963

Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

With reference to the article in The Crisis, February, 1963, by Vincent Harding and Stauhton Lynd, we would like to obtain a copy of Dr. Howard Zinn's report on the Albany Movement.

To be specific, we are interested in documenting the point made on p. 70 of the referenced issue of The Crisis, to the effect that "the federal government has failed".

Will you kindly send a copy of the pertinent report to me in care of the above address, assuming it will cost us less than one dollar ($1.00), and bill us for the appropriate amount?

Thank you.

Raymond J. Mead

R.J. Mead, Treas. and
Chairman of the Emancipation
Program
UFSJ - St. Louis Chapter

UFSJ TO REVIEW EMANCIPATION

On Friday, March 15, the St. Louis Chapter of the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice will review the hundred years of social experience since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

The program will be in the form of solemn meditations, jointly arranged by Ray Mead of UFSJ and Henry Weil of the Baha'i World Faith. Mr. Weil will speak on "Emancipation for the World", and Dr. Clark will remark on the significance of the Proclamation. The Baha'is of Greater St. Louis and other religious fellowships are being invited, as well as all interested Unitarians. ---R. Mead

sent 3/5/63
FK

UFSJ/rjm
5015 Waterman Ave.
St. Louis 8, Mo.

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Southern Regional Council
~~41 Exchange Place~~
Atlanta, Georgia

Attn: H. Zinn

6 March 1963

Miss Myrtis Lewis, Librarian
Madras Union High School
District No. U-I
Madras, Oregon

Dear Miss Lewis:

We are sending you separately a copy of "Albany: A Study in National Responsibility." Dr. Zinn's earlier study is out of stock; when we have more copies, we shall be glad to send one.

Enclosed is a price list which you may find of interest.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

MADRAS UNION HIGH SCHOOL
Ronald Vibbert, Chairman
Adrena Cassel, Clerk
Carl V. Rhoda, Superintendent
DISTRICT NO. U-1, MADRAS, OREGON

February 27, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me one copy of each of Dr. Howard Zinn's reports. One is entitled "Albany: A Study in National Responsibility". These are mentioned in the February, 1963, ALA Bulletin.

Sincerely yours,

Myrtis Lewis

Myrtis Lewis, Librarian

ML:ls

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Cordially yours,

C L Morgan

C. L. Morgan
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6 March 1963

Mrs. Donna Gross
1925 G Street
Apartment 4
Arcata, California

Dear Mrs. Gross:

Enclosed is our publications list which we hope will be helpful in planning your social studies course.

Please let us know if we can supply any further information.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

1925 G. St. Apt. 4
Arcata, California
February 20, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs,

I am a teacher at Sunset School, Arcata, California. I will soon be doing a social studies unit on the south central states of the United States.

Would you please send me a list of available materials you may have on this region. I need this list as soon as possible.

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Donna Grosz

6 March 1963

Miss Eleanor M. Walden
Commission Librarian
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Walden:

Six copies of our "Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey" are being sent you today.

We are happy to supply these without charge.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D.C.

March 4, 1963

We would appreciate receiving a copy of the publication noted below. In case it is not available for free distribution, please notify us of the price and await our authorization before sending.

"Plans for Progress in Atlanta, Georgia Area"

6 copies

Eleanor M. Walden
Commission Librarian

6 March 1963

Miss Darlene Lawrence
Our Lady of the Lake College
Box 163
San Antonio 7, Texas

Dear Miss Lawrence:

Under separate cover we are forwarding complimentary copies of the materials requested in your recent letter.

Enclosed is a price list showing other available studies.

Sincerely yours,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

Sent: 4 employment studies
Reports L-37, 39
Albany: A Study in National Responsibility

Our Lady of the Lake College
Box 163
San Antonio 7, Texas
February 17, 1963

Dear Sirs:

Please send to me one copy of your pamphlet - "The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South" - and one copy of "Also Albany." Please notify me if there is a charge for these publications.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Darlene Lawrence

Gentlemen:

Kindly forward me a copy of Prof. Howard Zinn's report on Albany, Georgia.

Thanking you I am

Miss Nancy Lane

11 Abbotsford St.

Dorchester, Mass.

sent

3/7/63

RHA

TRINITY COLLEGE
HARTFORD 6, CONNECTICUT

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

Gentlemen:

sent 3/7/63
RBA

Please send the following publications, as listed in your selection of publications, summer 1962:

a) A Southerner's Words Supply Rebuttal

b) L-29 AAA Resolution

c) L-32 Refutation of *Race* + *Reason*

I myself am writing a refutation

of Putnam's, Race and Reason and need all the ammunition I can get. The refutation shall appear subsequently in a leading national relig. magazine.

Thank you for your helpfulness.

Sincerely,

(Dr.) William A. Johnson

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NEW WORLD REVIEW

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February 27, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Kindly send us a copy of your report:

Albany: A Study in National
Responsibility

We will remit on receipt of invoice.

Thank you,

Pat Bell

Pat Bell
Editorial Department

Sent
3/7/63
RH

pb/s

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62-B1137

Ordered
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March 4, 1963

Mr. Staige Blackford
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Blackford:

Please send 10 copies of Report L-40, February 13, 1963, OBSERVATION FOR A SECOND CENTURY to:

Dr. S. Garry Oniki
Associate Secretary
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Thank you,

Yours truly,

Marilyn E Moore

(Mrs.) Gerald L. Moore, Sec. to
S. Garry Oniki

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Atlanta 3, Georgia

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We will appreciate hearing from you at your convenience. Thank you.

Sent 1st class
3/11/63
RHA
MA

Yours truly
Marion E. Fay
Marion E. Fay
Head of the Order Division

MF

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CARL W. HINTZ, Librarian
Carl W. Hintz -EBO

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1005 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
BIRMINGHAM 5, ALABAMA

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3/6/63
LK

mA.

March 4, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would very much appreciate receiving one copy each of the articles checked on the attached sheet. We are enclosing 55¢ to cover the cost.

Many thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Allen N. Koplin, M.D.

Allen N. Koplin, M. D., Area Medical Administrator

Sent
3/7/63
RHA

/dc

Enclosures

- Not pls rder from S Reg-Council -

!e of them/two broken ribs are ıg together." A great many of the ssments that we experienced this ner dealt with this. Threatening ıe calls almost always referred to t white girl" or "white boy." It ıs to be a feeling of betrayal. En- ıters with police or local whites the same "tone." On the other l, harassments, beatings, shootings, r with non-integrated groups. ess Mississippi, witness Southwest gia before last summer.

ım expounding — sometimes with lutes, sometimes with the uncer- es that flood my mind. And as ɔace quickens, then slows, as more le register, then fewer again, as es and churches get burned and ɔle are shot, as discouragement in as it occasionally does, I hold ı the thought of each individual we reach even a little bit of prog-

come up on a porch and an ancient , full of dignity in *her* world, says, s mam" and offers me her chair. enraged white face shouts curses of the car window. Jack Chatfield ks up to a house and the lady of the ch shakes visibly. The voter regis- ion team is greeted with fear at door. "I didn't know that colored ple could vote."

And people ask why we are down e . . .

---

icellaneous

✓ ALBANY: A STUDY IN NA-TIONAL RESPONSIBILITY, by Howard Zinn. Report on the Sum-ner, 1962, events . . . . . . 25¢

✓ A HUNDRED YEARS LATER—comments by six outstanding South-erners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial . . . . 20¢

✓ SOUTHERN STUDENT NEWSPAPER OPINION ON THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford . . . . . 5¢

✓ THE UNEQUAL BADGE . . . 5¢
by Elliot M. Rudwick

EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS . . . . . 50¢

A VIRGINIA VIEW OF *Race and Reason* . . . . . 5¢
by Benjamin Muse

SEGREGATION VERSUS THE SPACE AGE . . . . . . 5¢
by Marion Wright

Special Report

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA . . . 10¢

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, A RECAPITULATION . . . . 10¢

Employment Studies

CHATTANOOGA . . . . . . 20¢
HOUSTON . . . . 20¢
ATLANTA . . . . 20¢

L-REPORTS Single Copies Free, Bulk Prices

✓ L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION — Reprint from *Wall Street Journal*.

✓ L-32 REFUTATION OF *Race and Reason* by Dr. William P. Sullivan. Reprint from Southwest Louisiana Register.

✓ L-33 THE CHALLENGE OF DESEGREGATION FOR THE AMERICAN POLICE EXECUTIVE. Statement from New York University Graduate School of Public Administration.

✓ L-34 DESEGREGATION IN SOUTHERN PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS. Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states.

✓ L-35 STATE COMMISSIONS ON HUMAN RELATIONS — official groups in Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, West Virginia.

✓ L-36 "RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS THE WAY IN RACE RELATIONS," reprint from *The Washington Post*.

✓ L-37 STATEMENT ON "ECONOMIC COST OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT" PRESENTED TO CONGRESS BY THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS.

✓ L-38 WHAT PRICE VIOLENCE? Press commentary on the economic hazards of the University of Mississippi riots.

✓ L-39 NEGROES' PAY RISES BUT HALF AS FAST.

17675

45 + 10 = .55¢
enclosed

cash .20

3/4/63
LK

10232 N.E. 110th
Kirkland, Washington
March 1, 1963

'62 Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sirs:

In our History class we are studying the Civil War. I was informed that you have some informative articles on the Civil War.

Please send me these articles. (Ones on slip)

I have enclosed 30 cents.

Sincerely,
Sue Polachek

Sent
3/7/63
RHA

stamps .50
3/4/63
LK
smA

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Rabbi Harold L. Gelfman
203 Riverdale Drive
Macon, Georgia

****

Purchase Order # 2-21-63

Date Shipped 2-21-63

1 - Albany: A study in national responsibility	.25
1 - A Hundred Years Later	.20
1 - Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on Mississippi	.05
L-32, L-34, L-37, L-38, L-39	
	.50

ck# 180
3/4/63
LK
MA

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Bruce M. Williams
Back Bay Mission
United Church of Christ
424 Chartres Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

****

Purchase Order # letter 2-5-63
Date Shipped 2-8-63

30 copies student editorial opinion, Ole Miss @ 5¢	$1.50

BW stamps 5¢
3/4/63
LK
mA

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Seabury Press, Inc.
1 Fawcett Place
Greenwich, Conn.

(attention Mrs. Barbara Wakefield)

****

Purchase Order #BP57300

Date Shipped Sept. 1962

The Church in Areas of Racial Tension 1 copy	5¢

HISTORY - CIVIL WAR

Hundred years later, by J. M. Dabbs & others.
(Toward regional realism no2) 28p
'62 Southern regional counc, 5 Forsyth st
Atlanta 3 Ga 20¢

Compilation of articles written in commemorati
of the Civil war by three white and one Negro
Southerner and published as v 17 no 17 of
"New South"

8 March 1963

Miss Carol Beringer
203 Maple Street
Martinsburg, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Beringer:

Under separate cover we are forwarding some of our publications dealing with minority groups and equality of opportunity. You will find that these studies treat generally with Negroes in the South predominantly in employment. In addition to the sources listed on the materials sent, you may want to write the following agencies for a broader coverage:

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Likely you already have consulted Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.

Please let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Janet Smith
Research Assistant

Sent: SRC: 5 employment studies; L Reports 37, 39; Georgia's Divided Education
PHYLON Spring 1958 reprint, "Social Dynamics in Demographic Trends..."
Progressive 12/62 reprint, "The Struggle for Open Housing"

Interracial Review 2/63, "Nonwhite unemployment in the United States"

Gentlemen:

"Please send me any information you have on "Minority Groups and Equality of Opportunity." I am doing a term paper in school

Thank you,
Carol Biringer
203 Maple St.
Martinsburg, Pa.

PURCHASE ORDER

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

IMPORTANT - "SHIP TO" ADDRESS AS FOLLOWS ▼

NAME MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ADDRESS P. O. 20110
CITY EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FOURTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DATE MARCH 12, 1963

BUYER RYDER

ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
	1 YEAR	RENEWAL SUBSCRIPTION TO "NEW SOUTH" FOR YEAR 1963	2.00

RENEWAL NOTICE ENCLOSED.

ADDRESS SUBSC. TO: MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
P.O.#20110
POLITICAL SCIENCE
457 BERKEY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

F. O. B. POINT	TERMS	SHIPPING DATE

INSTRUCTIONS
INVOICE PROMPTLY ON ATTACHED BLANKS. THIS ORDER IS SUBJECT TO ALL THE TERMS, CONDITIONS AND INSTRUCTIONS PRINTED ON THE REVERSE SIDE HEREOF.

NOTICE
EXEMPT FROM STATE AND FEDERAL TAXES

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

R. D. ANGELL
PURCHASING AGENT

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

IMPORTANT - "SHIP TO" ADDRESS AS FOLLOWS ▼

NAME MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
ADDRESS P. O. 20110
CITY EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

TO
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FOURTH ST., N.W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

DATE MARCH 12, 1963

BUYER RYDER

PLEASE PROCESS AT ONCE

YOUR ORDER IS HEREBY ACKNOWLEDGED AND ACCEPTED WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT SHIPMENT WILL BE MADE AS FOLLOWS:

DELIVERY DATE ____

SHIPMENT TO ORIGINATE FROM ____ (MANUFACTURER) (DISTRIBUTOR) (CITY)

F. O. B. POINT ____

VIA: ☐ RAIL FREIGHT ☐ EXPRESS ☐ AIR EXPRESS ☐ PARCEL POST ☐ TRUCK ____

WE UNDERSTAND THAT, IF WE CANNOT SHIP ON OR BEFORE THE ABOVE DATE, NOTIFICATION WILL BE GIVEN IN WRITING.

SIGNED ____

BY ____

DATE ____

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Now please renew Hill G

Date February 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Subscriber:

Our records show that your subscription for NEW SOUTH has expired. Please fill out this renewal notice and return within two weeks if possible so that you won't miss a single issue.

We hope you will want to continue to receive NEW SOUTH and will mail your renewal immediately. If you have been a member of a state affiliate, we hope you will want to continue participating in its work and will send dues to the state office.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

NEW SOUTH

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Please enter my subscription to NEW SOUTH for one year Enclosed is my check or money order for $2.00 (make payable to Southern Regional Council, Inc.).

NAME ______________________________ DATE ________________

STREET ____________________________ CITY ________________

Please return the entire renewal slip with your remittance. Thank you.

STATE ________________

$5.00 CR
3/15/63
LK

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Miss Elizabeth Garman
Department of Political Science
202 South Hall
University of California
Berkeley 4, California

****

Purchase Order # letter
2-14-63
Date Shipped 2-18-63

50 - Albany: A study in national responsibility

Half-price, when used in college or
university study course: @ 10¢

$5.00

Postage __________

ck $2.00
3/13/63
LK

return to Morley

Brian Kashiwagi
Dunster and Winthrop Streets
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Enclosed is a request for a subscription to New South. Also we would like the following leadership reports (single copy):

L-1 THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL -- ITS ORIGIN AND AIMS
L-23A DESEGREGATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION
L-30 A POSITIVE PLAN TO HELP SOLVE OUR RACIAL DILEMMA and BIRMINGHAM FACES A HARD DECISION
L-31 SLIPPING SEGREGATION: NEGROES WIN LOWERING OF MORE BARRIERS IN SOUTH
L-32 REFUTATION OF "RACE AND REASON"
L-36 RICHMOND QUIETLY LEADS WAY IN RACE RELATIONS

With thanks,

Brian Kashiwagi

Brian Kashiwagi

3-18-63
8.0.6.-P.

YOUR STATEMENT ____________ ____________

LESS – THIS CHECK ____________

UNPAID BALANCE ____________

ck. .20
3/18/63
LK

UNPAID ITEMS:

DATE	INV. NO.	INVOICES	CREDITS	TOTAL
2/22				20¢
				9

DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK

NO RECEIPT IS NECESSARY, BUT IF ANY DIFFERENCE EXISTS, PLEASE ADVISE US WITH PARTICULARS.

ck 10.65
3/18/63
LK

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

COLLEGE PARK

00038 TO: SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL INC
5 FORSYTH ST N W
ATLANTA 3 GA

COMPTROLLER OF THE TREASURY
STATE OF MARYLAND

INVOICE DATE			UNIVERSITY REFERENCE	ACCOUNT	TRANS.	AMOUNT	OBJ.	POSTING DATE			REFERENCE	LIST
MONTH	DAY	YEAR						MO.	DAY	YEAR		
02	08	63	577	12-2026	40	10.65	11	02	27	63	577	J496
				TOTAL		10.65						

If correspondence concerning this payment is necessary, please refer to THIS NUMBER and RETURN THIS FORM to:

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND

73 Dana Street
Cambridge 38,
Mass.

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

March 11, 1963.

Gentlemen:

I would greatly appreciate it if you would send me a copy of Howard Zinn's pamphlet entitled Albany. As a member of the Boston chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, I am interested and involved in the civil rights movement of both North and South.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Peter Filene
Peter Filene

3-18-63
MA

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES ARMY MATERIEL COMMAND
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICE
PHILADELPHIA PROCUREMENT DISTRICT
128 NORTH BROAD STREET
PHILADELPHIA 2, PENNSYLVANIA

AMXPH-XO

12 March 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Gentlemen:

It would be appreciated if you will send me a copy of your recent survey report on the implementation of the "Plans for Progress" Program in Atlanta.

Yours very truly,

David E. Traub
DAVID E. TRAUB, Chief
Equal Employment Opportunity Office

sent
3-18-63
MA

MICHIGAN
STATE
UNIVERSITY
OAKLAND

Rochester, Michigan

12 March 1963

LIBRARY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N W
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

We would very much appreciate receiving one copy of the title(~~s~~) listed below for the use of our faculty and students.

If there is a charge for (this item) (~~these items~~) please advise us in advance of mailing so that our order department may place an order before delivery.

Thank you for making this material available to us.

Sincerely,

Margaret S. Irwin

(Mrs.) Margaret S. Irwin
Asst. Librarian for Reference Services

MSI:mm

Zinn, Howard et al.
Albany: a study in national responsibility.

3-18-63
mA

WINECOFF SCHOOL
P. O. BOX 3276
WIL MAR STATION
CONCORD, N. C.

Dear Sir:

Please send the following free material:

Southern Regional Council

reports the changing south

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Eugenia Drawdy

Librarian

3-18-63

m A

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

The Sunday School Board
of the Southern Baptist Convention
127 Ninth Avenue, North
Nashville 3, Tenn.

Attention Miss Nell Magee, Edu. Div., Student De
****

Purchase Order # **letter 3-12-63**

Date Shipped **3-18-63**

25 - This I Believe @.02	**50¢**

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL BOARD
of the Southern Baptist Convention
127 NINTH AVENUE, NORTH • NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

JAMES L. SULLIVAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY-TREASURER

EDUCATION DIVISION, STUDENT DEPARTMENT
MISS NELL MAGEE, DIRECTOR, STUDENT WORK — JUNIOR COLLEGES

March 12, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I have recently been introduced to a leaflet distributed by you, and printed by you in 1961, which I would like to have very much. It is "This I Believe" by Haywood N. Hill, M.D. Would you send to me twenty-five copies of this leaflet? Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

Nell Magee

Nell Magee

25
.02
50¢

NM:gl

AKRON PUBLIC LIBRARY
AKRON 8, OHIO
R. RUSSELL MUNN, *Librarian*

Gentlemen:

We have noticed with interest the title of the publication given below. We shall be grateful for a free copy for our use. If you cannot supply us with a free copy, will you be good enough to notify us?

Albany: A Study in National Responsibiblty. By Prof. Howard Zinn

Sincerely yours,
Mary E. Earle, Head
Order and Catalog Department

3-18-63 mA

A-20723

INVOICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mr. Alvin Dozeman
9232 Duke Station
Durham, N. C.

****

Purchase Order # **letter 3-11-63**

Date Shipped **3-18-63**

1 - Executive Support of Civil Rights .50

March 11, 1963

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I would greatly appreciate receiving a copy of your publication, EXECUTIVE SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS.

Thank you,

Al Dozeman

Alvin Dozeman
9232 Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina

3-18-63

MA: Some time ago I wrote this man offering copies of "This I Believe." I had hoped a continuing correspondence would give me a special contact in Biloxi in time. May I please see such things before they are acted on whenever possible? PA

March 19, 1963

The Rev. Jim L. Waits
Epworth Methodist Church
930 Davis Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Waits:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the statement issued by twenty-eight young Methodist ministers in Mississippi. This, along with some other statements, will be included in New South.

We are pleased to mail you the requested 200 copies of This I Believe, for distribution to your congregation.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

NAME
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

TYPE OF MDSE.
Book pur.

38773

OUR DATE	DATE OF INV.	INVOICE NO.	AMOUNT OF INVOICE	DEDUCTIONS	BALANCE	PROOF PICKUP
MAR 14 63	OCT 25	11,747	.25			
MAR 14 63	FEB 11	240	10.78		11.03 *	

Ck $11.03
3/19/63
HK

ASSOCIATED STUDENTS - UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING

March 19, 1963

Miss Linda L. Wilson
Cornell United Religious Work
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dear Miss Wilson:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, the requested publications that are still available, and a copy of our current publications list.

Regarding information on the Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina area, I would suggest the Report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1961: North Carolina. You may also wish to write to Mr. J. Francis Paschal, chairman, North Carolina Advisory Committee to the Commission on Civil Rights, Duke University, School of Law, Durham, N. C. regarding any later reports available in mimeographed form. We only have file copies of these reports. There is a North Carolina Council on Human Relations, 121 E. Third St., Charlotte, N. C., and they may also have information they could send you.

Your Project Understanding sounds most interesting. Write us again if we can be of help to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

CORNELL UNIVERSITY
ITHACA, NEW YORK

CORNELL UNITED RELIGIOUS WORK
Anabel Taylor Hall

March 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

For the past four years, Cornell United Religious Work has sponsored Project Understanding, a spring recess project designed to increase understanding of racial relations in this country. As you can see from the enclosed information sheet, students participate in an intensive seminar series preceding and following the trips. They will be prepared to observe and inquire intelligently, to discover for themselves the nature and meaning of existence in racial tension, conflict, and progress.

We are already using some of SRC's resource materials, but we would like to add to our ~~already~~ library the following:

New South: Nov. '56; Oct. '58; Nov. '59; and June '60 (1 copy each)

No SRC Report L-8

No "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence" - a report

✓ "A Southern View of the South" by H. C. Fleming (reprint from NY Times Mag)

Also, do you have available a list of materials currently offered by SRC? One of our groups will be in the vicinity of Raleigh and Durham, North Carolina, and we would be particularly grateful if you could offer suggestions for any material pertaining to North Carolina. Feel free to add anything to the above requests.

We would appreciate your filling the order at your earliest convenience and will be happy to cover any expenses for the materials.

Sincerely,

Linda L. Wilson

Linda L. Wilson
CURW Staff

LLW/sb
Enclosure

J. Francis Paschal, Chm.
Duke University
School of Law
Durham, N.C.

1961
N.C. advisory Committee to
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

1960 U.S. Commission on CR
Report: North Carolina

PROJECT UNDERSTANDING '63

THE PURPOSE

Through a series of seminars at Cornell and encounters with persons living in the midst of racial tension in New York City and Durham, North Carolina, Project Understanding 1963 will provide the opportunity for participants to develop a realistic appraisal of the racial situation. The trips will take place during the spring recess, March 23-31. Emphasis will be placed on historical development, present factors, and future possibilities. We hope to gain, through first-hand experience, knowledge of the problems of the Negro and the White in a Northern and Southern city.

THE PLACES

The Project group located at Durham, North Carolina, will stay at Duke University and North Carolina College, a predominantly Negro college. It is quite possible that the group will visit nearby Chapel Hill and Raleigh, the state capitol. In New York City the group will be housed somewhere in the Harlem area.

THE PROGRAM

During the week's stay, each group will be meeting with public officials, student groups, civic groups involved with racial relations, various action organizations and their officers, professional people, and those involved with special projects, as well as private citizens. Groups already contacted are: NAACP, CORE, New York State Commission for Human Rights, New York City Housing Authority, the Black Muslims, the Mayor of Durham, school superintendents in both cities, Senator Jacob Javits, etc. Additional contacts will be made, and it is hoped that other appointments can be arranged with those involved in specific interests of the members of the Cornell groups.

THE PREPARATION

Project Understanding consists of a seminar series which will extend from February 10 to the end of April, coupled with the field trips to NYC and Durham during the spring recess. Participants will be expected to attend six seminars prior to the trips, cover a reasonable amount of assigned reading, and be responsible for periodic presentations at the seminars. The seminars preceding the trips are tentatively titled: "The Racial Situation: A Broad View" (including showing of award-winning documentary film "Walk in My Shoes");"History of Racism in the U.S."; "The South"; "The North"; "The Ghetto and Its Social Effects"; and "What's Being Done?". Cornell faculty or local resource people will be assisting in the seminars. A reserve reading shelf will be established in Barnes Library, Anabel Taylor

THE PARTICIPANTS

Application is open to any Cornell student, undergraduate or graduate. Five will be selected for the Durham trip; six for NYC. It is planned that the groups will be interfaith, interracial, and international in character.

THE PRICE

Cost per person will be approximately $25-$30. It is possible that some financial assistance might be arranged for students who cannot meet all expenses.

HOW TO APPLY

Application forms are now available, Cornell United Religious Work office, Anabel Taylor Hall. Deadline for applications is Monday, January 21. For further information, contact James E. McPherson or Linda L. Wilson, CURW Staff.

March 19, 1963

Mrs. Edith Gbur
12166 Monica
Detroit 4, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Gbur:

We are mailing you the requested copy of Dr. Zinn's report on Albany.

I regret that we do not maintain a mailing list for individuals; perhaps you would wish to subscribe to our monthly magazine, New South, which periodically lists our publications. You could then order those which especially appeal to you. The rate is $2.00 per year.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Edith Gbur
12166 Monica
Detroit 4, Michigan

March 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta , Ga.

Dear Sir:

Please send me a copy of Dr. Zinn's report to the Southern Regional Council. The report was referred to by Vincent Harding & Staughton Lynd in their article "Albany, Georgia" and published in the February, 1963 Crisis magazine. In addition, I am interested in all aspects of the Civil Rights Struggle and would like to be put on your mailing list.

Yours for freedom now,
Edith Gbur
(Mrs.) Edith Gbur

March 19, 1963

Miss Effie Denison
Periodicals Librarian
San Diego City College Library
1425 Russ Blvd.
San Diego 1, California

Dear Miss Denison:

We have mailed you the requested two copies of Dr. Zinn's second Albany report; we are temporarily out of copies of the first report. When we have another supply, we will mail copies to you.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

March 19, 1963

The Rev. Jim L. Waits
Epworth Methodist Church
930 Davis Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Waits:

Thank you for sending us a copy of the statement issued by twenty-eight young Methodist ministers in Mississippi. This, along with some other statements, will be included in New South.

We are pleased to mail you the requested 200 copies of This I Believe, for distribution to your congregation.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

March 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me 200 copies of your pamphlet "This I Believe", by Dr. Haywood M. Hill, for distribution to my congregation.

I understand there is no charge for this material, and we greatly appreciate your assistance in this matter.

I am enclosing for your information a copy of a statement issued by twenty-eight young Methodist ministers in Mississippi regarding racial matters.

Sincerely yours,

Jim L. Waits

Jim L. Waits
Epworth Methodist Church
930 Davis Street
Biloxi, Mississippi

March 19, 1963

Miss Ann V. Williams
Holmes Hall
Clark College
Atlamta 14, Georgia

Dear Miss Williams:

Regarding information concerning Negro-White relations, we are enclosing our current publications list for your information. Perhaps one of your group would like to come by our office and look over our materials after you have had an opportunity to look over the list.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Holmes Hall
Clark College
Atlanta 14, Georgia
March 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The problems in the world today that are derived from those"special" differences among peoples have attracted our attention. In view of this fact, we at Clark College, have formed a Human Relations Seminar to conduct scientific study into aspects of this problem.

To better effectuate this study, we would greatly appreciate any available information concerning Negro-White relations that you might have.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,
Ann V. Williams
(Miss) Ann V. Williams

March 19, 1963

Mr. Harry S. Jones
North Carolina Council on Human Relations
121 E. Third Street
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Jones:

I'm sorry to report that we do not have any more copies of "Methodism's Present Task" by Bishop William T. Watkins, reprint from August 1960 World Outlook.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

from the desk of:

Harry S. Jones

March 14, 1963

TO: Southern Regional Council

Do you still have copies of "Methodism's Present Task" by Bishop William T. Watkins--a reprint from the August 1960 World Outlook? If so, please send me 25 copies.

HSJ

No more copies

March 19, 1963

Miss Margaret M. Belagu
Research & Reference Service
U. S. Information Agency
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Belagu:

Regarding your request for one copy of "Survey on the Lagging of Negro Job Drive in South" we are not certain which of our publications you wish. We are, therefore, sending you copies of several publications on this general subject and hope that one of them is the one you have in mind.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Mailed separately:
Plans for Progress
The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: 4
L-37, L-39

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
WASHINGTON

March 13, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Sirs:

We would appreciate receiving a copy of the item indicated below for the use of the staff of the Library of the U. S. Information Agency.

A self-addressed label is enclosed for your convenience in forwarding the publication.

If there is a charge for this item, please notify the Procurement Librarian before sending.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Margaret M. Balagh
jg.

Procurement Librarian
Research & Reference
Service

Publication needed:

SURVEY ON THE LAGGING OF NEGRO JOB DRIVE IN SOUTH--One copy

IAL-149 (Rev)
3/26/58

$ck 1 20/
3/18/63
LR

1060 N. W. Dale Avenue
Portland 10, Oregon
March 10, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

For a history report I have selected the following publications relating to race relations. Enclosed please find $1.30 for the eight articles. Please send me these publications from your Summer and Fall Publications List.

1. ALBANY, by Howard Zinn, 1962. Single Copy 25¢.
2. A SOUTHERNER'S WORDS SUPPLY REBUTTAL, by John Lofton. Single Copy Free
3. THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH (1957) and THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT (1959). Together 40¢.
4. MAP, (non-white population in southern states) Single Copy 25¢.
5. THE FREEDOM RIDE-MAY 1961. Single Copy 25¢.
6. THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT: A RECAPITULATION. Single Copy 15¢.
7. A SOUTHERN VIEW OF THE SOUTH, by Harold C. Fleming. Single Copy Free.
8. ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT, (L-28) Single Copy Free.

I would deeply appreciate you sending these to me as soon possible. Thank you very much.

Cordially,

Brad Shaw

Brad Shaw

Enclosed

3-20-63
MA

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA
WELFARE AND RETIREMENT FUND
Area Medical Office
POST OFFICE BOX 3305-A
1005 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
BIRMINGHAM 5, ALABAMA

March 19, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send me twenty (20) copies of your recent publication which contained editorials and columns from Southern student newspapers which appeared following the Oxford, Mississippi incident.

Please forward a bill to me at the above address.

Yours sincerely,

Allen N. Koplin, MD

Allen N. Koplin, M. D.

3-20-63

ANK:dc

20
.05
1.00

cash .55
3/18/63
LK

Please send:

Dunbar, The Annealing of the South	10¢
Map	25¢
The Student Protest Movement	15¢
Southern Student Newspaper Opinion...	5¢
South Carolinians Speak	—
L-28, Organizations Supporting the Student Protest Movement	—
	55

Thank you

Meg Seccombe
1836 Addison
Berkeley, Calif.

3-20-63 mA

AN ORDER FROM

THE WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS **PAMPHLET DISTRIBUTING COMPANY**
INCORPORATED
55 EAST 86TH STREET, NEW YORK 28, N. Y. TELEPHONE SACRAMENTO 2-7272

3/14/63

Please send us, FOR RESALE *to our public library customer:* S.F. 3/63

5 copies RACIAL WORK AND NEGRO WASTE IN SOUTHERN EMPLOYMENT
NEW SOUTH v.17 no.5

3-20-63
MA

billing us ~~on terms~~ stating retail price and best trade discount. If unable to supply, report at [illegible]. Supply paper editions unless otherwise specified.

GRAND CEN
N.Y.
14 MAR
1 00 PM

Library
J. Sterling Morton High School & Junior College
CICERO 50, ILLINOIS

CHICAGO
MAR 15
7³⁰ PM
1963
104
ILL.

Remember
Only you can
PREVENT
FOREST FIRES

Gentlemen: Please send us the following:
Hundred years later. 1962.

We enclose 20¢

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Date: March 13, 1963
Please mail to the address on the opposite side

3/18/63
LK
cash .20

3-20-63
MA

Ck $1 80
3/20/63
LK

DISBURSEMENT VOUCHER

From

FRANKLINTON CENTER, Inc.

Bricks, N. C., March 18, 1963

To Southern Regional Council, Inc

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find check for $1.80
in payment of the following invoices:

Date	Remarks	Gross Amount	Amount Less Discount
	Literature	1 80	
		Total	1 80

Kindly return this statement receipted.

Yours truly,

Mrs. L. B. Whitehead
President or ~~~~Secretary

Received Payment

Date

March 20, 1963

Mrs. Sarah W. Herbin
Employment on Merit Program
American Friends Service Committee
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Herbin:

We are mailing you today the requested 25 copies of The Government and Minority Groups. We have a limited supply of these, but we know you will put them to very good use.

I still remember with pleasure our meeting in Nashville, and the excellent program your group did during the meeting.

Sincerely,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

March 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me 25 copies of Management Information Service Report No. 229, "The Government and Minority Groups".

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Sarah W. Herbin

Sarah W. Herbin
EMPLOYMENT ON MERIT PROGRAM

sent 3-20-63 MA

SWH/h

March 20, 1963

Mr. Robert S. Nugent
Acquisitions Librarian
Jersey City State College
Jersey City 5, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Nugent:

I am enclosing, and mailing first class, the requested New South, Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8, entitled A Hundred Years Later.

This is the third time this has been mailed to you, according to our records. Will you please instruct whoever has charge of binding New South that this is indeed Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

State of New Jersey
JERSEY CITY STATE COLLEGE
JERSEY CITY 5, N. J.

MICHAEL B. GILLIGAN, PRESIDENT

The Library
N J State College
2039 Hudson Blvd.
Jersey City
N J

March 12, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On January 30, 1963 we wrote you concerning issues of New South, due on our subscription, which we had not received.

We have since received the issues following September 1962 but we have not as yet received the issues for July and August 1962, volume 17, numbers 7 and 8.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience?

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

Robert S. Nugent

Robert S. Nugent,
Acquisitions Librarian

RSN:rl

March 20, 1963

Central Serial Record Dept.
Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing, and mailing *first class*, the requested *New South*, Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8, entitled *A Hundred Years Later*.

According to our records, this is the third time this has been mailed to you. Will you please advise the person in charge of binding *New South* that the enclosed is indeed Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

CENTRAL SERIAL RECORD DEPT.
CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

ITHACA, NEW YORK

3/14/63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

On November 15, 1962 , we claimed the following item for which we maintain a standing order:
NEW SOUTH.
vol. 17 nos. 7 & 8 July and August 1962

As yet, we have not received your reply. Because we wish to maintain a complete file of this publication, we would appreciate your supplying this item as soon as possible. If it is not available, please notify us so that we may try another source.

Thank you for your kind cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Central Serial Record Department
Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

March 20, 1963

Library
Texas Technological College
Lubbock, Texas

Dear Sirs:

I am enclosing, and mailing first class, the requested New South, Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8, entitled A Hundred Years Later.

According to our records, this is the third time this has been mailed to you. Will you please advise the person in charge of binding New South that the enclosed is indeed Vol. 17, Nos. 7 & 8?

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

LIBRARY
TEXAS TECHNOLOGICAL COLLEGE
LUBBOCK, TEXAS

Claim is hereby made for the following item(s) not yet received:

NEW SOUTH, v.17 NOS. 7 AND 8, JULY AND AUGUST, 1962
RESPECTIVELY

THE ARKANSAS STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
CONWAY, ARKANSAS

3 - 14 - 1963

Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

If you still have copies of a brochure containing speeches by William Faulkner and two other speakers on the subject of school integration, issued by you in 1956, I believe, please let me know the price of them. Thanks.

Very truly yours,

Joe C. Shaw

Joe C. Shaw,
Asst. Prof. Sociology

sent
3-21-63
MA

"THE FRIENDLIEST COLLEGE IN ARKANSAS"

JOHN FERRIS New Hackensack Rd. Wappingers Falls, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I saw your publication "A Hundred Years Later" mentioned in the "Bay State Bugle" & would like to obtain a copy if possible.

Sincerely,

Mr. John Ferris
New Hackensack Rd.
Wappingers Falls, N.Y.

sent 3-21-63
MA

76 Brook Hill Rd
Milton 87 Mass

Dear Sirs

I would be most appreciative if you would send me a copy of Howard Zinn's "Albany. A study in National Responsibility", which I understand is being offered free.

Thank you

I am
sincerely

Virginia Thorndike

3-21-63
MA

Paris. Ky.
Mar. 18, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

3-21-63
m A

Dear Sir:

I am planning a teaching unit on the "War Between The States" for the fourth grade. I would appreciate all of the free information available on this Subject. Thank you very much for your help.

Very truly yours,

Frances Stubblefield

Mrs. Lewis J. Stubblefield
Route #5
Paris, Ky.

Write SCHEF
for this publication
(our copy lost)

March 21, 1963

Mrs. St. Julien R. Childs
82 Pitt Street
Charleston, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Childs:

You are correct in remembering that the publication you had in mind was published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund in New Orleans. The address is: 822 Perdita Street.

We have no way of evaluating the report; it was based on a survey done by SCEF. In your case, it could be checked against information you and the committee have collected for South Carolina.

Under separate cover, I am sending you one additional piece of material: a survey and press reports on the Atlanta area hospitals.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

MRS. ST. JULIEN R. CHILDS
82 PITT STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Dear Mrs. Albright,

Thank you very much for the Employment studies and other material. They are extremely interesting. I have mailed them on to Key People who never see any Current material except that supporting the narrow, unfair local attitude.

The study I referred to, however, was concerned not only with professional opportunities for Negro doctors and nurses, but the prevailing admissions policy which in Southern cities restricts about three fourths of the beds for one fourth of the population, This study reported some very tragic & unnecessary incidents where acutely ill or injured Negroes were sent from one institution to another sometimes quite distant. sometimes with fatal results. Maybe it was a publication of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare in New Orleans. I shall write there, If you or your colleagues have seen that paper and do not agree with its findings, I would like to know because I

MRS. ST. JULIEN R. CHILDS
82 PITT STREET
CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

would not want, without care, to call it to the attention of several doctors & hospital administrators here who, under the sponsorship of the S.C. committee on Civil Rights, are making a survey of local health facilities and services from the point of view of discrimination.

I shall see if the Medical College Library has the

Reitzes title. Thank you very much for the suggestion and all the material.

Sincerely yours,

Margaretta P. Childs

March 21, 1963

Mr. Elmer J. Moore
Research Agricultural Economist
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Moore:

We have your request for our Special Report: A Study of Negro Farmers in South Carolina. We are mailing you today the requested twenty-five copies.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative Assistant

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
ECONOMIC RESEARCH SERVICE
Washington 25, D.C.

March 15, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is our request for 25 copies of your Special Report Number 23, dated December 1962. If you have reports or data of a similar nature, we would appreciate receiving copies.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer J. Moore
Elmer J. Moore
Research Agricultural Economist

Growth Through Agricultural Progress

Cash .20
3/22/63
LK

CHARLOTTE COLLEGE
N. C. Highway 49 North
CHARLOTTE 2, NORTH CAROLINA

Library

P. O. Box 20428

March 8, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send our library one copy of the following publication: "Minority South; a Southern Yankee, a Southern Police Chief and a Southern Newspaper Reader View Dixie Disorder, Character, and Promise."

We are enclosing 20 cents to cover the cost of this publication. Thank you for your attention to this request.

Very truly yours,

Mozelle S. Scherger

Mozelle S. Scherger (Mrs. G. R.)
Librarian

New South
Vol. #

sent
3-22-63
MA

Enclosure

Memo : from **MONTEX ALBRIGHT**

N. Y. State Library

please send all this stuff (attached sheets). If we do not have any of the items, please let me know, as I am billing them on their special order blanks.

MA

Every item sent —

3/20/63

– BCC

The University of the State of New York

No.

The New York State Library
Albany 1, N. Y.

Charles F. Gosnell
State Librarian and Assistant
Commissioner for Libraries

Robert H. Deily
Principal Librarian
Technical Processes

March 14, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Please send us the items listed below.

Before an official check can be issued in payment, the Comptroller requires that all bills be rendered in duplicate on the uniform billheads enclosed. The original must be signed in ink. Shipment must be made by cheapest route unless otherwise specified.

Address both bills and books or serials to:

New York State Library
Order Section No. 1
Albany 1, N. Y.

Please read carefully the enclosed directions for billing.

Very truly yours

William A. DeAlleaume
Head, Order Section

Enc.

Publications listed on the attached page.

L530-Ap56-5000(39670)*

Executive Support of Civil Rights. A review of the current administration's first year of civil rights action. 1962. 52p. 50¢

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South:
HOUSTON - Prof. Art Gallaher, Univ. of Houston, November 1961
CHATTANOOGA - Dr. Major J. Jones, research coordinator, February 1962
ATLANTA - Prof. Carl Holman, research coordinator, May 1962
20¢

Zinn, Howard. Albany. A first-hand account of the "Albany Movement" for desegregation in that Georgia city. (Mimeo) 35p. 1962. 25¢

McMillan, George. Racial Violence and Law Enforcement. A study drawn on Chattanooga, Little Rock and Montgomery. 1960. 25¢

School Desegregation: The First Six Years. In question and answer form the facts confronting the South on this issue. 1960. 25¢

Spearman, Walter and Sylvan Myer. Racial Crisis and the Press. Racial news in the press. 1960. 25¢

Map, showing percentage of non-white population in counties of southern states as of 1960. 25¢

The Freedom Ride - May 1961. A chronology of it and reactions to it. (Mimeo). 25¢

The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation, a summary of sit-in activity from February 1960 to September 1961 and its results. (Mimeo) 15¢

Tarplee, Rev. Cornelius. The Church in Areas of Racial Tension. for Intergroup Relations, National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 1959, 5¢

Gauerke, Warren E. If the Schools are Closed ... A Critical Analysis of the Private School Plan. 40 p. 1959. 20¢

Wright, Marion A. Segregation Versus the Space Age. A probing address by a former SRC President. 5¢

Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities. Georgia's Divided Education. 56p. 1960. 35¢

(Cont.)

Goodman, Mary Ellen. Sanctuaries for Tradition: Virginia's New Private Schools. What "massive resistance" does to education by a member of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth. (Mimeo) 27 p. 1961. 10¢

Creger, Ralph and Carl. This is What we Found. How a white father and son in Little Rock came to champion equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. 60 p. 1960. 25¢

Three Views of the Segregation Decisions, by William Faulkner, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Cecil Sims. Three papers read before the Southern Historical Association, 1955. 29p. SCF

Morris, John B., South Carolinians Speak. Short essays on race relations by South Carolina "moderates." 89p. SCF.

Wey, Herbert, Action Patterns in School Desegregation: A Guidebook. 276p. 1959. Phi Delta Kappa Commission Project. SCF.

Desegregation in Baltimore City Schools. A 32-page report by the Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems & Relations and the Baltimore Commission on Human Relations. SCF.

A Hundred Years Later - comments by four outstanding Southerners on the meaning of the Civil War Centennial. 20¢

Southern Student Newspaper Opinion on the University of Mississippi. A round-up of editorials and columns reflecting on Oxford. 5¢

LIVERMORE HIGH SCHOOL
600 Maple Street
Livermore, California

.20 cash
3/23/63
LK

Date March 8, 1963

Please send me a copy of "Freedom rides--their impact on one rider; the Deep South, national unity and world opinion"

listed in Vertical File Index

I enclose ✓ .20 cents to cover cost of same.

I assume this publication is free, and am enclosing a self-addressed mailing label. If the publication is not free, please advise before sending a copy.

Mrs. E. Crowley Librarian

New South
Vol. #

sent - MA 3-22-63

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE
DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA

RICHARD V. MOORE, PRESIDENT

DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

March 23, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Presently, I am engaged in a study of Negroes in Politics. The study is for the purpose of improving our instructional program here, as well as serving asa clearing house for interested persons throughout the State. Please send me any information which you may have on the subject.

Thanks for your consideration.

Yours truly
Jake C. Miller
Jake C. Miller
Assistant Professor
Political Science

Ck $2 10
3/26/63
LK

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Student YWCA

600 Lexington Avenue, New York, 22, N. Y. — PLaza 3-4700 — Cable. Emissarius, N. Y.

Special Project Staff:
MRS. EDNA T. ANDERSON
4315 Avenue H
AUSTIN 5, TEXAS
Phone GLendale 3-1608

Southwest Region
3012 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Texas
Phone Riverside 8-5741

March 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed is my check for $2.00. Please send me ten copies of

THE NEW SOUTH, October '62. Sent 3/26/63

I plan to use these materials at a Human Relations Workshop in Little Rock, Arkansas April 20 - 21, and will need them before that date.

Thank you very much.

Yours truly,

Edna T. Anderson

Edna T. Anderson

ETA:val
check encl'd

Please send receipt for my records.

Sent 3/26/63

SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINES, INC.
50 WEST 44TH STREET, NEW YORK 36, N. Y., TN 7-7700

March 22, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Would you kindly send me two copies of your recently published Civil War booklet *A Hundred Years Later*.

Many thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Henry I. Kurtz

Henry I. Kurtz
Assistant Editor
Junior Scholastic

3/27/63

SCHOLASTIC MAGAZINES & SCHOLASTIC BOOK SERVICES

stamps .20 3/27/63 LK

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

March 18, 1963

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us the item (s) listed below for which we enclose $.20 in stamps
~~money order.~~

Sincerely yours,
Lois G. Dozier
Lois G. Dozier
Acquisitions Supervisor

3/27/63

Enclosure

Southern Regional Council
Racial Work and Negro Waste in Southern Employment.

22 West 55th Street
New York 19, N.Y.

Judson 2-7030

March 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In the March 1, 1963 issue of the New York Times, it stated that the Southern Regional Council had made a survey in Atlanta, Georgia, last month concerning civil rights, especially the improving of Negro job opportunities in industries with Government contracts.

In reporting its findings last month, the Council said that with few exceptions, the Kennedy Administration's Plan for Progress Program has proved "largely meaningless " in improving the employment situation.

We would like to receive a copy of this survey. If there is a charge for this, please let us know and a check will be mailed to you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Soleiman

Mary Soleiman
DNA Research

3/27/63

REVERE, MASS
MARCH 23, 1963

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEAR SIR

I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR SENDING ME TWO (2) COPIES OF THE COUNCIL'S PUBLICATION "A HUNDRED YEARS LATER". ALSO ANY OTHER INFORMATION THAT I MIGHT USE IN CONJUNCTION WITH A SLIDE LECTURE WHICH I AM PREPARING

THANK YOU

L. Bath
60 Harris St.
Revere 51, Mass.

MEMBER
CIVIL WAR
ROUND TABLE OF
GREATER BOSTON

3/27/63

Logan Junior High School
East Stratton Street
Logan, West Virginia
March 23, 1963

Gentlemen:

3/27/63

Please me a complimentary desk copy of SINGERS IN THE DAWN, a brief Anthology of American Negro Poetry, complied by Robert B. Eleazer (1946).

Sincerely yours,

E. H. Washington

E. H. Washington
Typing Instructor

March 25, 1963

Dear Sirs:

As a member of a student group that is active in civil rights activities on the Eastern shore of Maryland, I am interested in the work of your organization in race relations.

Please send me a list of your publications and some information about the objects, goals, and accomplishments of your group.

Yours sincerely,
Carl Stiren

3/27/63

B & C ASSOCIATES - *Public Relations - Market Research*

622 EAST WASHINGTON DRIVE • TELEPHONE 882-3912 • HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

March 25, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Altanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me the following Article:

The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South - Atlanta.

Thank you.

Yours truly,

Robert J. Brown / bjm

Robert J. Brown

bjm

3/27/63

WM. G. HARTENSTEIN
% SHELL OIL CO.
250 MT. LEBANON BLVD.
PITTSBURGH 34, PA.

21 March 1963

Dear Sirs,

Please advise me how I may obtain a copy of your publication entitled: "A Hundred Years Later"

Sincerely,
Wm. G. Hartenstein

3/27/63

March 27, 1963

Mr. William E. Bush, II
Community Relations Secretary
The Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Bush:

Dr. Moss, to whom your letter of March 26 was addressed, is no longer with the Council. As you request, though, we are mailing the four employment studies today under separate cover. We trust these will be useful and that if we can be of any help to your Industrial Committee you will not hesitate to call upon us.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

NOT ALMS BUT OPPORTUNITY
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

THE TAMPA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

1615 LAMAR AVENUE **TELEPHONE 229-2319** **TAMPA, FLORIDA**

WILLIAM E. BUSH, II
Community Relations Secretary

ARTHUR D. ALLEN
Executive Secretary

March 26, 1963

Dr. James A. Moss
Director of Research
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

3/27/63

Dear Dr. Moss:

Currently we are surveying, in a limited manner employment and training opportunities available in the Tampa community. I am hoping that by now the series of abstracts that your agency was doing entitled "The Negro And Employment Opportunities In The South" is completed.

Would you please forward to me the four monographs in order that we might use them for reference with our Industrial Committee.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

William E. Bush II
William E. Bush
Community Relations Secy.

WEB/lm

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Education
Fortieth year of Service

AFFILIATED WITH THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
MEMBER NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE

UNITED

PARTICIPATING MEMBER UNITED FUND
MEMBER COMMUNITY COORDINATING COUNCIL

The Portage County Historical Society

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

P.O. BOX 92
Kent, Ohio
Mar. 21, 1963

Dear Sirs:

We are interested in purchasing a copy of a publication called "A hundred years later". Also any material available covering the Civil War from you area. Please quote prices.

Very Sincerely
Dudley S. Weaver

3/28/63

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St NW
Atl 3, Ga.

404 K. S.W
Quincy Washington
MARCH 7 1963

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
INFORMATION DESK
ATLANTA , GEORGIA

DEAR SIR

I AM ON A DEBATING TEAM IN MY ENGLISH CLASS AND I RESOLVED THAT "ALL CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, REGARDLESS OF COLOR, SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO ATTEND SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES OF THEIR CHOICE." I NEED INFORMATION ON THIS, AND WAS HOPING YOU could help.

IF YOU could SEND ME SOME INFORMATION ON INTERGRATION AND DESEGRAGATION IT would HELP IN MY DEBATE A GREAT DEAL. I would APPRECIATE ANY AND ALL INFORMATION YOU CAN SEND ME. THANK-YOU FOR YOUR TIME.

Sincerely Yours

3/28/63

Miss Bev Wells
MISS BEV WELLS

THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

RESPECTFULLY
REFERS TO

Southern Regional Council

the attached letter with the request that same be answered and such action as you think best be taken on the matter mentioned in the letter.

Ir wd 3/26/63

Edmund J. Winslow

Onteora Central School, Boiceville, New York

March 23, 1963

Dear Gentlemen:

I have recently been informed that If I write to you I might receive a copy of A Hundred Years Later and other materials that you might offer.

I am a teacher of U.S. History and would find any materials that you might offer not only helpful butinteresting.

Thank you,

Edmund J. Winslow

Edmund J. Winslow

3/28/63

Dear Sir
The High Sncc Friend of
Sncc in Chicago would like
for you to send as often
as possible information on
Sncc as it happen in
Mississippi Thank you

3/28/63

Ruth Levison
(Secretary)

March 21, 1963

Southern Regional, Inc.

Dear Sir:

Would you be kind enough to give us a copy of "Executive support of civil rights".

3/28/62

Thank you,

Mrs. M.R. Johnson
Crane Campus - Chicago Teachers Col.
2240 West Van Buren St.
Chicago 12, Illinois

PRAY
FOR
PEACE

CHICAGO ILL
MAR 21
6 PM
1963
13

Please send me Howard Zinn's full report on Albany. I understand this is able to be obtain from information regarding it in the December 1, 1962 issue of. "The Nation" Thank you

Miss Diane Walters
161 West Main Street
Williamson, New York

3/28/63

March 26, 1962

Miss Elizabeth Colbert
Box 138
Hollins College
Virginia

Dear Miss Colbert:

Your letter to Paul Anthony was directed to me for answer and I regret that for your purposes the Council has little available inasmuch as our field of interest is race relations. Under separate cover I have mailed some of our materials which may be of interest.

For more specific information on Shreveport and/or Louisiana, I suggest you write the Shreveport Chamber of Commerce and the Research Department, State Chamber of Commerce, Capitol Building, Baton Rouge.

I regret we cannot be more helpful.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

Res. Dept
"St. Ch of C
Baton Rouge"

recd PA 3/26/63

XLS
pub list

Hollins College
Virginia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I was given your name by Mr. James Lane in hopes that you would be able to help me in finding information for a term paper which I am writing for Mr. Lane. The subject of my paper is the sociological effect of industrialization on human relations and labor relations. I plan to concentrate on industrialization in the South and possibly use my home town or state - Shreveport, Louisiana - as a specific study. I would appreciate any information you could send me on industrialization and its effects in the South. I would also appreciate it if you could refer me to some organization in Louisiana or Shreveport to whom I could write for information.

My address is: Elizabeth N. Colbert
Box 138
Hollins College,
Virginia

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,
Elizabeth Colbert

March 28, 1963

Mr. William Bagwell
American Friends Service Commitee, Inc.
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Bagwell:

Under separate cover we will be mailing you tomorrow 50 copies of School Desegregation - The First Six Years. The cost in quantity is $.20 per copy and an invoice is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
Enclosure

Chairman: CLAUDE C. SHOTTS Executive Secretary: B. TARTT BELL Treasurer: JAMES MATTOCKS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 88-2-0109

March 27, 1963

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

If the pamphlet entitled School Desegregation for the First Six Years is still available, will you please send me 50 copies.

Please bill me the necessary charges.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

William Bagwell
William Bagwell

WB/h

@.20

cam 15 3/28/63 LK

Pennsylvania Area

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Abram S. Berg, Area Chairman

1508 Land Title Bldg. • S. W. Cor. Broad and Chestnut Sts. • Philadelphia 10, Pa. • Locust 3-7537 • Dr. Murray Friedman, Area Director

March 21, 1963

Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Will you kindly send me the following :

The Student Protest Movement, A Recapitulation	.10
A Virginia View of Race and Reason by Benj. Muse	.05
	.15

I am enclosing 15¢ to cover the above.

Please also send me the following:

L-32 Refutation of Race and Reason by Dr. William P. Sullivan Reprint from Southwest Louisiana Register

L-34 Desegregation in Southern Parochial Schools, Report on Catholic dioceses in 11 states.

L-36 "Richmond Quietly Leads the Way in Race Relations," reprint from The Washington Post.

Sincerely,

Murray Friedman

3/29/63

Murray Friedman
Area Director

MF:s

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'38

Com 3/28/63

VK

Portage North Junior High School
5808 Oregon Street
Kalamazoo, Michigan

Date Mar. 13, 1963

Please send me a copy of

Race prejudice - racial crisis the press

listed in

Vertical File Index

3/29/63

I enclose $ .30 to cover cost of same.

Librarian

Coin .20
4/1/63

ORIGINAL

PURCHASE ORDER

DATE 3/18/63

PURCHASED FROM Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

CHARGE TO

ADDRESS

SHIP TO Library
Sacred Heart High School
1075 Ellis St.
ADDRESS San Francisco 9, Calif.

TERMS cash w/order WANTED HOW SHIP

QUAN.	DESCRIPTION	PRICE	UNIT
1 copy -	Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment.	.20	

3/29/63

IMPORTANT

PUT THIS NUMBER 28770 ON YOUR INVOICE, PACKING LISTS AND PACKAGES

PLEASE SEND ____ COPIES OF YOUR INVOICE

BY John E. Waller PUR. AGT.
John E. Waller, Librarian

FORM NO. S.O. 7

March 25, 1963

Dear Sir,

Recently while reading through a copy of The Bay State Bugl monthly publication of the Mass. Civil War Centennial Commission, I came across your address and information on a new booklet of the Council which I am most interested in. I have had occasion to carry out several research studies and projects on the Civil War in the past both at my home and at the Univ. of Wisconsin and can use a copy of A HUNDRED YEARS LATER in future studies on the Civil War. In order that I may have aid in my new studies concern the South in the Civil War, can you forward to me a copy of your publication A HUNDRED YEARS LATER and also any other materials and information, including copies of your newsletter for 1962-63 to date which you have for distribution? I would also like a list of all publications you have and as I await to hear from you, I am

Very truly yours,

Mr. Earl J. Bornschein
Route 2
Jefferson, Wisconsin

3/29/63

LAW OFFICES
M. F. PARTRIDGE
UNION TRUST BUILDING
PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA

28th
March
1963.

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St N.W.
Atlanta 3 Georgia.

Gentlemen:

The BAY STATE BUGLE for February 1963 which has just come to my desk states that the Council has or is publishing a booklet entitled A HUNDRED YEARS LATER. The item does not advise whether the booklet you have is free or priced.

If the booklet is gratis, I would like a copy. I assume it is. If I am mistaken, please advise price, etc. THANKS.

Sincerely yours

M. F. PARTRIDGE

3/29/63

eam

*OVER

Should you now know or later learn of someone interested in establishing a stationary CIVIL WAR MUSEUM, this will advise that I have one of the finest collections privately owned in the United States which I will LEASE on a profit sharing basis. More details to any serious inquiry.

March 29, 1963

Mr. Jonathan Mabry
Route 2, Box 17
Inman, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Mabry:

We are happy to mail you under separate cover and without charge 10 copies each of the reports you requested. I regret that we are unable to supply you with six New South subscriptions on the installment basis you suggest. I am, however, enclosing a subscription blank to the magazine and perhaps after you have had a meeting you will want to subscribe one or more times. It might be that you could share the copy monthly with your group and then the expense would not be so great.

Sincerely,

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

BP:s
Enclosure

STORES REQUISITION

Date 3-25-63 No.

Deliver To Jonathan Mabry Route 2 Box 17 Inman S.C.

To Be Used For "National Human Relation" Order No.

QUANTITY	PART OR CAT. NO.	SIZE	FULL DESCRIPTION	FOR OFFICE USE		
20	books		A Virginia View of Race & Reason	$	1.0	0
35	.		State Commission on Human Relation			
	official		groups in Delaware, Kentucky Maryland			
18	" Richmond		Quietly leads the way in Race Relation			
16	sheet		monthy special reports			
6	Books		New South Subscription	$	12	00
10	books		Refutation of Race and Reason			
	by	Dr	William J. Sullivan.			

Remarks We do hereby promise to pay on installment plans each month

Filed By Mrs Sarah Brown Signed Jonathan Approved

For Dept.

STANDARD FORM 640
REGENT STANDARD FORMS, INC., PHILA. 30, PA.

I Am Very happay to become the first negro district Supterintender for the Human Relation Commission here in South Carolina, As opening the Human Relation I'understand that we will be the first negro division and the 29 Commission here, the White race have been in progress for some time, and they wish us the best and promise to give me support

At the mayor request we will have a Community College for adults and youth that are Not able to attend College, these Causes will be given two Night per week, later on we will build 14 Class rooms workshop.

There will be Cause given on oppertunities in the South, Employment, and Jobs opend to negroes qualification from grade school to high school level on Job training.

in giving Courses in the Community Education department, we will be sure that each one will be of Valuable and something that will be of service to all

I will all mean take action to improved the Condition and make sure that each person is given credit for what they do.

I will try to solved the problem local, National, International if we could solved them locally we will do so through studied, Considerate

As it is my duties and responsibility to organized local Chapters visit each president of their organization see to it that they have proper tools to work with and protection, so fact-finding is Necessary and approval

At the present time we are not financial able to get the material and tools, we need by paying Cash with our order but after our second or third meeting we will do so

Please send a copy of your HUNDRED YEARS LATER.

thank you,

James Wilkins
608 Richardson Drive
Tyler, Texas

3/26/63

3/29/63

March 29, 1962

Mrs. Nina Bremer,
Learning Resources Coordinator
Audiovisual Center
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mrs. Bremer:

In response to your request of March 22 I am enclosing the Council's mimeographed publications catalogue. For your purposes, about the only listing in it which would be considered a "visual" piece of material is the MAP. We do, however, have a film available for rental, THE FACE OF THE SOUTH, but this is distributed for us through the Anti Defamation League.

Sincerely,

BP:s

Barbara Patterson (Mrs.)
Secretary, Research

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
East Lansing, Michigan

AUDIOVISUAL CENTER

March 22, 1963

S.R.C.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We maintain catalogues of cross media instructional materials for the use of teachers, prospective teachers, and our office and consultative services. This necessitates at least three copies of each catalogue for representation in the separate service areas.

We would like to include your firm in these three categories if you feel it would be suitable.

We are interested in general catalogues and special listings in each of the following areas: tapes, records, kits, realia, instructional and feature films, filmstrips, slides, programming and teaching machines.

We hope that you will wish to send us three copies of your current catalogues, and will put us on your permanent mailing list for future publications.

Sincerely,

Nina Bremer

Nina Bremer (Mrs.)
Learning Resources Coordinator

NB:jlg

Files - Face of the South - ADL

stamps .20
4/1/63
LK

NORTH CAROLINA STATE LIBRARY

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March 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 13, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Please send the items listed to the North Carolina State Library, Technical Services Division, Box 2889, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Southern Regional Council - Racial work and Negro waste in southern employment. 1962. (New South, v. 17, No. 5)

3/29/63

☐ If there is a charge, please do not send but notify us of cost.

☐ Enclosed find stamps or coins to cover cost. $.20

Sincerely,

A D Galusha

Ann D. Galusha
Technical Services Librarian

ADG/eh

Please return this form with order.